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ABSTRACT

Part 1, Hearings before the Subcommittee on Indian Education (Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, U.S. Senate) on policy, organization, administration, and new legislation concerning American Indians, focuses especially on the problems of Alaskan Indians and Eskimos. The February, March, and April (1969) hearings were held in both Washington, D.C. and Fairbanks, Alaska. They are part of the continuing effort to solve the problems of employment, income, and general living conditions of all Indians. This hearing additionally examines the severity and extensiveness of the failure to provide an effective education for Indian children and adults. The hearings also should point up the needs for new policies, and new administrative and organizational approaches for implementing them. Testimony and statements were presented by U.S. Senators, tribal representatives, professional educators, members of concerned community groups, Bureau of Indian Affairs staff, representatives of Indian organizations and cultural groups, medical personnel, and various other concerned persons. Articles and publications present additional information. (KM)

INDIAN EDUCATION, 1969

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HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDIAN EDUCATION

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-FIRST CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

POLICY, ORGANIZATION, ADMINISTRATION, AND NEW LEGISLATION CONCERNING THE AMERICAN INDIANS

PART 1

FEBRUARY 18, 19, 24, AND MARCH 27, 1969
WASHINGTON, D.C.

APRIL 11, 1969
FAIRBANKS, ALASKA

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EDUCATION & WELFARE
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INDIAN EDUCATION, 1969

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1969

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDIAN EDUCATION OF THE
COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met at 9:10 a.m., pursuant to call, in room 4232, New Senate Office Building, Senator Edward M. Kennedy (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Kennedy, Yarborough, Mondale, Dominick, Murphy, and Bellmon.

Committee staff members present: Robert O. Harris, staff director to full committee; Adrian L. Parmeter, subcommittee staff director; and Herschel Sahmount, minority professional staff member.

Senator KENNEDY. The subcommittee will come to order.

First of all, I want to welcome the new member of the subcommittee, Senator Bellmon from Oklahoma, and say what a pleasure it is to have his participation in the workings of this subcommittee. He has long been interested in the problems of Indian education and other problems affecting the American Indian. We want to welcome the Senator to this subcommittee.

We are meeting today to conduct the first public hearing of the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education under my chairmanship. During the past year, much has been accomplished. My brother, Senator Robert F. Kennedy, devoted an enormous amount of time, energy, and concern to the work of this subcommittee. We visited Indian schools and reservations throughout the western part of the United States, listened to dozens of Indian witnesses, and talked privately with an even larger number of our American Indian citizens.

In a relatively brief period of time, his concern for the problems facing Indian children and adults became a national concern, and the questions of the quality and effectiveness of educational programs for Indian children became a national issue. He pricked the conscience of the Nation and significantly raised the hopes and aspirations of an entire minority group. He has left a great burden of responsibility on the Senators of this subcommittee to fulfill his vision and achieve his goals.

As the President stated in his special message to Congress last spring:

"The most striking fact about the American Indian today is his tragic plight.

"Fifty thousand Indian families live in unsanitary, dilapidated dwellings; many in huts, shanties, even abandoned automobiles.

"The unemployment rate among Indians is nearly 40 percent—more than 10 times the national average.

"Fifty percent of Indian schoolchildren—double the national average—drop out before completing high school.

"Indian literacy rates are among the lowest in the Nation; the rates of sickness and poverty are among the highest.

"Thousands of Indians who have migrated into the cities find themselves untrained for jobs and unprepared for urban life.

"The average age of death of an American Indian today is 44 years; for all other Americans, it is 65."

These statistics reveal that the first American is still the last American in terms of employment, education, a decent income, and the chance for a full and rewarding life. This can be considered nothing less than a national tragedy and a national disgrace.

The hearings today, tomorrow, and next Monday are of major importance in the continuing effort of this subcommittee to find solutions for these problems. The hearings will encompass additional examination of the severity and extensiveness of our failure to provide an effective education for Indian children and adults.

The hearings should point up the need for new policies, and new administrative and organizational approaches for implementing these new policies. Most importantly, the hearings should point up the need for amending old legislation and enacting bold new legislation so that in a matter of a few years hence, we can proudly say that educational programs for American Indians are not only successful but exemplary, and a matter of national pride, not shame.

Senator Yarborough.

Senator **Yarborough**. Mr. Chairman, I have had the privilege of serving under this subcommittee since its inception under the chairmanship first of your brother, the distinguished Senator Robert Kennedy. I attended some of the hearings with him, hearings here and in the State of Oregon. All of us felt the impetus of his great drive and his great concern in this field.

As you said, I think this aroused the national consciousness of this continued injustice to the American Indians. No people in the whole complex of American society have been so badly treated as the first Americans, the American Indians.

I am proud to continue to serve on this subcommittee under your chairmanship. You have taken up the torch for this cause that is so just and a field in which Americans have so long failed. I am confident that under your leadership and inspiration that when these hearings are completed much good is going to come out of them.

It is not going to be just a case where we say, "Well, that is just too bad," but I think America is going to move in this field and these patient, brilliant, wonderful people are going to have as full an opportunity in life in the future as other Americans. I congratulate you, Senator Kennedy, and I am proud to continue to serve as a member of this subcommittee under your leadership.

Senator **Kennedy**. Senator Mondale.

Senator **Mondale**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I want to make an observation. That is, that the present educational system for the American Indian is a tragedy, and it is a responsibility for which almost exclusive blame rests with the Federal Government. This is the only educational system in the country which is a Federal system, and, I think that it probably is the worst system in the country.

My second observation is that, in part, because of that fact, we have an opportunity to make the system of educating American Indians the best and the most exemplary system in our country. It can be the leader in the field of quality education from early childhood on up to and including adult education.

I am hopeful that we will not only expose the inadequacies and psychological and other kinds of emotional insults, but that we can also convert it into one of the great, if not the greatest, systems in our country for educating children.

Senator **Kennedy**. Senator Bellmon.

Senator **Bellmon**. Mr. Chairman, it is a pleasure and an honor for me to be associated with you in the work of this committee.

I am new as a Member of the Senate, but being an Oklahoman where we have either the first or second largest Indian population of the States, I am well aware of the problem.

As former Governor of the State of Oklahoma, I organized a committee to work in this area. At one of our hearings a high school superintendent told us that during the years he had served in education of the 150 Indian students enrolled in his school only one had ever graduated. Most of the others, in fact, all the others, had dropped out for various reasons, many related to the type employment that they pursued, many due to the conditions in the home, and many due to the fact that it seemed rather pointless for them to continue in school when they realized that they could not get the kind of work they desired after graduation.

So, there is a tremendous job to be done here, and I am hoping to have an active role.

Senator **Kennedy**. Senator Murphy.

Senator **Murphy**. Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to be on this subcommittee. I concur greatly with the statement of the chairman. He has said it very well, pointing out the need.

One of the things that amazes me constantly here in the Senate is that these things have been permitted to go on for so long. Going back over the record, I find many promises every year and we wind up with almost the same situation.

I think that under the leadership of our distinguished chairman and the members on the opposite side and I know Senator Bellmon with his long experience—I have had some experience with the conditions of the Indians, not purely educational but economic—in my State, and I would like to join with Senator Mondale, Senator Yarborough, and Senator Bellmon and the chairman in saying this year let us get it done. Let us get at it and make the first big step to see that this situation which has unfortunately taken place over the years comes to an end and comes to an end this year.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Senator **Kennedy**. Thank you very much, Senator Murphy.

At this point we will receive a statement from our colleague, Senator McGovern, who has great interest in the subject of Indian education.

STATEMENT OF HON. GEORGE McGOVERN, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF SOUTH DAKOTA

Mr. McGOVERN. I am honored to offer you my support and my cooperation as you resume these hearings on the important subject of Indian education.

As you know, the late Senator Kennedy testified before my subcommittee on Indian Affairs and his concern for the future of our Indian children, as evidenced by the energy with which he devoted himself to the work of this special subcommittee on Indian education, was an inspiration to us all. It is heartening to see that you, Mr. Chairman, are continuing this interest. With the dedication of the other members of your committee, all of whom share your deep concern, I feel confident that your findings will be of enormous value to us as they have been in the past.

The late Senator Kennedy understood how basic the issue of education is to the overall problem of the Indian in our society today. The Indian shares with every person in this country the urgent desire to participate in the decisions which shape the very fabric of his life. The feeling of impotency, the feeling of voicelessness, the feeling of being controlled by mysterious forces somewhere in the nether regions of a big white building in Washington, is nowhere more graphically illustrated than on the Indian reservations and in the Indian communities today.

It is obvious that the time has long since passed when the Indian should have been an active participant in the planning and carrying forward of his own programs. Indeed, every time he has had a chance to do so, we have seen demonstrated the dramatic change of attitude that takes place in a community when people realize that what they say is being listened to—how they feel is being considered—what they want done is being done, and, what is more, that they can participate in the doing.

But in order for an individual to exercise any meaningful control over his own life, in order for him to be able to respond in any degree to the extraordinary pressure that every one of us in the United States faces today, he must first have a sense of himself.

The fact that some Indians have demonstrated enormous capacities in these areas is by no means a tribute to the education with which they have been furnished by this great country of ours. In truth, it is a tribute to their ability to survive it, as they have survived so much else since we set foot on this land.

Your committee has revealed again and again in its hearings all over the country just how shockingly inadequate the educational environment of the American Indian is. Far from helping to produce a well-integrated individual with a sense of his own personal worth, his cultural heritage, and a vision of the opportunities that lie ahead of him, the education available to the Indian has contributed in no small measure to the numbing feeling of alienation and sense of isolation which so devastates our Indian population today.

One of the shocking truths that has become painfully clear to me as I have conducted my hearings on nutrition and human needs in the past few weeks, is that hungry children cannot learn. Children who are badly nourished fall asleep at their desks. In many cases the brain is damaged from birth because of a diet so deficient nutritionally that the entire body must pay the price.

Far too many Indian children and adult Indians as well, have been allowed to suffer hunger and malnutrition for many years. The Select Committee on Nutrition will look into that problem on reservations and among off-reservation Indian people as well.

We must replace the ravaging effect that hunger and malnutrition has had on our Indian children with adequate food and a hunger for knowledge—and let us work together to end hunger for food and to produce an educational system that will satisfy their new hunger for education as it should.

I hope, Senator Kennedy, and I sincerely believe, that our committees can work together on these important tasks, and I wish you all success in the hearings that are beginning today. Please be assured of my continuing interest in your progress as an individual, and as chairman of the Select Committee on Nutrition and the Interior Committee's Subcommittee on Indian Affairs.

Senator KENNEDY. Thank you Senator McGovern for your fine statement.

Our first witness this morning will be Don Wanatee, who is accompanied by Columbus Keahna and Pat Brown from the Mesquakie Tribe, Tama, Iowa.

Mr. Wanatee, we want to welcome you here to this subcommittee and also Columbus Keahna and Pat Brown. We want to thank you very much for coming here. I understand, Mr. Wanatee, you have a statement, if you would like to proceed with that statement.

Mr. WANATEE. Mr. Chairman, Columbus Keahna will present our statement.

Senator KENNEDY. Mr. Columbus Keahna, I understand you are going to make the opening statement. You may proceed.

STATEMENTS OF COLUMBUS KEAHNA, DON WANATEE, AND MRS. PATRICIA BROWN, REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE MESQUAKIE TRIBE, TAMA, IOWA

Mr. KEAHNA. Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, I am Columbis Keahna. To my right is Don Wanatee, secretary of the Tribal Council in Tama, Iowa. To my left is Patricia Brown who offered to testify on our behalf.

The Mesquakie Reservation is located about 75 miles northeast of Des Moines and about 45 miles due west of Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

We have something like 3,500 acres, what we call an Indian settlement.

If I may, I would like to read from a prepared statement.

Senator KENNEDY. That will be fine.

Mr. KEAHNA. The Mesquakies entered white man's history in 1636 when the first Frenchmen came upon them. At that time they numbered 2,000 and were living in Green Bay, Wis. During the next 100 years there was a general shifting of Indian tribes due to the settlement of the whites on the east coast.

The Mesquakies, not given to subservience, were involved in a series of disastrous wars of their French and Indian allies, and at one time they were reduced to only a few families in number: however, they regained a foothold by the time America came on the scene, and their numbers had returned to their original 2,000.

In 1734, the tribes made political alliance with the Sac and this alliance remained in force for some 100 years although the two tribes continued to remain separate camps.

After the American Revolution, pressure of settlers began steadily to increase and the Mesquakies and Sacs moved south and west along the Mississippi River. At the beginning of the Black Hawk War in 1831, the Mesquakies moved across the Mississippi into Iowa.

In 1842, the Indian Removal Act was passed and the combined Sac and Fox tribes were moved to Kansas. A considerable number eluded the Army and remained in Iowa. During their stay in Iowa, they established villages where several of the large cities of Iowa now stand.

In Kansas, in 1856, the Mesquakies, Fox, and Sac tribes came to an open split over the issues of the acculturation. Attempts were made by the Government agent to encourage white agriculture techniques by allotting the reservation lands to the individual. The Mesquakies, led by the village chief, Maminiwanige, who had not been recognized by the Government, consistently opposed the division of the lands.

When the opposition proved to be of no avail, they moved from the reservation. Under the leadership of Maminiwanige, a band of five Mesquakie members set back to the former homelands in Iowa for a place to live. A sum of money was raised from the sale of ponies and 90 acres of timberland were purchased on the Iowa River. Mesquakies who had earlier separated from the tribe had never left Iowa, now rejoined this group, and the Mesquakies in Kansas also joined the group a few at a time.

In 1856, a resolution was passed by the Iowa Legislature permitting the Mesquakies to reside in the State of Iowa so long as they remained at peace. However, they were treated as renegades by the Federal Government, and no annuities were paid to them until 11 years later when, by an act of Congress, they were granted pro rata shares of the annuities of the United Sac and Fox Tribes and an agent was appointed to pay these annuities. However, legal jurisdiction and trusteeship over these lands were still held by the State of Iowa.

In 1881, Maminiwanige, the old chief, died and was replaced by Pushetonequa by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The son and heir of the former chief was set aside as too young and incompetent to inherit the chieftainship.

In 1896, trusteeship of the tribal lands was turned over to the Federal Government by the State of Iowa. The State retained the right to establish highways and levy taxes. This transfer of authority to the Federal Government brought about a significant change in the position of the Mesquakies. Previously, they were free to accept or reject elements of white culture but now they found themselves in a position of definite subordination to the power of the Federal agent.

In 1897, the Bureau of Indian Affairs built at Toledo, Iowa, a boarding school for the Mesquakie children. The Mesquakies resisted this effort for education in the white man's way. The children were then taken from their parents and forcibly sent to the boarding school. The children ran away from the school and parents were threatened with court action. The Mesquakies ran the rounds of the courts and it was found that the children could not be placed in the boarding school without guardian consent.

When this failed, another tack was taken by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The chieftain was invited to Washington to discuss the issue and tribal tradition has it that he was forcibly held until he consented to use his influence to enroll the children in the boarding school.

Eventually, the Mesquakies had their way and the school was closed down because of lack of support. Later, the Bureau of Indian Affairs opened an Indian day school on the settlement for the children. There appeared to be more support for the educational endeavors at this time. In 1937, the Bureau of Indian Affairs closed the day school to begin construction of a new building. The surrounding towns did not want the Indian children in their school systems; so for a period of 3 years the Mesquakie withheld their children to force the building of a school on the settlement by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In 1940, the school was opened for grades one through eight. The children that attended high school generally went to boarding schools because of the problem in the local institutions.

In 1954, the Bureau of Indian Affairs without tribal consent or knowledge contracted with the State Department of Public Instruction of the State of Iowa to have the State operate the Indian day school.

The tribal council at that point protested and the contract was voided by the State of Iowa on the grounds that the Mesquakies had not been consulted. In 1956, the Bureau of Indian Affairs closed grades seven and eight on the settlement. The children in grades seven and eight then attended the Tama Community School.

In 1961, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, without the knowledge of the Mesquakie Tribe, contracted with the South Tama Community School District to educate the Indian children. About 1964, the Bureau of Indian Affairs closed grade six at the Indian day school. In 1967, half of the fifth grade was then sent to surrounding schools.

On February 10, 1966, a special meeting was held with the Tama County School Board in order to discuss possible future programs in regards to education. There were only three tribal council members present. The school board was represented by Mr. Leland, superintendent; Mr. Heller; Mr. Bachman; Mr. Broshar; Mr. Winters, and Miss Jacobson, secretary. From the Minneapolis area office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, there were Mr. Brady, education specialist; Mr. McKay, and Mr. Lundeen, department of education, from the Washington office of the Bureau. Also present was a representative of the Iowa Department of Public Instruction, Mr. Miller.

Mr. Lundeen told of what financial assistance was given to the South Tama School District by the Federal Government in behalf of Indian students. He said that tuition costs are paid by the Government for each Indian student in attendance. Mr. Brady suggested that the Tama District Council pass a resolution to request the State legislature in Des Moines to ask for the sum of $200,000 from the Federal Government for the purpose of helping in the funding of a new South Tama Community School building.

One of the council members spoke against doing this as it might open up final termination of all Federal services to the tribe. Mr.

Brady suggested that this could not happen if the Mesquakies followed the procedure he suggested and if there is fear of the terminal clause a special provision could be inserted into the resolution to assure that it could not happen.

Mr. Lundeen gave his firm assurance that termination would not be given to the Indian day school unless the Indian people, themselves, desired to have it closed. General discussion followed and the meeting was adjourned.

On October 24, 1967, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Tama County Welfare Board and members of the school board attended a meeting with three council members. This was to announce to the Mesquakie people the transfer of students to the public school system by the fall of 1968.

Mr. Brady was asked what authority he had to effect the transfer of the Indian children to the public school system. He stated that he did not need authority, and that he could terminate the Indian school any time he felt like it.

He also added that the Mesquakie Indians could be terminated "tomorrow."

On October 25, 1967, the assistant area director in education met with the South Tama Community School Board to effect the transfer and termination of the Sac and Fox Indian day school. Unfortunately, the education officer was killed in an airplane accident 6 miles north of Toledo as he was going back to Minnesota.

Subsequent meetings were held by the assistant area director with the Mesquakie people and the objectives established by the Minneapolis area office in the transferral-termination of the Indian day school.

On July 26, 1968, a special tribal council meeting was assembled and went on record as being diametrically opposed to the closing of the Sac and Fox Indian day school, Sac and Fox Settlement, Tama, Iowa.

In another special council meeting, August 2, 1968, the tribal council urged a boycott of the public schools in grades one through five. The boycott was generally effective and very few Mesquakie children in grades one through five attended South Tama Community Schools.

The first week of September, a plea for injunction against the closing of the day school was filed in Federal court. On September 28, a consent decree was entered into by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, South Tama School District, and the Mesquakie Tribal Council ordering the Indian day school opened by October 30, 1968. The school was reopened with three temporary teachers who have now been replaced by permanent teachers.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs and the tribal council were ordered to prepare a plan for final settlement of the school issue by February 28, 1969. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has refused to cooperate in this endeavor. In December 1968, the Bureau of Indain Affairs filed a motion to dismiss this suit for lack of jurisdiction of the Federal courts.

On January 7, 1969, a hearing was held and the motion but no decision has been made. On January 20th, the Mesquakie Tribal Council began preparation of an educational program to submit to the U.S. district court. This program calls for Mesquakie operation of a school on the settlement including grades kindergarten through ninth grade for next year and for the foreseeable future thereafter.

It seems to the Indians that the officials are undecided as to their present national policy of terminating all Indian schools in the United States of America. However, it has been the policy of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to call meetings and to effect their decisions contrary to due process. The Mesquakies still contend that the people have an original right to establish for their self-government such principles as in their own opinions and thoughts that shall most conduce their welfare and well-being. The rejection of such a criterion does not confine itself to the Mesquakie Indian Settlement, but rather may be applied to the local, State or Federal Governments of the Nation which places the governmental system of American in a very interesting point of view.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator **Kennedy**. Thank you very much, Mr. Keahna. As I understand it, the Bureau of Indian Affairs has closed the school this past summer; is that correct?

Mr. **Wanatee**. Yes, Mr. Chairman; that is correct.

I would like to explain the events that led up to this.

Senator **Kennedy**. Would you speak up just a little bit?

Mr. **Wanatee**. I would just like to point out a few things. I would like to point out a few things about the closing of the Indian schools by the Bureau.

As Mr. Keahna stated in his opening address to the Committee on Indian Education the consent decree began on September 7, 1968, and it started at 9:30, about the same time as Senator Kennedy's hearing started today. But, in that time the Bureau was more or less caught with their pants down and had no more or less defense to account for their past actions. It took the entire day for the court to decide to more or less enforce some sort of injunction to reopen the Indian school for the benefit of the Indian children. It was in the form of a consent decree. By 4 o'clock, the hearing was more or less over with.

But what wasn't stated was that in that time the attorney for the Bureau had to make about 20 different phone calls to ask what he was supposed to do. In other words, what I am trying to say is that the Indians were not supposed to oppose the closing of an Indian school. They were just to accept it and that was it.

So, in a sense the reopening of the school was more or less leading up to the subcommittee hearing. We are very glad to be here to present our case.

Senator **Kennedy**. As I understand, the Bureau of Indian Affairs closed the school last summer; is that correct?

Mr. **Wanatee**. Yes.

Senator **Kennedy**. Didn't any of their representatives meet with the council to ask the members of the council what their view was toward closing the school?

Mr. **Wanatee**. At some of the meetings they mentioned what we could do to help the education.

Senator **Kennedy**. Did they ask you whether you approved their plan of closing the school?

Mr. WANATEE. No, sir; they did not.

Senator KENNEDY. So, do I gather that they made this decision about closing the schools without consulting the tribal chief or the council of your tribe?

Mr. WANATEE. Yes, sir.

Senator KENNEDY. Can you tell me why you wanted the school to remain open? Speaking for the tribe, why do you have such reservations about entering the State school system?

Mr. WANATEE. Primarily the Indian children in their early years do not have the English language well enough to compete with the white children.

Senator KENNEDY. As I understand it, the Indian children that go to the first grade can only speak the language of the tribe; is that correct?

Mr. WANATEE. Ye .

Senator KENNEDY. So, am I correct in understanding that the State makes no special kinds of provisions for teaching Indian children English nor making other special provisions to provide educational assistance for them?

Mr. WANATEE. Yes. The State has never attempted to form any kind of curriculum for the Indian children, the South Tama Community School District, as well.

Senator KENNEDY. As I understand further, the children go to these schools but, unlike other children, they haven't the background in language and understanding of English and that in the schools that are provided the Indian Settlement, they try to teach them the language. Isn't that right; they try to teach them English, as well?

Mr. WANATEE. Yes; they try to teach them English as a secondary language. Of course, we need it.

Senator KENNEDY. What are the reservations that you, or members of the tribe, after the first few grades, have on going to the public schools in the area? Why don't the families and the parents of the children want them to go into the public schools?

Mr. WANATEE. Basically, the attitudes of the Tama community I might say has not been too receptive to the Indians.

Senator KENNEDY. Could you be more specific?

Mr. WANATEE. May I say that the Indians have a different culture than the white community. In the time that we have spent with the Tama people they have not attempted to understand our viewpoints on education or on the basis of our cultural heritage.

Of course, in time the two cultures tend to clash, not openly but on a subtle stage, where—I wasn't going to say discrimination but it is something close to it, that the Indian has had a difficult time to adjust to the climate that is provided for him in order for him to be able to adapt himself or to compete with the other communities.

I would add that the Indian in a sense tends to be clannish. He tends to stick to his own kind; he tends to try to understand other cultures or other people, as well, but in turn he needs to be understood. I think this is one of the biggest problems that we have in Iowa concerning Indian schools.

The parents feel that their children aren't being educated in the right perspective as to gaining a full education. We have Mrs. Brown who, I think, could explain this much better than I could at this moment.

Senator **Kennedy**. You have done very well, but if Mrs. Brown would like to say a word.

Mrs. **Brown**. I have a statement here. It is a short one that I want to read first.

The Mesquakie language, our ways, our religion are interwoven into one. All are significant to our religion. With another language we cannot perform our religion. This is taught right from the beginning.

I want the school to keep our language and also at this age and grade level the children need the natural environment to learn a basic fundamental of education, free from subtle discrimination, being made to be aware that he is Indian or different.

When we speak Mesquakie, we think in Mesquakie. When we enter school, it is very difficult to respond in English just like that. We have to think in Mesquakie and then translate it to English and during that process in the public schools the Indian child in his hesitation is very noticeable; the student knows the answer but in that hesitation the teacher will disregard him even though he knows the answer.

I think the Indian in general in childhood is not taught to be competitive as it seems more in your culture. It is not with us. We do not keep up with the Joneses. We are one and the same. This is based on a feeling of kinship.

So, the Indian child is not as competitive nor as aggressive. This is often the biggest factor in my dealings with the children and the teachers. There is a lot of misunderstanding on this part.

I would like to point out right now before I forget, in the Headstart program of 1967 I had worked with the preschoolers. These were small children. I had the job of taking these kids to their dental appointments. When I entered that room these kids, as soon as they saw me, talked in Mesquakie. The teacher, with her finger in her mouth, said, "Don't speak Mesquakie; don't speak Mesquakie."

They were all Indian children in this one class. There were only two teachers. One was a psychologist, I believe it was, in child psychology, and he was a Headstart teacher.

Senator **Kennedy**. As I understand it, you have to be able to speak Mesquakie to practice your religion; is that right?

Mrs. **Brown**. This is true.

Senator **Kennedy**. As I gather from the comments that have been made this morning, what you really hope to be able to do is to have some kind of a voice in the decisions which are made by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the State government in developing an educational system which will preserve the finest parts of your culture and your religion and your tradition and your heritage.

As I understand it, you want to be able to work with the State and also the Bureau of Indian Affairs to develop an educational program that will have the confidence of the parents and will help these children; is that right?

Mrs. **Brown**. Yes.

Senator **Kennedy**. And you are not receiving that?

Mrs. **Brown**. No.

Senatory **Kennedy**. Is it your feeling that it is because of a lack of understanding by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, as well as the State government? Would that be a fair assessment?

Anyone who wants to answer that may do so.

Mr. **Wanatee**. What was that question?

Senator **Kennedy**. Is it my understanding that you do not feel that the Indian children in your tribe are receiving a decent education and this is the result of a lack of understanding by the State and also by the Bureau of Indian Affairs?

Mr. **Wanatee**. Yes, sir; this is correct. The program or the curriculum has not been geared to our tribal way of thinking.

Senator **Kennedy**. As I also understand from the comments which each of you has made, the Federal Government has a particular responsibility in this area to give a direct kind of help and assistance through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, working with the States and local communties and with the tribes, themselves, to help and assist the young children to receive the kind of education which will allow them to meet the opportunities which are available to them.

Mr. **Wanatee**. Yes, sir. The Bureau spoke to the Indian tribes throughout the Nation but from the past items that I have seen the Bureau is acting contrary to that. As a matter of fact, I think the Bureau has been considered as the War Department at one time. The Bureau has never attempted to educate, to really educate, the Indian into accepting his own culture values to get along better in this world which has been more or less made for him.

Senator **Kennedy**. Senator Yarborough.

Senator **Yarborough**. Is the Mesquakie language and a branch of the Sac and Fox language the same?

Mr. **Wanatee**. The Sac and Fox Tribe is commonly known as one tribe because the Bureau wants to deal with them as one tribe. There were two tribes at one time. The first time that they were noted to be in alliance with one another was in Michigan in the early 17th century. The reason why they are considered Sac and Fox is because of their close proximity in their language, traditions, and their behaviors, and in their religion.

Senator **Yarborough**. Do you consider yourselves a branch of the Sac and Fox?

Mr. **Wanatee**. We consider ourselves as Mesquakie.

Let me try to explain. The Fox was derived from the French word "renard." When the French first met with a clan of the Mesquakies in the early 1600's they saw a sign that these particularly strange-looking people were carrying, which was the sign of a fox. So, the French right away recognized the animal and said, "It is a fox." From then hence, we were known as the Fox through the translation of the word "renard" into fox.

Senator **Yarborough**. Mesquakie is the original Indian name?

Mr. **Wanatee**. Mesquakie is what we speak, is what we know, is what we pray, is what we think.

Senator **Yarborough**. If Mesquakie were translated into English, what would it mean?

Mr. **Wanatee**. People of the red earth.

Senator **Yarborough**. Fox is a branch of the Mesquakie, then, as you interpret it?

Mr. **Wanatee.** You see, the other tribes of the United States know us as Algonquins. The French know us as renard. The English-speaking people know us as Fox. The Bureau knows us as the Sac and Fox.

Senator **Yarborough.** Is the Mesquakie language an Algonquin language?

Mr. **Wanatee.** Yes.

Senator **Yarborough.** How many members in this tribal council?

Mr. **Wanatee.** Seven.

Senator **Yarborough.** You mentioned several times a meeting where three tribal council members were there. In other words, you don't think that a majority were legally represented by those meetings where only three were there?

Mr. **Wanatee.** Yes; that is right.

Senator **Yarborough.** That is what you are saying here. When you say only three, you mean you did not have a majority.

Did that three have authority to represent the whole council at the meetings?

Mr. **Wanatee.** No. sir.

Senator **Yarborough.** How do you elect the council? Do you elect the council?

Mr. **Wanatee.** By the democratic process, eligible voters.

Senator **Yarborough.** Do you have a written constitution?

Mr. **Wanatee.** Yes, sir.

Senator **Yarborough.** Under that written constitution, I take it that the council rather than the chiefs are the ones who have the governing authority over the tribe; is that correct?

Mr. **Wanatee.** Under the tribal council, that is correct, the Indian Reorganization Act of 1937.

Senator **Yarborough.** Is the chief's function mainly ceremonial?

Mr. **Wanatee.** Are you speaking of the Indian chief?

Senator **Yarborough.** Yes; the hereditary chief.

Mr. **Wanatee.** He is completely separated from the tribal council.

Senator **Yarborough.** In your tribe, so far as the Mesquakie Tribe is concerned, the tribal council is the governing body that has jurisdiction over education insofar as your tribe has the power to control education; is that right?

Mr. **Wanatee.** The Sac and Fox Tribal Council is recognized by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Mesquakie Tribal Council we hope will some day be recognized by the U.S. Government.

Senator **Yarborough.** Does the Bureau of Indian Affairs recognize the Mesquakie Tribe?

Mr. **Wanatee.** No, sir.

Senator **Yarborough.** You spoke of termination but where you live it is not technically a reservation, is it?

Mr. **Wanatee.** That is right.

Senator **Yarborough.** You have the right to buy and sell your lands, the individuals in your tribe; isn't that correct?

Mr. **Wanatee.** Yes.

Senator **Yarborough.** So, you are not technically a reservation.

Mr. **Wanatee.** No.

Senator **Yarborough.** Technically, though, the area where you live is called a settlement; it is not a reservation in the technical and legal sense, is it?

Mr. WANATEE. It is not a reservation.

Senator YARBOROUGH. You spoke of terminated. Really, you have a very peculiar status in governmental relations, don't you? You are not terminated and you're not on a reservation, either.

Mr. WANATEE. Yes.

Senator YARBOROUGH. I don't know any other tribe in that exact situation.

Mr. WANATEE. We have a sort of understanding with the State of Iowa in that they tax our lands but not for school purposes.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Now, one question to the entire panel.

What, in the opinion of the tribal council and the Mesquakie, is the best way to educate your children?

First, let me say this: You recognize you must educate your children for them to have a fair chance in life; they must be educated, the way the world is constituted now? Over 3 billion people, and the pressures of people everywhere in the world are so heavy that children must be educated to have a fair chance in life. The Mesquakie Council recognizes that?

Mr. WANATEE. Yes.

Senator YARBOROUGH. What, in the opinion of the Mesquakie Tribe, Council and leaders, is the best way to educate your children? How should they be educated? What system and how and what kind of schools, what kind of language?

First let me ask this question: Has the Mesquakie been reduced to written language? It has, has it not?

Mr. WANATEE. Yes.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Didn't missionaries print books in this language in the 1840's along in Kansas?

Wasn't there a religious press set up to print Bibles in this language before the Civil War?

Mr. WANATEE. The missionaries in their attempt to civilize the Indians had to speak to the Mesquakies. So they learned their language in order to pass the good word to them, so that they would become civilized. But we have in our presence here Dr. Paul Waters, who is with the Smithsonian Institute, who knows the language very well.

Senator YARBOROUGH. How do you think your children should be educated? What system do you think should be followed? How should this be done to best educate your children to preserve the values that you hold dear or the values of honor and all the things that you and the Mesquakie Tribe hold so dear? How should you educate your children to preserve those values and yet prepare them for this life and give them a better chance in life?

Mr. WANATEE. Point 1 would be that we have the sayso in the education of our children; that is, about the traditions, the customs, beliefs, religion, the language, and two, local control.

Of course, right now we are not represented in the local school board.

And three, to be able to educate them so that they can, in turn, adapt themselves and be able to compete with the outside world.

Sentaor YARBOROUGH. You mean that is the end objective you want to reach?

Mr. WANATEE. Yes.

Senator YARBOROUGH. That is what you hope to accomplish?

What kind of schools would best accomplish that result?

Mr. WANATEE. It would be basically the same criteria as all public schools in the United States, the rudimentary three R's, but in the cultural approach of it, the education the way we understand education.

Senator YARBOROUGH. I mean, coming down to everyday living; where should that school be and how should it be taught and who should run it? How do you accomplish this?

I pass now from your great objective to everyday business. Where are you going to put the schools? Who will run them?

Mr. WANATEE. At the present location of the Sac and Fox Indian Day School. The instructors would have to be oriented and indoctrined into the broad spectrum of Indian education. These are the main points that we would like to have right now, to have the school remain open and to be operated, to become operated by the tribe.

Senator YARBOROUGH. You mean all the children there within traveling distance of one day school in the settlement, is that right?

Mr. WANATEE. Yes, sir.

Senator YARBOROUGH. You say there are 3,500 acres in the settlement?

Mr. WANATEE. Yes, sir.

Senator YARBOROUGH. That is a little less than 6 square miles.

Is your land all in one block or is it scattered out in different areas.

Mr. WANATEE. We have 2,300 acres in one big block and then 520 acres leased out to a farmer so that we can pay our taxes.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Then the children are all in traveling distance of a day school in that settlement, then?

Mr. WANATEE. Yes; walking distance.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Thank you very much.

Senator KENNEDY. Senator Mondale.

Senator MONDALE. If all the children who are members of your tribe attended this day school, how many children would be in attendance?

Mr. WANATEE. 205 if they all attended the day school.

Senator MONDALE. At one point they were all attending this day school?

Mr. WANATEE. Up to the eighth grade.

Senator MONDALE. Then they went into the surrounding public schools?

Mr. WANATEE. Either to Tama High School or else the boarding schools or the Haskell Institute.

Senator MONDALE. How far away are the boarding schools?

Mr. WANATEE. Out of the State.

Senator MONDALE. Do more of them go to the local public school than the boarding schools?

Mr. WANATEE. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. What was the high school graduation rate? How many completed high school, in rough percentages?

Mr. WANATEE. I think we found some records that said that 67 began in high school and only 12 completed.

Senator MONDALE. Now it is the Bureau's intention to close the day school and send all the children either to the surrounding public schools from the beginning of their education through high school, or some of them to boarding school; am I correct in that?

Mr. WANATEE. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. In making that determination, they never had the approval of the Indians concerned? Is it the judgment of your group that you would much prefer to have a school controlled by the council or controlled by your group in determining educational courses, instruction, etc.?

Mr. WANATEE. Yes, sir.

Senator MONDALE. In dealing with the Bureau, did you deal exclusively with representatives from the regional office?

Mr. WANATEE. No; just the regional office. That is the only office we dealt with.

Senator MONDALE. How frequently did they come down there? How frequently did they consult with the council? How closely did they seek to serve the wishes of the parents and children who were being educated there?

Mr. WANATEE. Any time they wanted to implement their policy, any time they thought it was advantageous to put in their policy in order to accomplish what they wanted to do.

Senator MONDALE. They did what they wanted to do?

Mr. WANATEE. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. Were there any Indian teachers in this school?

Mr. WANATEE. No, sir.

Senator MONDALE. Were you ever consulted in the selection of teachers?

Mr. WANATEE. Never.

Senator MONDALE. Were you ever consulted in the selection of textbooks, history books and course materials?

Mr. WANATEE. No, sir.

Senator MONDALE. Was your language taught in the school?

Mr. WANATEE. No, sir. We said a few prayers. When I was going to school, we said a few prayers in English.

Senator MONDALE. Now, these children, if the Bureau has its way, will be going to the surrounding public schools, by and large; am I correct?

Mr. WANATEE. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. Are you permitted to participate in the school board elections?

Mr. WANATEE. No, sir; we are not in any school district.

Senator MONDALE. Your lands are taxed but not for school purposes?

Mr. WANATEE. Yes, sir.

Senator MONDALE. So your children will be going to schools directed by school boards, on which the Indian could not possibly serve because he is not eligible to vote; is that correct?

Mr. WANATEE. That is right.

Senator MONDALE. You have had children who have attended these public schools for some years. Have you encountered any effort on the part of those school boards to consult with the council or with orders in the selection of faculty or curriculum? Among other things, are there any Indian teachers at any of the public schools?

Mr. WANATEE. No, sir. It has always been the policy of the Bureau not to hire anybody from the area, any professionals, as far as that goes, since the Tama people have to get along with the Bureau. They always have had that policy.

Senator **Mondale**. But we are talking now about the local public schools. They, I assume, receive Johnson-O'Malley funds to help educate Indian school children; do they not?

Mr. **Wanatee**. Yes.

Senator **Mondale**. Do they consult with the Indian parents on what they would like to see taught to the Indian children or who would teach them?

Mr. **Wanatee**. They haven't yet. They didn't before.

I would like to point out one of the things that one of the instructors has done. You see, some of the Indian children like to excel in the arts, especially in painting. So, this one instructed the children that they could not do any Indian art in the classroom. So, we had an old deserted farmhouse that we rented and we said they could paint all the Indian pictures they wanted to but since the issue has arisen over the Indian school this instructor said, "Sure; go ahead and paint your Indian paintings if you want to but they have not asked around, they have not asked what shall we do?

Senator **Mondale**. In order to permit the children to learn what they want to learn, you had to set up a completely informal, unfinanced, voluntary effort in a barn?

Mr. **Wanatee**. Yes.

Senator **Mondale**. One final question.

One of the witnesses here mentioned OEO and the Headstart program. Even there, one of the instructors objected to the children speaking in their own tongue.

You control your own OEO efforts?

Mrs. **Brown**. No.

Senator **Mondale**. Who does that?

Mrs. **Brown**. South Tama.

Senator **Mondale**. The Indians didn't even have an OEO Council?

Mrs. **Brown**. No.

Senator **Mondale**. I think this is a disgrace. These parents have no control whatsoever over their children or what their children grow up to be. I have never heard of anything like this.

Mrs. **Brown**. Excuse me.

I would like to add during the first year after the four-county area of Tama, Iowa, Benton and Johnson, when they first got the OEO funds the Mesquakie Indian Settlement was the target area. Well, they got it and they ran it. We worked maybe 4 or 5 weeks. They trained us for something. We can never get steady employment. In this Headstart program, the first year that OEO program came with that Headstart they had Indian teacher aides. They were five senior girls, Indian students. But that was the last time that was ever done.

Senator **Mondale**. There are no Indians employed now by OEO at all?

Mr. **Brown**. No.

Senator **Mondale**. There are no Indians on the OEO Council?

Mr. **Wanatee**. No.

Senator **Mondale**. Presumably, one of the reasons that there is OEO funding in that area is because of the low employment rate and poverty levels of the Indians themselves. That is outrageous.

The Chairman. In other words, you say that the white men got all the jobs to end poverty among the Indians; is that right?

Mrs. Brown. That is right.

Mr. Wanatee. Yes.

Senator Mondale. That is a good way to put it.

Mrs. Brown. We were good to help.

Senator Kennedy. Senator Bellmon.

Senator Bellmon. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask Mr. Wanatee several questions.

First of all, did you attend the BIA grade school?

Mr. Wanatee. Yes.

Senator Bellmon. Where did you receive your high school education?

Mr. Wanatee. At Tama High School.

Senator Bellmon. You went from the BIA school into the public school?

Mr. Wanatee. Yes; from my fifth grade to sixth grade, I attended public school in Waterloo, Iowa. Then I came back to the Bureau School to finish out my primary years and entered high school in 1947.

Senator Bellmon. After high school, did you go to college?

Mr. Wanatee. No; I went into the service then. After I got out then I went back to school.

Senator Bellmon. To college?

Mr. Wanatee. Yes, sir.

Senator Bellmon. Where did you go to college?

Mr. Wanatee. To the University of Iowa.

Senator Bellmon. When you left the BIA school and went into the public school, did you find this transition difficult?

Mr. Wanatee. Let me say when I left the public school in Waterloo and entered the BIA school, I realized that there was some sort of lack of caliber in the teaching of the Indian children. In other words, the Indian children at that time and in the subsequent years had been getting inferior education as compared to the public school system.

Senator Bellmon. Then you are saying that the BIA school was inferior compared to the public schools?

Mr. Wanatee. Yes, sir.

Senator Bellmon. Is it your contention that the BIA school should be continued or discontinued?

Mr. Wanatee. It should be continued. But the caliber of the education should also be brought up in order for the Indian to realize that the education has some value and it has some worth.

Senator Bellmon. Why do you feel that the BIA school was inferior? Was it because the institutions and teachers were bad and because the curriculum was not adequate?

Mr. Wanatee. Yes; all those things. The Bureau schools at the time, the only reason why they were kept open is because nobody accepted the Indian children, because they were not taxable citizens. So, in time, the Bureau had a policy of closing out all Indian schools where it was feasible.

Of course, the year 1968 was feasible for the Sac and Fox Indian school, but at no time did they prepare the Indian children to become assimilated into the public school system. Their policy supersedes their educational aspects.

Senator BELLMON. In your case, do you feel you would have had less difficulty had you started in the public schools at the primary level rather than waiting until you were in the fifth or sixth grade?

You attended the BIA school before attending the Waterloo School and you feel that the educational opportunities of the BIA school were not of top quality.

Do you feel that you would have been better off had you gone to the public school when you first started in grade school?

Mr. WANATEE. No; I don't feel that. In a way, you are right. If we wanted to enter the American stream, the American way, we would in a sense do away with our tribe first because our language is paramount to any education. As a matter of fact, we never asked to be educated but the educators came and educated us.

In asking me that question, I think it more or less hinges on whether I wanted to give up my language. I say that if you teach a primary grade child the basic fundamentals of English and the use of it, it would be much more rewarding than it is to subject him to a second language in the later years because in time that child would have psychological problems, emotional problems, maybe even problems of whether to reject his tribe or to accept some other cultural group.

Senator BELLMON. Do most of the Mesquakie Indian families speak their language at home?

Mr. WANATEE. Yes; they all do.

Senator BELLMON. So, when the children first come to the public schools, they don't use English?

Mr. WANATEE. In a way they do because of the television.

Senator BELLMON. So they have an understanding of both languages when they first come to the school?

Mr. WANATEE. Yes. They have an understanding there are two languages but they don't know how to use the two languages effectively enough.

Senator BELLMON. At what point in their education do you feel they ought to use the English language? It is obvious they can't wait until they go to college before the English langauge is used.

Mr. WANATEE. The formative years would be the preprimary and in the first and second grades. I would like to say that the first five grades would be the most important years because at that time they would be permitted to learn about their own way as well as the other way, the dominant society.

Senator BELLMON. It is your feeling, then, that the first 5 years should be in a high-quality school run by the BIA?

Mr. WANATEE. Yes.

Senator BELLMON. And then the transition should be made from the BIA School to a public school?

Mr. WANATEE. Well, the first five grades—you see, this is the plan that we have. We have a planned school program of educating our children plus getting the high caliber education that they need, that is required by them to compete in the outside world, so to speak. But the Bureau has been operating that school up to the eighth grade. Somehow, we feel that since the Bureau has failed in their education of Indians, not only of this particular Tribe but throughout the Nation, we feel that the Bureau should at least give us the chance to educate our children the way we see it, the way we know it. In time, we would like to set this school up as some sort of an experimental model community school that would not only accommodate our children but other children who want to learn about other people, as well.

Senator BELLMON. If you had the authority and the resources to conduct this school, would it be your expectation that you would use this school to preserve the Mesquakie culture and to maintain the same degree of separation of Indian culture as you now have or would you use it to help blend the Mesquakie children into the dominant culture?

Mr. WANATEE. Basically, we would be teaching our children to learn how to cope with everyday life, to cope with other ideas of other people. In no way would we leave out anybody who would want to avail himself of an education that would permit them not only to understand other people but to permit them to understand themselves. This is basically what we are speaking of.

Senator BELLMON. Do you feel this same goal could be accomplished in the public school?

Mr. WANATEE. Not at the present moment.

Senator BELLMON. Why do you feel it could not?

Mr. WANATEE. What way?

Senator BELLMON. Why do you feel the public school could not accomplish the same goal? Is it the language barrier? What would keep the public school from——

Mr. WANATEE. The barrier is that the public school system has been established for so long a period that they would be reluctant to change their curriculum or their way of teaching for anybody, much less a small tribe such as the Mesquakie.

Senator KENNEDY. Senator Murphy.

Senator MURPHY. I have listened very carefully to the questioning. I think it has been very complete. I get the feeling and—Mrs. Brown, I wish you would correct me if I am wrong—that there is a complete conflict. You talk about culture and religion. You talk about understanding of other people which is very good.

Another consideration is the young child who starts out, comes from a home and from the tribe where only the Muskogee language is spoken; the child has a certain amount of security as long as he stays in the Muskogee area. Once that child goes outside into the other area of the United States, he is at a disadvantage. It would seem to me that there are two considerations.

I know that in many areas the older members of the Tribe are very jealous of change. We have the same problem in Ireland where my forefathers came from. I understand in Ireland even today in the Abbey Theater you must be able to play in Gaelic, which is the old language. You must be able to play in Gaelic before you play in English. In the Irish schools, they teach Gaelic. So, I think I have an understanding of what you want to preserve.

As Mrs. Brown said, the language, the religion, the entire culture and background are very precious.

On the other hand, the results of the conditioning necessity of the child in case that child wants to leave the area so that the child can compete, it would seem to me and I wish you would comment on it, we have two problems. It seems to not only boil down to who runs the school, but also on the approach the school takes.

You want the children prepared so that they can go outside of the Mesquakie area; is that true?

Mr. **Wanatee.** That is true.

Senator **Murphy.** You also would have them prepared so that they can get along well in the Muskogee area and not worry about going outside?

Mr. **Wanatee.** We realize that we have to become educated in order to, let us say, compete in a world that has been created for us.

Senator **Murphy.** You say that in a negative way. You say you realize that you have to become——

Senator **Mondale.** Would you yield? Why do they have to become like white men? Why can't they do what they want?

Senator **Murphy.** I am trying to discover what their basic intention or desire is, whether they would like to prepare the children to stay in the Mesquakie area or whether the tribal leaders would like to have the children preserve the old Indian language, Indian culture, Indian religion, but at the same time be able to compete with the outside world and get the basic education of the three "R's," as you say, or whether their intention is a combination of both approaches.

Mr. **Wanatee.** Yes, we know the value now of both cultures. We would like to retain the values that we think will most conduce to our well-being and our welfare.

I am not saying that we do not want to be educated but we do definitely want to have a say-so in how to become educated and why we should be educated the way we feel, that is that in order to remain Mesquakie you must understand the Mesquakie belief.

Just like you were speaking about Gaelic. They believe the way they believe and nobody is going to tell them that this is not the way. This is the way the Mesquakie feels.

We know that the English language as well as the other languages are important, as a matter of fact, they are universal, but the Mesquakie language is not. It is not the point that we are contesting.

It is a point that we want to remain as Mesquakies as we see it, as we know it, because in the final analysis who is to say that one way is better than the other?

Senator **Murphy.** If I understand you correctly, the practical thing, as I understand it, would be to have a school that is run by the Mesquakies in which they have complete control of the curriculum?

Mr. **Wanatee.** Yes, sir.

Senator **Murphy.** At the same time, in order that the children might be educated outside of the Mesquakie area, to possibly have them attend the public school? In other words, you do not eliminate one or the other, you try to combine both? Does that make sense?

Mr. **Wantee.** The dichotomy there would be that we are hoping that in time if this succeeds, as I say this is on a highly experimental basis, more or less of a model school type, first, we would like to have the school become open and remain open and to become operated by local control with the help of qualified personnel.

Senator **Murphy**. Where would you get the personnel? Would that come from the Bureau of Indian Affairs or from the educational system?

Mr. **Wanatee**. We definitely want the Bureau of Indian Affairs to get out of the field.

Senator **Murphy**. We are not concerned here in this committee and I hope we are not presuming, we are not trying to find out here what the Bureau of Indian Affairs desires.

This Senator is trying to find out what you, the Indians, desire and, insofar as we are able, to accomplish what you want done.

What do you want done?

Mr. **Wanatee**. We want the school to become opened and remain open and we want the people to operate the school themselves.

Senator **Murphy**. Which people?

Mr. **Wanatee**. The Mesquakie people, the way they see it, the way they know it, with the help of qualified personnel, whether they be Mesquakie, white, yellow, or black; personnel that know education, Indian education, preferably.

And third, the funding of the school would have to come from a Federal agency.

Now the Bureau has been saying that they have been providing for the education funding of Indians not only of this tribe but throughout the United States.

Senator **Murphy**. I would like, if we may, to stick with the curriculums. The funding is separate. I have no question but if we can discover the proper manner in which these schools should be conducted, then the funding we can take care of.

I think that the members of this committee have enough knowledge and influence in the matter of appropriations that they can get it funded.

I think we have to discover first what is the proper method, proper way to do it, the practical way to do it.

Mr. **Wanatee**. OK. First about the language. The Mesquakie has two languages, Mesquakie and English. We want them to be able to master both. The place where we think they can begin that is in their primary years.

Senator **Murphy**. We have the same problem, in Senator Yarborough's State, in Senator Bellmon's State, in my State with the Spanish-speaking children where they only speak Spanish in the homes.

Last year we were able to get a bilingual program started so that they preserve the Spanish at the same time they learn to speak English. We feel quite certain this will help the dropout rate.

If the child does not understand he gets behind in his class, he is embarrassed. It is more comfortable not to be embarrassed and not to go to school.

You would have to train Mesquakie teachers.

Mr. **Wanatee**. Yes. We already have five or six Mesquakie teachers but they are not teaching at the Indian school or in the surrounding areas. We have approached them and asked them to help set up such a school, to approach it in a bilingual way, like you said, and in a bicultural way. We have a program, tentative program, sort of rough program.

This is why I say we need some people who are expert or at least knowledgeable of Indian education to help us set up that sort of school, a bilingual, bicultural school, not only for the Indians but for other people as well.

Senator **MURPHY**. You see, one of the problems that complicates this—I don't mean to take up too much time, Mr. Chairman, but the other day Senator Bellmon and I were discussing the State of Oklahoma, for instance, there were 30 different tribes, and each tribe has its own language and basically its own culture.

In California, I think we have many separate tribes with separate languages. So that it is not a simple problem. There would have to be a special educational system, really, for each tribe.

Mr. **WANATEE**. For the Indians.

Senator **MURPHY**. The tribes have all maintained a division. Each tribe is very jealous of its own culture, of its own tribal history and background and language. So this would almost have to have it specifically for each tribe; is that true?

Mr. **WANATEE**. Like I said, the three "R's" would have to be learned. We accept that. But each tribe should be, like you say, in their cultural area.

If they want to educate their children in their own culture that is fine. This would not involve any more than to set up a curriculum in the same manner as the curriculum is set up for the non-Indian.

Senator **MURPHY**. You see, I keep coming back to the actual attempt, the desire, whether our No. 1 purpose is to preserve the Indian culture, the Indian language or whether our No. 1 purpose is to prepare the Indian children so that they can go outside and compete and get jobs, not to destroy their culture but to train them so that they are not handicapped if they go away from the tribe, or is it a combination approach. Do you understand what I mean?

Mrs. **BROWN**. I would like to answer that. I had a job as a home school liaison officer for 2 months in 1968. I was involved with the children—absentee problem is what it is. They wanted to know why they were absent all the time.

I ran into all kinds of problems why they are not in school. I have a copy here of what is my experience.

Senator **MURPHY**. What are some of the main reasons that they are not in school?

Mrs. **BROWN**. According to this it is illness, oversleeping. This is an official paper.

Senator **MURPHY**. Illness is one thing and oversleeping I know about because I used to do that, too.

Mrs. **BROWN**. That is my report, what I found out. No matter how ridiculous it sounds, that is what I found out. The BIA officer in charge helped me with this program. We had to put down what looks good on paper to be appropriate but I can tell you a number of reasons that I could not put down here that actually happened with the school children.

Senator **MURPHY**. Can you tell us here? We are more interested in the facts that you found rather than what you were told to put down, that you would not put on paper.

Mrs. Brown. At one point—I would like to illustrate this and I have to go into the details—there were four students in one class. The teacher had been talking about taxes, of all things, in the English class. Anyway, one of the Indian students had answered her question and she retaliated by saying: "You Indians don't pay any taxes. You live off the Government."

These were four Indian students in that class. The white students helped to argue with the teacher on the very same thing because this is not true with our tribe. Regardless of the implications, the insult was right there and there was open hostility right there.

I tried to tell the principal about this situation. Here I was trying to keep the kids in school and I had to take them to school if they missed the bus or anything like that. Here I was trying to help out, keeping the Indian students in school. And what were they doing? They were knocking them down, making them feel inferior.

This is the kind of thing that I don't like.

Senator Murphy. I don't like it either. I think it is unfortunate if we have individuals in teaching jobs that don't have better sense, they are not better prepared. I think sometimes this is part of the problem.

Mrs. Brown. This has happened in several classes in only 2 months that I found out how the students were treated.

Senator Murphy. In other words, the Indian is badly treated in present school and he would feel most comfortable in his own school?

Mrs. Brown. Yes.

Senator Murphy. His chance of gaining an education might be better in his own school?

Mrs. Brown. Yes. I would like to point out if we had this program that Mr. Wanatee is talking about I think it is our chance to give the Indian students an inner security of being Indian rather than having somebody else knock it down for us. We want to give him the inner security to be proud of what he is regardless of any sort of remarks like that.

Senator Murphy. Here again, there are two schools of thought. Life is never easy for anybody. At some point if the Indian child growing up has to go out and compete it would be my hope that we could eliminate any unfortunate experiences, any embarrassment because of the short-sided stupidity on the part of a teacher or two or three teachers.

I do not know what is the best way to accomplish the best thing for the Indian child. I will have to think about that. I have taken too much time, Mr. Chairman. Thank you.

Senator Kennedy. I have only two final questions.

As I understand it now, the school is open, is that correct?

Mr. Wanatee. Yes.

Senator Kennedy. This is the result of an injunction by the district court which was obtained by the tribal council; is that rights?

Mr. Wanatee. Yes.

Senator Kennedy. Under the district court order, the tribal council is supposed to meet wtih the Bureau of Indian Affairs to work out a common approach and submit a common plan; is that right?

Mr. Wanatee. Yes, sir, that is correct.

Senator Kennedy. So really what we have here is a Federal Court doing by order, what you really wanted to have done yourself and that is have a voice in the development of the educational program for the children?

Mr. WANATEE. Yes, sir.

Senator KENNEDY. One final question. You testified earlier that there was going to be a bussing program.

I am wondering how far these children were going to be bussed under the BIA suggested program? Do you know?

Mr. WANATEE. You mean if the bureau school was reopened or to the public school?

Senator KENNEDY. This was under the earlier order of the BIA which closed your school and suggested that the children be bussed to three different schools in the area.

I am wondering how far the children were to be bussed under the BIA-suggested program.

Mr. WANATEE. Approximately 10 to 15 miles round trip.

Senator KENNDY. This goes for all three bussing plans?

Mr. WANATEE. Yes, sir. May I say something about this program, tentative program?

Senator KENNEDY. We do have another series of witnesses. We do not want to cut you off, but we want to hear from them. So if you can, capsulize what you have.

Mr. WANATEE. I will just read a brief statement here that we had put in a stribal minutes on August 7, 1968. There was a quorum.

Senator KENNEDY. We can put that in the record if there is some particular point on it that you want to make at this time.

We encourage you to make it, but we can include it as part of the record if you want.

Mr. WANATEE. This point I want to make is that under this motion or resolution what we intended was that under article 5(C) the State, the Bureau of Indians, and the Sac and Fox Tribal Council met with all educational agencies in order to conceive and plan a community school system under an experimental program for the purpose of continuing an educational program consistent with the history, culture, and social customs of the Mesquakie Indian settlement but using the substantial form theory.

Senator KENNEDY. You have a program, as I understand it, with you?

Mr. WANATEE. Yes.

Senator KENNEDY. I would like to have those parts of it which pertain to the testimony which you submitted this morning included as a part of our record. I will ask the staff to review it.

I do not know how extensive it is, but we will include those parts of your plan which will indicate your position and the position of the tribe in regard to the education of the Indian children.

Mr. WANATEE. Yes, sir.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Do you have with you a copy of the written constitution of the Mesquakie Tribe?

Mr. WANATEE. Of the Sac and Fox Tribe?

Senator YARBOROUGH. Is their constitution the one that you are governed by, too? Do the Mesquakies of Iowa have a separate written constitution?

Mr. WANATEE. This constitution is under the Reorganization Act used by all tribes in the United States.

Senator YARBOROUGH. You have to adopt it first, do you not?

Mr. WANATEE. Yes. By a margin of two votes it was adopted.

Senator YARBOROUGH. You have adopted it?

Mr. WANATEE. Yes.

Senator YARBOROUGH. How many members of the Mesquakie Tribe are there? How many people altogether?

Mr. WANATEE. You mean living within the Mesquakie settlement?

Senator YARBOROUGH. No, I mean Mesquakies in Iowa. If they are working in Des Moines, how many come back to your settlement? How many Mesquakies are there who either live in your settlement, or pertain to your settlement?

Mr. WANATEE. Approximately 450. It all depends on the employment opportunities.

Senator YARBOROUGH. How many live in the settlement at all times, of that 450?

Mr. WANATEE. The total population of the Sac and Fox Tribe is 789 people.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Is that in Iowa alone?

Mr. WANATEE. That is this tribe. But there are approximately 450 people living within the boundaries of the settlement but the other people have moved out for various reasons.

Senator YARBOROUGH. When did the Mesquakie move westward across the Mississippi River?

Mr. WANATEE. When did they?

Senator YARBOROUGH. Yes; into Iowa.

Mr. WANATEE. In the 1800's.

Senator YARBOROUGH. 1930?

Mr. WANATEE. Early 1800's.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Did you lose lands eastward when you moved westward?

Mr. WANATEE. This tribe is unique, by the purchase of their land. But our tribe was located on one of the banks of the St. Lawrence in the Quebec area, in northern Maine. We migrated through pressure from other Indian tribes plus the whites from lands on the eastern seaboard.

We continued our migration to various points like Detroit where this tribe was almost annihilated by the French and their Indian allies. Then we moved across the peninsula of Michigan into the Green Bay area and there we stayed for approximately 200 years.

From there we just kept on migrating from Prairie du Chien to Dubuque, down to Davenport, and then the last trek of the Indian nations, the Removal Act, we went to Kansas so to speak, but primarily the Mesquakies remained in Iowa, they never went to Kansas but it is known in the War Department annals as the Sac and Fox being down in Kansas in the reservation area.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Were the Mesquakies called up in the Black Hawk War? Were you swept up in that movement? That was the westward pushing of people, was it not?

Mr. WANATEE. They were not drafted but I think they volunteered for that service.

Senator YARBOROUGH. You were with the Black Hawk force?

Mr. WANATEE. Not in the sense that—we didn't believe in the Black

Hawk war because this was a war conducted by a Sac chief, Black Hawk. The Mesquakie Tribe is a different tribe from the Sac Tribe.

We were more or less allies for security purposes in those particular times but now we feel secure in America so we don't need to have that alliance.

Senator **Yarborough**. Were you driven further westward as a result of that war?

Mr. **Wanatee**. No. I think the treaty signed did that. Eventually we had to move out because some of the Sac people signed treaties surrendering the land.

Senator **Yarborough**. Surrendering the land?

Mr. **Wanatee**. Yes.

Senator **Mondale**. I have one question.

Do you believe that there is a hope for quality Indian education if the Indians themselves are not permitted to control it?

Mr. **Wanatee**. I think the type of quality education should be contingent on what they think is best for their children. I realize that education throughout the United States is getting better and more technological, farther advanced than what it was a hundred years ago.

I think it is time that the Indian people throughout the United States are given the right to choose what their children should learn and must learn in order to preserve their tribal ways.

Senator **Mondale**. If that is not done, do you see hope for the kind of education that you think would serve the interests of the children of your tribe?

Mr. **Wanatee**. No, I don't believe it would serve our particular interests.

Senator **Mondale**. Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator **Kennedy**. I want to thank all of you very much for appearing before the subcommittee. Your testimony has been very helpful. I commend the energies of the tribe and tribal council in obtaining that injunction in the Federal district courts as I understand it; it is one of the first, if not the first, injunction that has been obtained by an Indian tribe. There have been a number of schools which have been closed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and I think you have certainly given new hope to those Indians and others around the country that want to at least have a voice and an opportunity to express themselves in the field of education.

You are to be commended for it. I want to thank you all very much for appearing and express my appreciation for your attendance.

Mr. **Wanatee**. Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the tribe, Mesquakie Tribe, I want to thank you for giving us the privilege to be able to come here to testify, not only on our behalf but on the behalf of other Indian tribes in the United States as well. Thank you.

Senator **Kennedy**. I order pertinent material supplied for the record printed at the end of the hearing record.

Senator **Kennedy**. Our next witness is Mr. Lehman Brightman, director of the United Native Americans.

Is Mr. Brightman here?

Would you please proceed with your comments. We will include your prepared statement in the record following your presentation.

STATEMENT OF LEHMAN BRIGHTMAN, PRESIDENT OF UNITED NATIVE AMERICANS, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Mr. BRIGHTMAN. My name is Lehman Brightman. I am a Sioux and Creek Indian from Cheyenne Agency, South Dakota, really.

At the present time, I reside in San Francisco, Calif.

I am a full-time graduate student there and I am the president of United Native Americans which is the largest national Indian organization on the grassroot level.

We are considered militant. They call us a militant organization because we dare to speak out against the Bureau of Indian Affairs strangling our people and we dare speak out against some of the injustices we find around the country and the discrimination.

We are about the largest Indian organization in the United States in speaking out against this colonialistic system that is strangling our people.

I think it is time that we face the facts that the Bureau of Indian Affairs is a complete failure as far as Indian education is concerned.

American Indians led the Nation in secondary level and in the elementary grades in dropouts. The dropout rates range between 60 and 90 percent, depending on which reservation you visit. The average Indian only goes to the fifth grade.

This is a national disgrace and it is time the general public was informed of it. They never hear anything bad about the Bureau of Indian Affairs because they would be awful silly to put something in the paper denouncing themselves and discrediting themselves so they put out nothing but good reports.

My organization has been very busy trying to discredit this cancerous failure of an organization that is running around strangling our people. I can't say enough bad things about it.

If we were not here I could cuss a little bit and I could explain myself a little more. It is time the Federal Government examined this cancerous failure eating away at our Indian people. For years now the Bureau of Indian Affairs has labeled it an Indian problem but it is a white man's problem.

Let us look at the present school system as it stands today. The schools are controlled by white men. You don't find Indians on the school boards. You don't find any Indian teachers, very few if any.

The schools are named after white men. The pictures they hang on the walls in our schools are not of Indians, they are white men, famous white men, not famous Indians, but white men.

Then you get into the school teachers. About 99 percent of them are white. They teach a white curriculum that was established by the dominant white middle-class society. A good indication of why this is not working with our Indian kids, it was established as I said, by the dominant middle-class white society for non-Indians in urban areas and it is not working in urban areas.

A good indication of this is Chicago, New York, San Francisco, Oakland. Look at these different areas. In Los Angeles the dropout rates are fantastic among the minorities and poor whites because it does not relate to them. The curriculum today does not relate to the minority and poor whites nor Indians.

This same curriculum they are developing in urban areas that was designed for non-Indians they are trying to impose on the Indian people who have a different culture or language.

You don't have to be Albert Einstein to figure out why education for the American Indian is a failure. It is a complete white school.

As I said, they don't teach Indian history and culture. They don't hire Indian teachers. They don't even hire Indian resource people. They don't hire Indian teacher aides.

The only place you find the names of Indians in the schools are in the dictionaries and encyclopedias because you sure don't find them in any history books.

I think the only people who know we have been left out of the history books are the Indians. You can't see the trees for the forest.

What they teach in the United States is European history under the guise of American history because you sure don't read anything about Indians.

Out of 476 years of contact they seem to have forgotten the American Indian existed. They put nothing in the textbooks about what we contributed in this country, about the great people we did have, past and present.

This is a farce, education as it pertains to American Indians. They wonder why Indians don't take to education today. Indians are not given an active part in the formation of curriculum to be used in their schools and rarely do you find them at PTA meetings.

In other words, it is a white man's school and the American Indians are not invited to take part except to send their children to these alien institutions, with alienistic policies.

This period of alienation started years ago when the BIA collected Indian children like cattle and forced them into the boarding school against their wishes. While in boarding schools the Indian children were taught a different language. They were reprimanded if they were caught speaking in their own language.

Here is something most of the people don't know and should know. You can find this out in John Collier's Indians of America. John Collier was a former Indian Commissioner. He states in his book that in 1884 the Federal Government enacted laws forbidding American Indians to worship as they pleased.

They tried to kill off the Indians' religion, culture and language. They wonder why Indians are alienated. They alienated our people years ago when they put them in boarding schools.

My parents went to the boarding schools. My grandfather went to one. Incidentally, my grandfather, his father was killed at Custer's last stand. He was 10 years old at this time. He went with Sitting Bull's group to Canada. He stayed up there 4 years. When he came back they grabbed him as soon as he came back.

They stuck him in the Virginia Military Institute which is a colored institution. They stuck him in the Virginia Military Institute and kept him there 8 years. This is what they have done to our people.

I am mad, you can tell by the way I am talking. Somebody should get mad about this. They wonder why Indians aren't taking to education. White colonialism is one of the biggest problems.

American Indians, as conquered people, tend to isolate themselves from their conquerors. They tend to develop skills of behavior which cause them to appear apathetic, withdrawn, irresponsible, shy, lazy and helpless in terms of managing their own affairs.

Conquered people can only overcome this by acquiring some control over their destiny. That is what we are trying to do.

Right now we don't have any. They are white schools. The Bureau and the public schools are not too different because the public schools that the Indian children attend are controlled by white school boards.

The reservation schools are controlled by white bureaucrats. Both are considered white schools and they are alien to Indian people.

Culturally they are not part of the Indian community. The Coleman report states that the amount of money spent on a school doesn't insure success. It is something else. The Indians must have a say-so in the schools to make them a success.

Schools now are designed to serve the power group, the white middle-class, not the minorities or the poor whites.

There have been a few successful Indian educational systems in the United States, past and present. There is now one successful Indian educational system operating at Rough Rock in Arizona. This is set up by the Navajo people. They teach both ways, Navajo and they teach in a curriculum accredited by the State. They teach the Navajo language, culture, history.

This gives our Indian people there a sense of pride in themselves, confidence, and they also teach a curriculum, as I say, that is designed by the State.

This means that they can go out and face the world and be at peace with themselves.

Until the 1890's, the Choctaw Republic operated its own school system in Mississippi and Oklahoma, developing about 200 Indian schools and sending numerous graduates to eastern colleges.

As a result of the excellent public school system, the Choctaw Nation had a much higher proportion of education people than any of the neighboring States. This was in the 1890's.

The Cherokee Republic developed a similar school system which was also quite successful. It has been estimated that the Cherokees were 90 percent literate in their native language in the 1830's. By 1880, the western Cherokees in Oklahoma had a higher literacy rate than either Texas or Arkansas. These were two successful Indian schools in the past.

They were operated by Indians, not whites. Since the Federal Government took over the Cherokee school system in 1898, the Cherokees then viewed the schools as a white man institution over which the parents had no control.

The schools operated by the Cherokees and Choctaws which were subsequently operated by Federal and State agencies have been typical Indian schools with little or no parent-community involvement.

The problems seem to arise when the white man enters into education. White power is the problem, not the curriculum. The main problem is getting the white man off the Indian's back. Surveys have been conducted for years and years and all by white anthropologists, sociologists. These surveys have run into millions of dollars and nothing has been done to correct this failing situation.

The Indian people are the most studied people on earth. The only answer to the useless surveys is that they employ white people, thus easing the unemployment problem for whites—not Indians.

Yes, I do have a few solutions. Not all things are negatives.

Indians must learn to overcome conquest. A fellow by the name of Dr. Jack Forbes at a conference on California Indian education talked about overcoming conquest, and that is where it is, liberation of the American Indian people.

Psychologically, politically, educationally, it is all in one bag, liberation of the American Indian.

I realize that the curriculum has to be changed but that curriculum cannot be changed by white people. It must be changed by Indian people themselves. That part of psychological liberation, the important thing is that the Indian people must learn to take control.

If white people change the curriculum even for the better it is just another form of colonialism. Changes in curriculum must come when Indian people control their own schools. That is the time for it to come.

The first step in improving Indian education is to give it back to the Indian people where it belongs. Many people are talking about ways to do this.

The California Indian Education Association and the United Native Americans are taking appropriate steps. Together we have developed by means of grassroots organization a solid movement which is already having a great impact on the schools.

Indian people are helping to develop curriculum. Indian people are serving on school boards. Indian people are operating teacher training programs which the Indian people control.

We are literally training the teachers who will teach our children. We have a long way to go but we know where we are going and we are sure we are going to get there. Of course, we have not forgotten the dear old Bureau of Indian Affairs, America's colonial office. We have a problem, or rather a program for the Bureau schools which is as follows:

No. 1, Sherman Institute should be placed under the control of a board of directors selected by the Navajo Tribe and the California Indian Education Association.

Sherman Institute to be placed under the control of a board of directors selected by appropriate Indian tribes, Navajo, and the different Nevada tribes.

Intermountain School and all those schools serving primarily Navajo children to be turned over to a nonprofit education agency controlled by the Navajo Tribe.

Similar steps should be taken where the individual tribes are not ready to take over and operate those schools. This will be done under contract with funding being guaranteed on a basis comparable with that of the Federal white schools and school district.

We realize not all Indian communities and tribes are ready for this takeover and operation of Bureau schools, not because they can't run the schools any better than the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which is not saying too much, but because the Bureau starts spreading rumors about termination once Indian people start talking about taking over Indian control.

Where the Indian community is too small to operate a separate school system we advocate the establishment of a national board of Indian educators. We must make clear the following things:

It must be composed of Indian people only. Its membership must be selected democratically because Indian people have been betrayed too many times in the past by white experts and "Uncle Tomahawks" such as the National Indian Education Advisory Committee. Above all we don't need a committee like the National Indian Education Advisory Committee, "rubber stamp" committee, a bunch of Government employees, tribal chairmen.

Most of the tribal chairmen are controlled by the Bureau and all they do is fly around the country and "rubber stamp" whatever the Bureau of Indian Affairs wants.

The National Board of Indian Educators could be organized as such. They could elect one delegate from each State. Each tribe could elect a delegate to send to a conference on Indian education. From these delegates a board of Indian educators could be democratically elected.

There are 25 States that have most of the Indian population. They could each send one delegate to the national conference. A board of Indian educators could be democratically elected.

This board should be composed of about seven members, this national board of Indian educators should contract with the U.S. Office of Education for the funds for all Federal Indian education programs.

In other words, we want Indian control and Indian education out of the Department of the Interior and away from the Bureau of Indian Affairs—far away.

In turn, the national board of Indian educators will subcontract with the tribes or intertribal groups operating their own schools and it will operate the other schools directly.

In dealing with higher education this is a big laugh. I would like to make some statements personally of things that I know, and things that happened to me, concerning the Bureau of Indian Affairs and Mr. Robert Bennett and his Bureau of Indian Affairs.

I am now a graduate student at the University of California. I have a wife and a kid. As I said, I am from Cheyenne Agency, S. Dak. While I was back in South Dakota a year ago, I inquired at my home reservation about money to go to college because I was flat broke.

I wanted to go to school. I wanted to quit my job and get another degree. My tribe there told me no, they could not help me. When I came back to San Francisco I asked the Bureau of Indian Affairs. They told me no, they could not help me, they didn't help graduate students.

I happened to be speaking on the same bill in which this "Uncle Tomahawk" Robert Bennett, the Indian Commissioner, was on, and I asked him afterward.

I said, "Mr. Bennett, how can I get some money to go to college on? I am an Indian. I am registered on the tribal rolls of my home reservation. The Bureau of Indian Affairs is always bragging how they help Indians."

He looked at the guy next to him, who was operating the Omaha office and he said, "Give him an address." When I got it in the mail 2 weeks later it was to an organization in Omaha and it was a private organization, not the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

I wrote to them and they didn't have the courtesy to answer me.

But there is a beautiful case right there of an Indian who was broke and asked the Bureau of Indian Affairs for money to go to college and they denied me this.

Yet you read all the propaganda in the paper about how they are helping Indians to gain an education.

This has to be one of the biggest laughs of the year.

I would like to tell you other things about what they are doing to other people. I can name some people right now who live in San Francisco and in the Oakland area who have asked the Bureau of Indian Affairs for money to go to college and they have been denied the money. Most of them are undergraduates who want to go to college. It is a shame the way they treat our Indian people.

I used to be director of the American Indian Center in San Francisco. I found out all the problems our people face when they come [illegible] relocation. Once they get into Oakland or San Francisco they decide they want to go to college. They ask the Bureau of Indian Affairs and they are turned down. Why is it that they have a fantastic amount of money for vocational training but none for academic work?

They made a survey recently and found out that there are seven doctors, four lawyers, and two engineers who are full blooded Indians in the United States. Yet the Bureau of Indian Affairs had the audacity to put something in the papers last year which stated they had sent 10,000 Indians through their vocational training program, when we have seven lawyers, four doctors and two engineers who are full-blooded Indians.

What I am trying to say is that we need academic work, not vocational training. We have plenty of that. Give us a little money for some academic training.

Right now at the University of California I am working with what they call the college commitment program. We are helping minority students to get into the university. I am working mainly with Indians. By working with the University of California they gave us permission to bring in 10 Indian students last January on full scholarship. All Indian people have been denied help from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. That is how they are helping to get Indians to get an education.

In California, they are going to give us a chance to bring 10 more in April through this same program. The University of California has helped Indians and we have proof.

When I started there last April they had one Indian, a girl, and I made two. We didn't put any pressure on them. We talked to them and they agreed to bring in 10 this past January and 10 more shortly in April. They have a program called EOP where they will help all minority students.

Since they saw the girl and two Indians there all of a sudden they decided to help us, which is something the Bureau of Indian Affairs has not done. I would like to cite a couple of cases that would be of interest to you people.

Senator KENNEDY. Before you go into that, are there any other institutions of higher learning in California, other than Berkeley, that have special programs to bring in Indians, that you know about?

Are there any other programs similar to the one you are working on in any other college in this country?

Mr. BRIGHTMAN. Yes. At the University of California at Berkeley where I am going to school they have branch schools such as Davis, Calif. We have a chapter, my organization. They are bringing in students there.

Also, Santa Cruz, they are bringing in students. We have some people over at San Francisco State who are bringing in Indians there, also down at Long Beach State, as far as I know, we are the only Indian organization in the United States that is working actively with the different universities trying to bring in Indian people.

I would like to tell you of a case about the girl by the name of Melvina Mezors. This young girl enrolled at the University of California. She is a Nez Perce Indian. She asked the Bureau of Indian Affairs if they would pay her out-of-State tuition at the University of California if she could get them to let her enroll.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs said yes, they would. We got her in the EOP program at the University of California. The out-of-State tuition is $500 a quarter. After enrolling, the Bureau of Indian Affairs reneged and didn't pay her out-of-State fee.

So she had to take her living expenses and pay this. Consequently, she had nothing to live on. This past week she had to drop out of school because the Bureau of Indian Affairs wouldn't pay the out-of-State tuition which they promised her they would do.

Another young girl by the name of Celeste Stone from the Rosebud Reservation in South Dakota—this is one of the most pitiful I have ever heard. My organization is picketing the poverty programs in San Francisco because they are denying the Indians a chance to work on it. This young girl was one of the pickets in my group. Two days in a row I noticed she had on the same dress. I noticed when we brought sandwiches around she would eat some and then stick the rest in her coat pocket.

That night I took her home and I had my wife talk to her. We found out that she came to San Francisco on her own to visit her sister from the Rosebud Reservation in South Dakota. She stayed with her sister about a month and her sister decided to go back to the reservation.

This young girl, Celeste, didn't want to go home. She stayed there in San Francisco. She met a young boy she was in love with. When we met her she had 18 cents in her pocket. She had only gone to the 10th grade and she was 17 years old. She had no academic training other than the 10th grade. She had no vocational training.

So, to help her we took her down and I asked the Bureau of Indian Affairs if they could help her. This is what they told her. They said:

> You write to your home reservation at Rosebud, S. Dak., to your relocation officer, and have him send you some papers out and you fill them out and send them back to Rosebud. They, in turn, will make sure you are registered on the tribal rolls there. After they review your papers and find out that you are qualified they will send them to Aberdeen, S. Dak., and there they will be reviewed by higher authority and if you are qualified in their eyes you will be eligible to go to relocation next year, next September.

This was last October. This young girl who had 18 cents in her pocket, who was 17 years old, and had only gone to the 10th grade, the Bureau of Indian Affairs wouldn't help her. This is how they are helping our Indian people to gain an education. This is pathetic. It is a national disgrace.

It is time the public heard about it because they don't get anything in the papers because the only thing they put out about the Indians is the Bureau of Indian Affairs stuff and that is a bunch of propaganda. It is terrible.

I have a few additional points I would like to bring up. In terms of higher education we believe that Haskell Institute and Santa Fe Institute should be turned into colleges or one college for Indians. Both now have limited junior college work offered.

Also, there are a few abandoned military bases around the country that could be turned into Indian colleges. Haskell, Santa Fe Institute and abandoned Army bases or Air Force bases could be used to establish an Indian college.

We believe that this Indian college should be under the control of the board of Indian trustees elected democratically by a national board of Indian educators which I suggested earlier.

I would like to bring out a couple of other additional points on Indian education. We want the Johnson-O'Malley funds made available for Indian use wherever there are Indian people attending public schools, from Maine to California, and, incidentally, Maine and California are neither one receiving help from the Bureau of Indian Affairs and both of them need it badly.

These funds should be spent under Indian control and not by white bureaucrats as they please. We want all the Bureau of Indian Affairs, vocational and OEO programs made available to all Indian people who have a need and not just those from BIA recognized reservations.

I don't know whether you know it or not but half of the Indians in the United States do not benefit from BIA, U.S. Public Health or OEO programs. They are denied this.

The Indian Desk of OEO must be revised. This is a terrible organization, the way it now stands, and it is a shame the way they are misusing this money.

This program is giving money to many reservations that are employing more white people than Indians. Most of these white people as occupying jobs as directors. I will give you an example.

I visited my home reservation in Cheyenne Agency in December. While I was there I went down to the local poverty program setup for our Indian people there. The head of the whole poverty program was a white man.

I looked at the Headstart program director and she was a white woman. I looked at the NYC program and its was a white man. The Headstart and NYC program directors were husband and wife.

There are three positions occupied by white people on the Indian reservation that should be occupied by Indians. Around $30,000 right there going down the drain to white bureaucracy.

The Indians have the highest unemployment rate in the United States. The unemployment rates for the American Indians range between 60 to 70 to 80 percent, depending on which reservation you visit. And here they set up a poverty program for the Sioux Indians there and three white people directing it.

I looked around and all the secretaries were white, the accountants were white. I looked around, they had employed one Indian and he was a janitor. They employed two other Indians running around picking up scraps of paper on the reservation.

They are not much different from the BIA. About 90 percent of the top echelon executive positions in the Bureau of Indian Affairs are occupied by white people, not Indians.

How colonialistic can you get? The only time they employ Indians is for janitors and other menial tasks.

I had an uncle who retired after 30 years of service as a janitor. I had another one who retired a few years ago as another janitor. We probably have more janitors in my family than any other Indian tribe in the United States.

That is about the only thing they are employed at on the reservation, as common laborers. They sure don't give them a chance at higher education.

I have come to the conclusion that the reason they don't give Indians higher education is because if we build up a trained reservoir in the academic field we wouldn't need people to run the reservations. We could run them ourselves. This is an insult to Indian intelligence to go to an Indian reservation and find white people directing our Indian people.

Why do we need the Bureau of Indian Affairs? Why do we need a poverty program?

If we were given enough money to develop, as I said before, a reservoir of trained people in the academic field, we would no longer need this bureaucratic colonialistic, cancerous failure of a Bureau of Indian Affairs.

As I said before, this OEO program is a farce. They are not helping Indian people.

I think that about ends my testimony.

Senator KENNEDY. Thank you very much.

Could you tell us how many members you have in your organization?

Mr. BRIGHTMAN. There are between 8,000 and 10,000 members.

Senator KENNEDY. Is that across the country, or primarily in California?

Mr. BRIGHTMAN. We have them all over the United States, Alaska and Canada.

Senator KENNEDY. How old is the organization?

Mr. BRIGHTMAN. We are 9 months old.

Senator KENNEDY. I would like to hear about your own educational experience and where you went to school.

Mr. BRIGHTMAN. I went to school; I was born on an Indian reservation called Cheyenne Agency in South Dakota. My mother is a Sioux Indian, my father is Creek. I went to grade school in Cheyenne Agency in South Dakota. By sheer luck my parents moved to Oklahoma and I went to a white high school at Eufaula, Okla.

Senator KENNEDY. How old were you then?

Mr. BRIGHTMAN. I was about 12 years old when I moved to Oklahoma. The only reason I got to college is because I could play football. I received a football scholarship. I want to Oklahoma A. & M. I played 4 years for Oklahoma A. & M. on a scholarship. I was extremely lucky, because most Indians who can play football, if they live on an Indian reservation, nobody will notice them or find out. Consequently, I was one of very, very few Indians who have made it off an Indian reservation and went to college.

Senator Kennedy. In Oklahoma, do the rest of the Indians attend public schools?

Mr. Brightman. You don't really have reservations in Oklahoma. Most of the Indians do go to public schools, yes. They are integrated schools. They have boarding schools, Indian boarding schools, but most of the Indians do go to public schools.

Senator Kennedy. After you finished college, where did you go?

Mr. Brightman. I tried professional football 1 year and got killed. I taught school 1 year in Oklahoma. I taught school 1 year in California. I worked in a number of juvenile halls in California. I worked on the poverty program in California which was designed to help high school dropouts in ghetto areas.

I also was a director of the American Indian Center in San Francisco. I went back to teaching. At the present time I am a full-time student. I have been giving a number of lectures across the country on American Indians.

Senator Kennedy. You outlined in your earlier testimony a program in regard to education of Indians. Most of it, I think, if I understood you correctly, was more or less for higher education, the creation of Indian colleges, and conversion of military bases. You probably, I am sure, have developed a program in regard to the Bureau of Indian Affairs schools and high schools as well, and I hope that those ideas would be made a part of the record. I think it would be helpful to have.

Mr. Brightman. We have a definite program which we have designed for Indian education.

Incidentally, while I was at my home reservation—the average Indian only goes to the fifth grade in the United States—while I was visiting my home reservation I talked with the school principal. I asked him if they were teaching Indian history and culture. He said, "Yes, we are starting this year." "What grade?" "The eighth."

I said: "You are a little short; you are missing out 5 or 6 years." This man is an educated man. He is a principal. He thought eighth grade was the right year to teach Indian culture. It should be started in the first grade.

Senator Kennedy. Senator Yarborough.

Senator Yarborough. Mr. Brightman, you say you have 8,000 or 10,000 members in your organization?

Mr. Brightman. Yes.

Senator Yarborough. Are they scattered in the different States?

Mr. Brightman. Yes.

Senator Yarborough. I want to recommend to you, as one of the great services you can render immediately to the Indian youth, to tell those coming out of service about the GI bill, the cold war GI bill. It opens up school to any serviceman who entered service on or after February 1, 1955, and has served over 6 months and has been honorably discharged. This bill has something no other GI bill ever had. He can go and finish high school at Government expense and that does not use up his entitlement. He gets 1½ months of school for each 1 month of service. In the past GI bills of World War II and the Korean conflict if he hadn't finished high school he could use that on high school. Now the Government pays his way through high school. This bill is better in another way too, if a veteran has been in service as much as 18 months he gets a full 36 months of school and four 9-month terms in college. If he has not finished high school he can go to high school 4 years at Government expense, and then 4 years at college if he served as long as 18 months.

Furthermore, a married man under the old GI bill got an additional allowance for a wife and one child. This is the first GI bill where a service man gets an additional allowance for each child. Some service men are in college with seven or eight children.

There is another benefit in this that wasn't in former GI bills. That is a provision that in those terribly unfortunate cases where a young man loses his life the young widow can go to school.

Now the Indians do their part militarily. Those who come out of service ought to take advantage of the opportunity to get a higher education. As you say, an Indian lawyer is very rare in the United States. I know several opportunities for Indian lawyers are going begging because there are not Indian lawyers, and they want them there.

The VA is pretty laggard about telling people about their rights under the GI bill, they are afraid it cost something. We had to pass the bill in the Congress over the objections of the VA and the Bureau of the Budget, and executive department and executive agencies. The Congress did this over the objections of the Defense Department. The VA is not putting spots on the radio like they did in World War II and Korean conflict.

In closing I want to say I am interested in what you said about the great educational system the Choctaws had before their nation was dissolved. A cousin of mine, a senator in the Choctaw nation, in the 1880's helped build that system.

Mr. BRIGHTMAN. Those were about the only two systems of Indian education in the United States that were successful other than the present system at Rough Rock.

I am involved very deeply with education, college education, but we have also got the programs which we are trying to get instituted into the different lower levels in grade school and high school. This is where our people need it most. When they do graduate they know they can't go on to college. Many of them say, "Why should I graduate? Where am I going to go? I can't go to college, I don't have any money."

The BIA won't give it to them. Discrimination is so rampant around the reservations you can't get a job. I was in Rapid City, S. Dak. about 4 weeks ago. While I was there I spoke to an Indian group called the Black Hills Council. They asked me if I could talk to their group. I said yes. First I talked to the Black Hills Council. There were 28 people at this meeting. They informed me of the brutality the police force is imposing on our people. We started talking about employment. Rapid City has a population of 40,000 people. There are approximately 6,000 Indians. We found five Indians who were working out of 6,000. One worked for the State-owned cement plant, they only hired one Indian. One worked in the welfare department. One worked as a clerk. One worked for the city-owned waterworks. And there was one other. I can't place him. But at the present time they have five Indians out of approximately 6,000 that are employed.

The police there, it is common knowledge they drive down the street and pick Indians late at night and drive them to the outskirts of town and dump them out and make them walk back. Many times they pistol whip them. They spray mace in their eyes. They make sport of them.

Also Indians can't buy homes in the good sections of town. You call up and they say, "Yes, we have a home." Once you get out of your car and they see you are an Indian, the house is sold.

I was walking on the street with this Indian girl. They said that we had to walk on this side of the street. We couldn't walk on the other side. "Why? There aren't any signs." She said, "No, but it is a known fact." She said, "We don't dare go over to this other section because Indians are not allowed over there."

Senator YARBOROUGH. What city is that?

Mr. BRIGHTMAN. Rapid City, S. Dak. This happens to be the worst city in the United States about discriminating against Indians. They won't let a legal aid society come in there and our Indian people are the poorest of the lot, and they need the legal aid society.

The city and State bar associations have denied legal aid a chance to come in. I stirred those people up quite a bit because I said it was the worst city in the United States in discriminating against Indans. They called me a few names, too. This is what our Indian people are facing.

I tell you how bad it is there. They have an Indian community called Sioux Addition a mile and a half on the outskirts of town. They are just now getting running water into their homes. Just now. They have been there 20 years. This is terrible the discrimination the Indians face. You don't realize it but when you find a large concentration of Indians such as in South Dakota and North Dakota, it is impossible, the discrimination.

Many of our people say, "Why should we get education? We are not going to get employed." This is the feeling many of our people have—hopelessness.

Senator YARBOROUGH. One more question, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Brightman, you have described yourself as a militant.

Mr. BRIGHTMAN. Yes, sir. They consider me a militant Indian. They have labeled me a number of things. The papers have called me a militant Indian. I don't care. We don't advocate violence, we don't riot, we are not going to shoot anybody. But all of a sudden my organization is called militant and radical because we are speaking out against this colonialistic BIA and because of the injustice to the Indian people. We speak out and we are called radical. Indians are supposed to be silent, don't picket. Don't speak out because you will make white people mad. Why, hell, we have been mad for 140 years. It is about time we got good and mad.

If we make a few white people mad, good. As I said, we have been mad for 140 years, it is time we got off our hind ends and start saying what is wrong.

One problem we have is some of these "Uncle Tommyhawk" type leaders in the past and present get up in front of the white people and tell them what the white people want to hear. They don't tell them what is on their minds and in their hearts. They are so used to taking bows they tell them just what they want to hear. I don't hate white people. I am just advocating Indian control of their own organizations.

Senator YARBOROUGH. You get all these Indians coming out of service being discharged every month in high school and college, in 8 years you will have a reservoir of lawyers and engineers. It will take longer than that for doctors but you will have two professional groups in 8 years' time.

Senator KENNEDY. Senator Mondale.

Senator MONDALE. How often in your role as president or director of this organization has the Bureau of Indian Affairs called you to Washington to discuss the views of your organization?

Mr. BRIGHTMAN. Never.

Senator MONDALE. I realize the time is short, Mr. Chairman, so I won't ask any more questions, but I wish I could. I think it would be a good idea if the staff would prepare a short memorandum on the educational systems developed by the Choctaw and the Cherokee under their own control in the late 1800's. That is the first time I had heard of it. It would be most illuminating.

Senator YARBOROUGH. They had their own constitution, not the routine one handed down by the Interior Department that was described earlier today. They had a senate and house, some called Creeks Council of Warriors, but most of them called it senate and house.

Senator MONDALE. But they ran their own schools.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Yes; they sent some graduates to Carlisle, which developed Jim Thorpe, the greatest athlete in American history. They were semi-Indians. They ran good school systems.

I am glad you brought that up.

Senator DOMINICK. I wonder if I could ask a number of questions here.

Mr. Brightman, If I understood you correctly, you said the American Indian had a fifth-grade education. Is that right?

Mr. BRIGHTMAN. Yes.

Senator DOMINICK. Those people who have a fifth-grade education; been going to the BIA schools on Indian reservations?

Mr. BRIGHTMAN. Yes; this is an average, the average Indian in the United States.

Senator DOMINICK. I gather what you are saying is that we ought to bring the Indians into the public school system?

Mr. BRIGHTMAN. I think it would be good to integrate them in many cases. Oklahoma is a good example. Oklahoma, the Indians there go to school with white kids, competition is there, all of a sudden they are competing. Competition is everything. Indian kids on the reservation can compete with nobody.

Senator DOMINICK. I ask you this because some time ago we started this approach in Arizona. My understanding is that the Interior Department and the BIA decided this would not be possible and they started building separate schools under white leadership right on the reservation, which seemed to me to be going the wrong way.

I wanted to have your reaction to that.

Mr. BRIGHTMAN. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has done so many things wrong it is impossible for anybody else to make more mistakes than they have.

Senator DOMINICK. Thank you. That is all I have.

Mr. BRIGHTMAN. If I could, there is one thing I would like to bring out. I have been asked by some people to do something for them.

Sherman Institute in California has had their funds cut. Incidentally, they gave me something that I would like to pass on to you. I will submit this as evidence, also. Anyway, Sherman Institute's average cost per child is $1,300 annually, considerably under the average for non-Federal boarding schools, and the average nonreservation, non-Federal boarding school furnishes $1,800 per child. Sherman Institute is only given $1,300. They are working with a short staff. They have had their budget cut. They have 850 students there, and they have had their budget cut. They have lost about 20 teachers and so forth, and they still have the same number of students.

The buildings are old and dilapidated. They work overtime. All the teachers there complain about the overtime. They don't complain, they put it in because they are dedicated to these people but they are not getting paid for it. They are going to have to cut out some more teachers because they have not appropriated enough money for this.

The sad thing about this is that they don't teach shorthand, consequently the young girls who graduate from this school can't get jobs as secretaries any place.

As far as employing secretaries themselves, they had to take second-rate secretaries who can't take shorthand because they can't afford to pay them. Sherman Institute is in dire need of money and help.

Something should be done to help these poor people. Incidentally, they say that they are getting children who are retarded and they have emotional problems there and they need special help for this and they are not getting it. They are operating with the same people. They asked me to bring this out. I have the information here which gives fully all their problems.

Senator YARBOROUGH (presiding pro tempore). Senator Bellmon.

Senator BELLMON. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate very much the candor that Mr. Brightman has shown here this morning. I also appreciate the good things he has had to say about the way Indian children in Oklahoma attend our public schools and about the fact that the Indians in Oklahoma do not live on reservations.

Also I might add I am a graduate of Oklahoma A. & M., but at an earlier year. Is it your conclusion after your experiences and education that you feel that the Indians in the United States generally would be better off if the reservation system was abandoned as it has been in Oklahoma?

Mr. BRIGHTMAN. No. I have relatives that still live on the reservation. About half the people who live on the reservation can't speak English. The older people, what would they do? Termination is the worst word in the world you could use for an old Indian. If you terminate them—they are not working now—they will have to pay taxes on their land which means they will lose it through taxation. These old people have no way of making a living. Indians are not prepared for termination. It will be many, many years before termination can come into effect.

Senator BELLMON. Do you feel that we should move in that direction?

Mr. BRIGHTMAN. No; never. Indians are going to have to control their own reservations but it will take time. They will have to build up a trained reservoir of people. Right now the Bureau is denying education.

Senator BELLMON. If we can build up that trained reservoir do you feel termination would be better?

Mr. BRIGHTMAN. I feel the Indians should run their own reservations. Cut out BIA and let the Indians run their own reservation with funds from the Government. This would lead eventually to termination, but the fact is they could build themselves up as they go along. You know, two cases of termination, the Menominees of Wisconsin and the Klamath Indians were complete disasters. Before termination takes place they are supposed to build the tribe up equal with the people around them. They have done this to the Menominees and Klamath and one other Indian tribe. Anyway, they came back a few years later they found out that 90 percent of the Indians lost their lands. They were not working before termination. There were no jobs. They did not pay taxes on their land once they are terminated. Most of them lost it through termination or they sold their land to pay the bills with. Termination is a terrible thing and Indians are not prepared for it.

Senator BELLMON. The Oklahoma Indians have largely been terminated, if this is the term you want to use, because we do not have reservations any more. Yet from what you said, I got the impression that you felt the Oklahoma Indians were better off than the South Dakota reservation Indians.

Mr. BRIGHTMAN. Your Indians in Oklahoma have been in touch with the white men much longer than in South Dakota. They don't even have a busline going through my reservation in South Dakota.

Incidentally, in the western part of Oklahoma it is unbelievable to see the discrimination that goes around in Ponca City, too.

Senator BELLMON. I am well aware that we are far from perfect. Do you feel the situation you found in Ponca is better than South Dakota?

Mr. BRIGHTMAN. Now in making this statement I think Oklahoma Indians as far as education are probably better off than any other Indians in the United States. With the Five Civilized Tribes in the southeastern part of Oklahoma, 55 percent of them are unemployed year around, and 90 percent of them are on welfare. This is the Five Civilized Tribes.

Senator BELLMON. I am well aware of the cost of welfare. I am also aware, as you probably are, that the Indians have to be able to find their way into the mainstream of our country.

Mr. Will Rogers is sitting back there, his father is the most famous man that Oklahoma ever produced. His statue is in the rotunda of the Oklahoma Capitol Building.

My interest is the same as yours in developing the capabilities of our Indians. Our problem is as you mentioned, that some of our Indian children drop out of the white schools they attend. Much of this seems to be related to the type of employment that Indian adults engage in. They use their children to pick fruit or to work at the migratory jobs that are available.

Mr. BRIGHTMAN. As I said, I think Oklahoma Indians are educationally probably better off than most of the other Indians because they have been in contact with white men more. They go to public schools with them every day. Consequently they learn to compete with them. An Indian kid going to a reservation school and not competing does not lose face. If he flunks out he has not lost anything. The people do not feel bad about it because it is an alien institution. Indians can drop out and suffer no consequences. In fact, in the peer groups that operate on some of the Indian reservations if you answer in class they will say, "What are you trying to do, be a white man or something?" It is a form of rebellion by not taking the white man's education and they don't lose face by failing. Indians will have to be given half a chance to take part in and control their own schools. As I said, there are two clear cases of the Choctaw Republic and Cherokee Nation and at the present time Rough Rock demonstration school.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Murphy.

Senator YARBOROUGH. I think we are very fortunate to have Mr. Brightman here, who is knowledgeable and vocal and expresses himself well. I am pleased to hear that he agrees that the Rough Rock experiment seems to be working and seems to have great promise for the future.

The Sherman School, incidentally, is another strange condition. California Indians are not permitted to attend. Why, I don't know. I have never been able to understand that. Indians in the schools in California are not permitted to attend that school. These Indians come from Arizona and New Mexico. We set in this room last year and asked about general innovative programs in education and didn't get any satisfactory answers. I am going to see if we can't get some of these programs and find out why they should not be tried because certainly I couldn't agree with you more.

I have had some experience, not in the field of education but in other areas, where I haven't been too happy about the judgments and the activities of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. I should not sit in judgment on them, but the Indians of Palm Springs had an awful time getting permission to lease their land. I had something to do in accomplishing that some years ago. That land down there now, most of the land is held by youngsters. They are well taken care of financially for the rest of their lives. They own some of the best land in the town but they could not make a lease for over a year. Why, nobody could understand.

Finally this breakthrough last year and the three States joined together. We were able to get that accomplished. So I am pleased to have had a chance to listen to your testimony today.

I knew Jim Thorpe. My father trained Jim Thorpe on the American Olympic team. I watched him play football. He probably was the greatest all-around American athlete of any time.

Then I had a great friend in the motion picture history, Col. Tim McCoy, who spoke more Indian dialects than any other Indian. Tim McCoy was accepted completely by all the Indian tribes. He had a great story to tell, a fantastic story. I think the story of the times and his life and experiences would be very worthwhile because he knows all the Indians' backgrounds and Indian history. These are things that I am quite certain will benefit your testimony. I am sure you will be hearing from some of the members of this subcommittee for further advice and further testimony later on.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Senator Mondale?

Senator MONDALE. Do I understand from your testimony that such issues as whether the Indian shall be trained to do, to assimilate, to understand their own culture and their own language, to pursue their own arts; and such issues as to whether there ought to be reservations or not, and where they wish to live ought not to be matters that should concern this committee too much, as much as the issue of whether the Indian for the first time is going to have the power to decide for himself how his children should be educated, and where he wishes to live and with whom he wishes to live?

Mr. BRIGHTMAN. Yes; I think we should have complete Indian control over education.

I think it would mean something to them. We don't have the money. The Federal Government has the money. But if they cut the Bureau of Indian Affairs out that would be a tremendous savings to the taxpayers right there. Most of them are white people anyway. Not that I hate white people, but why not cut them out and let them deal frequently with the Indian people and let them run their own organizations?

Senator YARBOROUGH. Thank you, Mr. Brightman.

You are very knowledgeable in the history of Indian education. We appreciate your appearance.

(The prepared statement of Mr. Brightman follows:)

PREPARED STATEMENT OF LEHMAN L. BRIGHTMAN, PRESIDENT, UNITED NATIVE AMERICANS, INC., SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

The educational system of the Bureau of Indian Affairs concerning American Indians is a complete failure!! At the present time Indians lead the nation in school drop-outs, the figures range between 60 to 90 percent, depending upon which reservation you visit. And the average Indian only completes the "fifth grade".

This is a "National Disgrace" and it's time the general public was informed of this colossal failure. The fault can only lie with one organization that is responsible for Indian education, the "Bureau of Indian Affairs".

It's time the federal government and their educators took off their blindfolds and ear plugs and examined this cancerous failure that is eating away at our Indian people. For years now the Bureau of Indian Affairs has labeled it an Indian problem, but to the contrary, it's not an Indian problem, but a "White Problem".

Let's look at the present school system as it stands today. The schools are controlled by white men, you don't find Indians on the school boards, you don't find many Indian teachers if any, the schools are named after white men, the pictures on the walls of the schools are of white men, you don't find Indian teacher aides, you don't find Indian resource people, they don't teach Indian history and culture, and about the only place you find the names of Indians are in the "Dictionaries and encyclopedias"—not the history books—European history, not American.

Indians don't take part in the formation of the curriculum that is to be used in their schools and rarely do you find Indians at "PTA" meetings.

In other words it's a white man's school and American Indians are not invited to take part, except to send their children to these alien institutions. Alienation and Powerlessness correlate more than anything else with Indian educational failure.

This period of alienation started many years ago when the Bureau of Indian Affairs callously collected Indian children like cattle and forced them into boarding schools against their parents will, and kept them there for years at a time. While at these boarding schools the children were taught a different language and reprimanded if caught speaking their native language. Their hair was cut and this was part of their Indian culture, they were taught a different religion and made to feel ashamed of their parents and the old Indian way. This is when the period of alienation started with the Indian community. And it continues right down to the present.

Other problems with Indian education

1. White Colonialism is one of the biggest problems.

2. American Indians are a conquered and colonialized people and conquered people, especially those who have experienced a brutal conquest, tend to isolate themselves from their conquerors. They tend to develop styles of behavior which cause them to appear apathetic, withdrawn, irresponsible, shy, lazy and helpless in terms of managing their own affairs. Conquered people can only overcome this "Powerlessness" by acquiring some control over their own destiny.

3. Bureau and Public schools are not too different, because the public schools that Indian children attend are controlled by white school boards and the reservation schools are controlled by "White Bureaucratics". Both are considered white schools and they are alien to the Indian. Culturally they are not part of the Indian community.

4. The Coleman Report, states that the amount of money spent on a school doesn't make it a success for minorities, it's something else. "Powerlessness" parents must have a say so in the schools to make them a success.

5. Schools are designed to serve the power group, the "White Middle class" not the minorities or poor whites.

There have been successful Indian educational systems

There is now a successful Indian educational system operating at Rough Rock Demonstration school at Rough Rock, Arizona for the Navajo people and there were others in the past, for instance; Until the 1890's the Choctaw republic operated it's own school systems in Mississippi and Oklahoma, developing about 200 schools and academies, and sending numerous graduates to eastern colleges. As a result of it's excellent public school system the Choctaw Nation had a much higher proportion of educated people than any of the neighboring states.

The Cherokee Republic developed a similar school system which was also quite successful. It has been estimated that the Cherokees were 90% literate in their native language in the 1830's. By the 1880's the Western Cherokee in Oklahoma had a higher English literacy level than the white population of either Texas or Arkansas. Since the federal government took over, the Cherokee school system (with coercion) in 1898, the Cherokees have viewed the school as a white man's institution, over which the parents have no control.

These programs were both brought to an end by the United States government. The schools subsequently operated for Cherokees and Choctaws by federal and state agencies have been typical "Indian Schools", with little or no parent community involvement. And a negative impact has developed.

Problems seem to arise when the white man enters into Education. White power is the problem not the curriculum. And the main problem is getting the white man off the Indians back.

Surveys have been conducted for years and years, and all by white Anthropologists, Sociologists and general do-gooders. These surveys have run into the millions of dollars and so far nothing has ever been done to correct the failing situation. Indian people are the most studied people on earth and about the only answer to the useless surveys that gobble up federal money is that they employ white people thus easing the unemployment situation.

Solutions

1. Indians must learn to over come conquest. Dr. Jack Forbes at a conference on California Indian Education in Hoopa, California, talked about over coming conquest, unquote, and that's where it is. Liberation of the American Indian People.

2. Psychologically, Politically, Educationally and Economically, it's all in one bag.

3. I realize that the white curriculum has to be changed, but that white curriculum can not be change by whites. It must be changed by the Indian people themselves. That's part of psychological liberation. The important thing is that Indian people must learn to take control.

4. And if white people change the curriculum, even for the better, it's just another form of "Colonialism". Changes in curriculum must come when Indian people control their own schools, that's the time for it to come.

5. The first step in improving Indian Education is to give it back to the Indian people, where it belongs.

6. Many people are talking about ways to do this. But California Indian Education Association and United Native Americans are taking appropriate steps.

Together we have developed by means of grass-roots organization a solid movement which is already having a great impact on the schools. Indian people are helping to develop curriculum. Indian people are serving on school boards. Indian people are operating teacher training programs, which the Indian people control. We are literally training the teachers who will teach our children. We have a long way to go, but we know where we're going, and we're sure we are going to get there.

7. Of course we have not forgotten about the "Dear" old Bureau of Indian Affairs. "Americas Colonial Office", we have a program for the Bureau schools, which is as follows:

A. *Sherman Institute*

To be placed under the control of a board of directors selected by the Navajo Tribe and the California Indian Education Association.

B. *Stewart Institute*

To be placed under the control of a board of directors selected by the appropriate Indian Tribes. (Navajo and the different Nevada Tribes)

C. *Inter-Mountain Indian School*

And all other schools serving primarily Navajo children to be turned over to a "Non-Profit Educational Agency", controlled by the Navajo tribe.

D. Similar steps should be taken where the individual tribes are not ready to take over the operation of their schools. This will be done under contract with funds being guaranteed on a basis comparable with that of the better white school districts.

E. We realize that not all Indian communities and tribes are ready for this take over and operation of bureau schools, not because they can't run the schools any better than the Bureau, which isn't saying much, but because the Bureau starts spreading rumors about "Termination", once Indian people start talking about Indian control.

F. Where the Indian community is too small to operate a separate school system we advocate:

I. The establishment of a *National Board of Indian Educators*, but we must make crystal clear the following things. It must be composed of only Indian people. It's membership must be selected democratically, because Indian people have been betrayed so many times by white experts and hand picked "Uncle Tomahawks," such as: *The National Indian Educational Advisory Committee*. Above all we don't need a committee like the National Indian Educational Advisory Committee, a rubber stamp committee, a bunch of government employees and tribal chairmen. Most of the tribal chairmen are controlled by the Bureau, and all they do is fly around the country and collect per diem and rubber stamp what ever the Bureau of Indian Affairs wants.

The National Board of Indian Educators—Could be organized as such:

1. Have statewide Indian educational conferences and elect one delegate from each state.

2. Let each national Indian organization or organization connected with Indian education or tribe select a delegate to send to a National Conference on Indian Education. From these delegates a board of Indian educators would be democratically elected.

3. There are 25 states that have most of the Indian population and they could each send delegates and at the national conference a board of Indian educators could be democratically elected. This board should be composed of about (7) members.

4. This *National Board of Indian Educators*, should contract with the U.S. office of education for the funds for all federal Indian Education programs. In other words we want Indian education out of the Interior Dept. and away from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, far away!

In turn the National Board of Indian Educators will sub-contract with the tribes or inter-tribal groups operating their own schools and will operate the other schools directly.

Higher education—That's a laugh—there is no money?

In terms of higher education we believe that Haskell and Santa Fa institutes should be turned into colleges or one college for Indians. Both now have some limited Jr. College work offered. Also there are a few abandoned military bases around the country that could be turned into a college for Indian people. These are three different land bases that could be used to establish a college for Indians. This Indian college should be under the control of a Board of Indian Trustees elected democratically by the National Board of Indian Educators.

Additional points on Indian education

1. We want Johnson O'Malley funds made available for Indian use where ever there are Indian pupils attending public schools, from (Maine to Calif.). These funds should be spent under Indian control and not by white Bureaucratics as they please.

2. We want all of the Bureau of Indian Affairs vocational and "OEO" programs made available to all Indian people who have a need, and not just to those from BIA recognized reservations. Half of U.S. Indians do not benefit from (BIA, PHS and OEO programs).

3. The Indian desk of "OEO" must be revised. This program is giving money to many reservations that are employing more white people than Indians. And most of these white people are occupying jobs as Directors of the very programs. This is an insult to Indian intelligence, and it borders on treason. We the Indian people have the highest unemployment rates in the United States, and when we do get a chance to operate our own programs, white people are hired to direct us once again. The poverty program at this stage is only a carbon copy of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, if it is going to employ non-Indians to direct our Indian people. Most of the top executive positions in the Bureau of Indian Affairs are occupied by non-Indians, and they employ Indians as janitors and other menial tasks. This is very evident on reservations and here in Washington, D.C., when you walk through the Bureau offices and look for the brown faces.

I visited my home reservation in December of this last year and I was shocked to find that the Director of the poverty program was a white man, the Director of the Headstart program was a white woman and the Director of the N.Y.C. program was a white man in fact the Headstart and N.Y.C. programs were man and wife. And they were from a different part of the state. The secretaries were white, the accountants were white, but the janitor was Indian. This was on the Cheyenne River Agency at Eagle Butte, South Dakota.

Indian people will never get leadership training this way with white men constantly leading the way. This is an insult to Indian intelligence to have a white man directing him in everything he does, and it must be stopped immediately. The BIA and Indian OEO must be reorganized and turned over to the Indian people.

(The materials prepared by Dr. Jack D. Forbes referred to in the testimony can be found in the appendix.)

Senator YARBOROUGH. The next witness we will call at this time is Mr. Ralph Nader.

Mr. Nader, you have appeared before committees of the Senate, particularly the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare on many safety bills. You are familiar with the committee procedure. You go ahead and present your statement in your own way.

STATEMENT OF RALPH NADER, AUTHOR, LECTURER

Mr. NADER. Mr. Chairman, distinguished members of the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, I appreciate this opportunity to appear before your subcommittee to comment on the state of Indian education.

Perhaps I should preface my remarks by saying that the use of the word "education" is a semantic concession and that for a more realistic word perhaps we should use the word "instruction."

The interest in Indian affairs on my part has gone back a good many years. In the middle 1950's I went through many of the reservations in the Southwest and North and appreciated the depth of the problems. I appreciated the humility with which we have to approach these problems and came to a conclusion that the comments and involvement of non-Indians are necessarily always going to be peripheral to any real progress in this area. And that the burden, as it has always been throughout history will have to be carried by the disadvantaged or the oppressed group by pulling itself up to a state of identity, to a state of dedication and into an appreciation of the power alinements in the society that impinge on them and what is necessary to counteract them.

It is in this context that I wish by remarks to be taken, strictly as a supplementary bystander commentary with reiteration that the subject definitely will not advance unless Indians themselves engage in a very difficult task of reasserting their position in a dominant society.

This subcommittee is to be highly commended for continuing the very important task begun in December of 1967, of evaluating the extent to which our society has met its responsibility for adequately educating the American Indian.

This subcommittee has put together an impressive hearing record. Its five volumes record the status of Indian education, and it is a dismal story, replete with disappointments and frustrations.

I suspect if someone wanted to design a blueprint on how to keep children from becoming educated the ideal prototype in this country today would be the present state of the Indian education system.

The record clearly shows that the failures in Indian education are a result of our attitude toward Indians—the enduring attitude of a conqueror imposing its values and priorities on the vanquished and its worst paternalistic ethnocentric approach.

Rarely has education policy reflected the needs and desires of the Indians themselves. Every index is a testament to our failure: dropout rates estimated at 50 percent of all Indians, and as high as 100 percent for some communities; the poor self-concept Indian students have of themselves—the lowest of all minority groups—according to the Coleman report; the consistently low achievement scores; the shockingly high suicide rates among Indian adolescents; and all the other academic, social, and psychological indices various experts have described before this subcommittee.

The legacy of failure does not end, of course, when the Indian leaves school. The desperate conditions most Indian adults face today are part of that legacy: a 40-percent unemployment rate, grossly dilapidated housing, and an average income that is less than one-third the national average.

It is no longer fashionable in official circles to stress the assimilationist aspects of Indian educational policy. It sounds vaguely un-American and very much like racism. But despite the change in rhetoric, both Federal and public schools continue to attempt to mold the Indian until he disappears into the American mainstream.

Part of this is a reflection of the kind of assimilationist policy that some people would think was quite successful for European immigrants. Unfortunately, the analogy has caused a great misunderstanding between the Indian minority groups and other minority groups coming to our shores with an expectation, if not demand, to acculturate their skills of life to the U.S. conditions. And occasionally candor breaks through.

I. T. "Rip" Stoddard, superintendent of the Blackfoot Public

Schools, said in Education News, "What we're trying to do is make white men out of Indians. To be honest, there's no way of getting around it." But perhaps Mr. Stoddard should not be criticized for this statement. He simply said openly what most Indian educators privately believe. The ramifications of our assimilation policy have been misunderstood, or worse, totally ignored.

Specifically, these hearings have uncovered five significant areas of concern in existing Indian education programs. It is in these five areas that the failures of Indian education are most glaring:

1. The conflict of two cultures.

This is something that I think the greatest empathy on our part, non-Indians, can not adequately convey, how Indian children feel when they enter an alien world, a world that compels them to develop reference systems, symbols, and imageries that are very far from what they have learned at home.

2. The language conflict.
3. Administrator and teacher competence.
4. The boarding schools.
5. Parental involvement.

In any school with Indian students, BIA or public, cultural conflict is inevitable. The student, bringing with him all those values, attitudes, and beliefs that constitute his "indianness," is expected to subordinate that Indianness to the general American standards of the school. The fact that he, the student, must do all the modifying, all the compromising, seems to say something to him about the relative value of his own culture as opposed to that of the school. Dr. Robert Bergman, Division of Indian Health psychiatrist, reported one Navajo woman's experience, "Her teacher one day was angry at the laziness of the class and said, 'If you want to live in a hogan for the rest of your life just don't bother to study.' Since this woman definitely did want to live in a hogan for the rest of her life, she left school."

But such independence of mind cannot be expected of the average child. Bombarded by such negative references, it doesn't take the average Indian very long to decide that his culture must necessarily be inferior. He soon identifies that general cultural inferiority with himself, as an individual, his family, and his community. Many experts associate this feeling of cultural inferiority with the damaged self-concept the Indian student displays and his feelings of powerlessness. And as assimilation, partial or complete, remains part of our educational goal, we must somehow deal with this side-effect. The schools have failed to do this.

One important way to compensate for this assimilation-through-alienation process is to enrich the student's curriculum with Indian heritage, and the heritage of his own tribe in particular. I wonder what would happen in Texas if all references to the Alamo were purged in Texas public schools.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Are you asking me a question?

Mr. NADER. Yes.

Senator YARBOROUGH. We are up here to ask you questions. But I will answer you. It will never be done. We will never be able to test your hypothesis.

Mr. NADER. These symbols of what is a heroic act of a particular group involves a historic identification with various personal attributes. We see in our educational process what importance is ascribed to Lexington, Concord, Yorktown, Gettysburg, and outside the area——

Senator MURPHY. Mr. Chairman, will you yield for a second? I don't know what has happened in education but I would like to say this: When I went to school, which is a long time ago, that is almost before Texas, I learned all about Indians in Florida, I learned about many, many Indians. Now do I understand these references have all been eliminated? The Indian in my day in school had a very important part in the American heritage, the American background and culture. Has this been eliminated?

Mr. NADER. You put your finger on a very important point, Senator. There is more appreciation, some of it, unfortunately, in a very derogatory sense, in the white public schools of Indian activities and culture than there is in Indian schools or schools with a high Indian student ratio. In fact, generally speaking, the Indian has been an object of great curiosity and interest in this country at the same time he has been the subject of oppression.

Senator MURPHY. There were great heroes. I went to school in the Detroit area for a period of time and got to know a great deal about the association of the Indians and the Jesuit fathers and the travels up there. As a matter of fact, I am reading a most interesting book now which is made up of all Indian records of the whole development in the northeastern part of the United States, and up into Canada. There is an awful lot to be learned up there.

As I say, where I went to school there was a great deal of talk about the Indians, famous chiefs, famous tribes, what they did. I wonder, to your knowledge now has this been eliminated? Has it been downgraded? Has it been replaced by something else?

Mr. NADER. As I will mention later in my testimony, Senator, there has been for many years purging of the Indian heritage from the texts.

Senator MURPHY. Why would you think that has happened?

Mr. NADER. Simply as a reflection of the assimilationist policy. The object of the system is to introduce the Indian to the white world, to white ways of doing things to, in effect, show him there is a superior way to getting him out of his reservation context.

Senator MURPHY. I am glad to come to the Senate to learn that. I was not conscous of that.

Mr. NADER. To continue: Yet though BIA rhetoric now commends such a goal, that is, enriching the student's curriculum, these hearings offer little evidence of meaningful progress in this direction. Special materials are rarely used and since the teacher is usually uninformed about the Indian heritage, the curriculum varies little from the standard middle-class one used by non-Indians. Primers used by Indian students assume fathers who go to work in business suits, manicured lawns and all the other trappings of suburban life. The absurdity of such concepts to the Eskimo child, for instance, is obvious.

But if the BIA record is unacceptable, the public schools are even worse. There seems to be little indication that the public schools have done anything to help develop pride in the Indian heritage. In many cases the school's sole attempt at cultural integration is the formation of Indian clubs.

Beyond the need for pride in one's heritage, a specialized Indian curriculum would serve a more practical purpose. The Indian's relationship with the government, especially the Federal Government, is unique. The ordinary social studies program never touches these complicated relationships. Yet, it is critical for Indian students to learn, not just their tribe's history, but to also understand present-day arrangements: the leasing mechanism, the rights and limitations associated with trust property, and other rights and recourses associated with the Indian's unique relationship to the Federal Government.

We stress in our civic course the need for citizenship training, the need for recognition of our principal institutions and how they operate. In the Indian tribal institutions on the reservation this is different. Yet there is a deprivation of this understanding in the Indian school system.

Officials continually give lipservice to the notion of Indian independence and participation in the governing process. But how effective can that participation be without a basic understanding of the very system in which the participation must take place? Without attention to this particular omission, and despite official cant, we are merely perpetuating a relationship where the Indian is necessarily dependent upon an archaic and unresponsive bureaucracy—the BIA. He simply lacks the tools to do anything about it.

The second area of concern and the most obvious component of the cultural shock that awaits the Indian in school is the language conflict. It has been estimated that for half of the Indians enrolled in Federal schools English is not the first language learned. Yet, when the child enters school he is expected to function in a totally English-speaking environment. He muddles along in this educational void until he learns to assign meaning to the sounds the teacher makes. By the time he has begun to understand English, he has already fallen well behind in all the basic skill areas. In fact, it appears that his language handicap increases as he moves through school. And although it is no longer official BIA policy to discourage use of native languages, many reports in the hearings indicate the contrary in practice. Mrs. Lucille Proctor, a Cherokee from Oklahoma, told the subcommittee, "If the child does not comprehend directions given by the teacher, he is punished with a paddle."

For the last few years the BIA has been telling us about its ESL program—English as a second language. In fact, ESL is continually ressurrected and dusted off whenever the Bureau attempts to demonstrate its modernity and creativity. But ESL was around a long time before the BIA discovered it, and the version now used with Indian students is an anemic one. Teacher training, the backbone of this method, is minimal. The assumption seems to be that if you can speak English, you can teach it. Even if the teacher's training were excellent and included a study of the child's Indian dialect, the fact that the primary language for instruction remains English means that the child inevitably misses a great deal in the early years. And though no complete survey is available of the language problem in the public schools, the available evidence does suggest a similar failure.

A more intelligent mixture of native languages and English would not only improve the student's eventual language proficiency, but would also serve to ease the culture conflict faced by the child. Meaningful respect for native language is an essential part of developing healthier self-confidence.

Now this was learned in Puerto Rico a number of years ago when that Island community decided to reassert itself and advance its economy, educational system and sense of pride. This was a problem where English was a dominant language and children were coming out of schools with poor equipment in both English and Spanish. The process was turned around and Spanish became the first language. With that base, with that linguistic base and cultural pride, the assumption of facility in the English language improved. This, of course, is one of the many lessons learned in this country and abroad which has never applied to the administration of Indian reservations.

The question of administrator and teacher competence has also developed into a third major area of concern. There are, no doubt, able and courageous teachers and administrators in both the public and BIA schools. But the system is stacked against them. The high turnover rate is only one indication of that. The BIA, for instance, still hires its teachers on a 12-month basis. With unattractive working conditions and a sorely deficient pay scale—some teachers receive under $6,000 for a 12-month commitment—it is no wonder that even the dedicated are deterred. Often, then, the Indian student, whose special educational needs require the highest teaching skills, is left with the most inadequate teachers.

The teacher training programs do little to upgrade the situation. The teachers colleges and universities have largely ignored this area of specialization; only one presently offers an advanced degree in Indian education. Teacher orientation programs, where they exist, seem to offer as much training in the ways of civil service—amount of sick leave, vacation, required reports—as in the ways of the area's culture. It is very easy for a teacher to remain insensitive to the cultural conflict that goes on every day in his classroom.

Beyond ignorance, there is also evidence of considerable disinterest among teachers. HEW's 1966 Coleman report, Equality of Educational Opportunity, revealed that 25 percent of those teaching Indian children would prefer not to teach Indians. That is the number of teachers who admitted this on the record.

A study of the Pine Ridge Schools, "Formal Education in an American Indian Community," by Rosalie and Murray Wax, found, "The most common attitude is condescension, sometimes kindly, often well-meant, but always critical."

The picture of administrator competent is, if anything, even more discouraging. No statistics for the public schools are available, but a survey of the ages and experience of BIA education administrators is revealing. The average age for the top level, GS–15 and 14, is 58 years; the median years of BIA experience is 27 years; and of other outside experience only 4½ years. The same pattern exists for all BIA educational administrators: youth is a rare commodity and marked inbreeding as far as job experience is concerned. Promotion seems to be based on time on the job. There are few transfers from outside the BIA structure. The result has been, predictably, real stagnation and lack of creativity.

In Tuba City, Ariz., for instance, there are two elementary schools, one public and one BIA run. This public school, an exception in the general run of public schools, has been innovative and developed, among other things, some imaginative bilingual techniques. Yet despite the proximity, BIA administrators have made no attempts to study this public school's success.

Some of the most impassioned criticism of the BIA has involved the boarding schools. Senator Robert Kennedy often called the system, especially for elementary school children, "barbaric." Here all of the problems I've touched upon are intensified. The child is confronted by an alien culture 24 hours a day. He is estranged from all the potentially comforting reassurances of his family and community. His environment is totally controlled. Of necessity, given the shocking understaffing, the schools are run virtually with military rigidity, which often reaches absurd proportions. At the Magdalena Dormitory in New Mexico, for instance, the piano remains locked up and never used for fear it might be damaged.

The results of this super-rigid environment, where even overage high school students of 21 are put to bed at 9 p.m., have been amply documented in these hearings. One study by the National Institutes of Mental Health found that the anxiety, hostility, and aggression levels of boarding school students scored significantly higher than did day school students. In addition, most of these boarding school students, especially in high school, make little academic progress. Dr. Harry Saslow, professor in psychological research at New Mexico Highlands University, reported that at the Albuquerque Boarding School the average student progressed in terms of achievement only one-half of one grade during his entire 4 years of high school.

The Bureau has, up until recently, failed to recognize the mental health needs of the boarding school students. In recent years the population of the off-reservation boarding schools has been changing. It is estimated that at least 25 percent of the students in these schools are "social referrals"—children from broken homes and children with serious mental disturbances. Professional mental health facilities are totally lacking at these schools. Presently the BIA has one psychologist and two social workers for its entire school system.

Senator MONDALE. Will you yield there?

Mr. NADER. Yes, sir.

Senator MONDALE. These figures, I think, are new: That is, the fact that they have but one psychologist and two social workers in the entire school system. This is in spite of the fact that Indians have the greatest suicide rate of any group in the country.

Mr. NADER. Yes, sir. I think while we are talking here in rather dry statistics, what is really at stake is the orientation and the training in the sense of fulfillment that is going to lead the Indian child one way or another the rest of his life. If anybody has any doubts about the effect of an educational system one way or another on a child's personal development I suggest they study the BIA system.

When you get a situation where you get suicide epidemics, something which hasn't existed in our most abysmal slums in this country, I think it is time you take a serious look at the traumatic, disruptive deteriorating impact of the existing system.

Indian parents, despite the low esteem accorded them by many school personnel, seem to be aware of the bad deal their children are getting. Many parents express their dissatisfaction by actually boycotting the schools. A 1966 HEW survey estimated that 16,000 Indian children between the ages of 8 and 16 were not in school. Many parents have appeared before this subcommittee and voiced complaints that had for many years remained unheeded. Even worse, for most parents, these complaints had gone unheard.

Today, the Indian parent is rarely asked to voice an opinion on educational matters. Only at the Rough Rock Demonstration School on the Navajo Reservation do Indian parents comprise an effective school board with meaningful powers; they manage the budget, hire and fire personnel, and otherwise set school policy.

It is interesting that Navajo means people, the word Navajo means people. Perhaps the entire system is structured against the implications of that policy.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Mr. Nader, isn't that true around the world with many people? Before they get a written language their word often means the people? Like we have just heard from the Mesquakie Tribe that their word means people of the red earth. Very often whatever the name was in the language of many tribes, this is true in other continents. Many primitive people without a written language, they named themselves the people.

Mr. NADER. Yes. I know it goes deeper than actually this, Senator. The cultural side of the Navajo has absorbed anthropologists' interest for many years in terms of the totally different feeling that is expressed toward people. In a very simple sense the interpersonal relationships are directed toward people as they are, not in the sense of what perhaps obtains in this culture in terms of aggressive or acquisitive instincts and stresses.

Senator YARBOROUGH. How many Navajo were there when they first came in contact with Europeans?

Mr. NADER. Something of the order of 25,000.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Now there are about 100,000.

Mr. NADER. Yes.

Senator YARBOROUGH. It is one of the very few tribes that not only maintained its strength but gained after long contact with the whites.

Mr. NADER. It is a testament not only to improved health measures which permitted this increase but also in the land base.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Over in an inaccessible part of the country where the whites could not well impinge, do you know any other tribes whose numbers have increased in their whole history to the present day after contact with the whites?

Mr. NADER. There may have been some small tribes, but in terms of the large tribes they are smaller today. Although perhaps the Sioux Tribes in recent decades have exceeded the 18th or 19th century level.

Senator YARBOROUGH. They were decimated by 1970.

Mr. NADER. The figures in the early 18th or 19th century are very unreliable. The estimate, for example, at the time of Columbus that there were a million Indians. Of course, what is the estimate based on? It is little more than a hunch. It is quite clear in the 20th century the population has been increasing faster than any other ethnic group.

Senator MONDALE. Senator Robert Kennedy often said the Indians have the highest birth rate of any group in American society now. So for those who want the Indians to disappear the prognosis is not very good. They are doing pretty well.

Mr. NADER. Wherever the subcommittee has gone, Indians have expressed a desire to control their own schools. Parental influence can make the school a true expression of the community's hopes and needs. The general problem of culture conflict could be minimized under the careful eye of concerned parents who really understand the student's background. More important, local control of schools, the freedom even to make their own mistakes, and they will be made, will add immeasurably to Indian self-respect.

There has to be a circular flow between the educational system and the community's state of affairs if the community is going to be enriched by the educational process.

In the more than 2,000 pages of the subcommittee's hearings the case for radical change in Indian education is incontestable. The reasons for the extraordinary failure in both Bureau and public schools are perhaps not as obvious. With respect to the BIA school system, much of the blame must be assigned to an entrenched bureaucratic malaise. A feeling that it is safe not to take risks, not to engage in innovation. The BIA exhibits all the crippling features of an aged and rotting bureaucracy: incompetence, rigidity, and an incredible dearth of creativity.

There is merit in the BIA's constant excuse of underfunding. Nevertheless, its appropriation for educational operations has nearly doubled since 1960, with no significant parallel improvement in results. There are some quantitative advances, however, but the critical need here is qualitative change. The projected per pupil costs for BIA day schools in 1969 is $934. Compare this figure with the under $400 per pupil expenditure in some Mississippi Delta schools. Yet when the Coleman report pitted Indian students against poor rural blacks, among other minorities, it found, and I quote from the revised Coleman findings, which I don't believe have been made public, and I will submit them for the record.

Senator YARBOROUGH. I order that they be printed in the record at this point.

(The material referred to follows:)

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY,
Baltimore, Md., December 17, 1968.

Dr. HERBERT AURBACH,
Education Building, Pennsylvania State University,
University Park, Pa.

DEAR DR. AURBACH: I am sending at your request the recomputed test scores for the American Indians.

At this point, this is all the further documentation we have on the American Indians.

Please feel free to call upon me at any time for additional information you may require.

Sincerely,

NANCY KARWEIT.

A NOTE ON INDIAN AMERICANS

The revised weights used to obtain national estimates of test scores were intended to reveal the direction of possible errors in the original estimates due to (a) a bias from differential unreliability in the racial and ethnic group identification items, and (b) the geographical location of the particular probability sample selected.

The revised estimates show that these errors were in the direction of overestimating the average scores of American Indians. It is the direction of error, rather than the size of the error which is most clearly revealed by these revised estimates.

A general point to keep in mind when comparing the average test scores of American Indians with other minority groups are the trends in relative standing over the 5 grades shown in Tables 3.12 of the original report. Of the different minority groups, it is the American Indians whose verbal and national average reading scores show a large decrease in relative standing over the grades, which shows that the training they receive does *not* allow them to maintain the relative standing among other groups with which they begin school.

TABLE.—ESTIMATED NATIONAL AVERAGE TEST SCORES WITH ORIGINAL AND REVISED WEIGHTING FACTORS, BY RACIAL OR ETHNIC GROUP, EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY SURVEY, FALL 1965

Test	Racial or ethnic group											
	Puerto Ricans			Indian Americans			Mexican Americans			Oriental Americans, old	Negro, old	Whites, old
	Old [1]	New [1]	New (R) [1]	Old	New	New (R)	Old	New	New (R)			
1st grade:												
Nonverbal	44.9	41.4	41.8	50.5	49.8	49.2	48.3	47.6		54.8	43.1	52.3
Verbal	43.1	39.6	40.3	47.8	46.0	45.9	44.8	43.4		50.6	44.2	52.3
2d grade:												
Verbal	42.3	41.5	41.6	46.0	43.4	44.0	45.9	44.7		48.1	46.0	52.0
Nonverbal 1	43.0	45.0	45.0	48.4	48.0	47.9	47.1	46.7		50.2	45.1	51.9
Nonverbal 2	43.8	46.0	46.2	47.8	47.0	47.0	47.1	46.9		50.0	45.8	51.8
Reading comprehension	42.0	40.4	40.6	46.6	45.4	45.4	45.5	44.5		49.7	44.3	52.4
Math achievement	42.6	40.0	40.2	46.7	45.4	45.6	45.8	45.3		49.8	44.4	52.3
3d grade:												
Nonverbal	40.3	44.4	44.2	46.2	46.2	45.9	43.3	44.3		50.3	43.7	52.6
Verbal	39.0	40.0	40.0	44.5	43.3	43.4	42.8	42.8		49.1	43.0	53.0
Reading comprehension	40.4	42.0	41.9	45.0	44.2	44.1	43.4	44.0		49.3	44.3	52.6
Math achievement	40.3	41.0	40.9	44.3	43.3	43.4	43.4	43.7		49.3	42.9	52.9
4th grade:												
Nonverbal	43.2	42.6	42.2	47.1	46.7	46.4	44.9	45.4		52.2	43.2	52.1
Verbal	41.7	49.7	49.8	45.0	43.3	43.3	44.1	44.1		50.0	41.9	52.6
Reading comprehension	42.1	50.7	50.6	45.6	44.5	44.4	44.5	44.3		50.4	43.3	52.2
Math achievement	41.9	44.4	44.4	45.3	44.6	44.5	44.8	44.2		51.8	43.1	52.4
5th grade:												
Nonverbal	43.3	42.7	42.6	47.1	46.3	45.8	45.0	44.6		51.6		
Verbal	43.1	41.3	41.3	43.7	41.6	41.6	43.8	42.4		49.6		
Reading comprehension	42.6	42.5	42.4	44.3	43.2	43.1	44.2	43.5		48.8		
Math achievement	43.7	40.9	41.0	45.9	45.0	44.8	45.5	44.7		51.3		

[1] "Old" are the estimated averages with original weights, "New" are the estimated averages with revised weights based on the 1960 census ethnic populations of States, "New (R)" are the estimated averages where schools with 3 or less students of the particular racial or ethnic group are eliminated from the average and revised weights are used based on the 1960 census ethnic population of States.

PROCEDURE FOR OBTAINING WEIGHTS AND RECALCULATING TEST SCORES

The test scores for American Indians, Puerto Ricans, and Mexican Americans at grades 1, 3, 6, 9, and 12 were recomputed using two different sets of weights. Both sets of weights used the ratio of the number of students in the O.E. survey to the actual number of the particular group according to the 1960 census.

The data for the American Indians was available at the state level from the 1960 *Statistical Abstracts* of the United States, table #26. The number of Puerto Ricans by state came from the census special report PC (2) 1D, table #15. The enumeration for the Mexican Americans was available only for the five states: Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico and Texas, and then for regions in the United States. This data came from PC (1) 1D, special report of the census, tables 162 and 236.

For all three groups some combining of states was carried out and in effect regional, rather than state weights were used.

The general procedure for computing the weights involved finding the ratio:

$$\frac{N_{\text{students in the sample}}}{N_{\text{census}}}$$

Two different weights were obtained by this method.

1. Full weights: All students in the sample were included.
2. Restrictive weights: Only students from those schools having 3 or more persons in the sample were included.

Then for each group (Al, PR, MA) there are 2 sets of weights for each of the 5 grades or 10 sets of weights for a group.

CALCULATION OF TEST SCORES

Non-standardized and standardized test scores were computed for all groups. The non-standardized test scores were computed as explained below.

w_i=the weights for the ith region

x_j=test score for individual j, within the ith region, then

$$\overline{X}=\frac{\Sigma(w_i x_i)}{\Sigma w_i}$$

$$\text{Sigma}=\sqrt{\frac{\overline{w}_i \Sigma w_i (x_j)^2-(\Sigma w_i x_j)^2}{\Sigma w_i}}$$

The transformed scores

$\overline{X}t=(\overline{X}-A)\cdot B+C$

Sigma = Sigma − B

Where,

A = Xsub (additive constant on standard scores = 219 for grades 6, 9, 12)

B = Xmult

C = Xadd

In grades 1 and 3, not every student took every test. (a missing test score coded by ETS as 00A was recoded as 999). The case base printed beside each test gives the number of students completing that particular test.

Mr. NADER. The key quote is:

> Of the different minority groups, it is the American Indians whose verbal and national average reading scores show a large decrease in relative standing over the grades, which shows that the training they receive does not allow them to maintain the relative standing among other groups with which they begin school.

The American Indian was again low man. Clearly, then, underfunding does entirely explain the continuation of these disastrous results. The explanation must lie with the policy and the policymakers.

The 1966 President's Task Force on American Indians in its still officially secret report noted that "too many BIA employees were simply timeservers of mediocre or poor competence who remained indefinitely because they were willing to serve in unattractive posts at low rates of pay for long periods of time." The 1967 BIA survey of its top education administrators seems to support this observation: average age 58 years, median years in the BIA, 27.

By way of commenting on BIA personnel, even the best person, after a few years of engaging or participating in the stifling bureaucratic context, can destroy his own feeling of contribution, his own feeling of creativity. However, I think it must be recognized that the BIA was not developed to be a full employment agency for itself. The BIA was developed in effect to put itself out of business eventually. Just the opposite is happening. The entanglements and the regulations and the rules stagger even the legal profession. There are now a few specialists in Indian law who have almost cornered the Indian legal business and as such are growing increasingly myopic to the broader needs of simplifying procedures, of deemphasizing bureaucracy, of generating local initiative. There is a very clear vested interest here on the part of those who staff and feed off the BIA.

The Bureau's rigidity is legion. Its description can become a caricature of Bureaucracy. The decisionmaking process in so many important areas has been reduced to mechanical rule following, with little opportunity for new factors to be considered. The omnipresent BIA Manual spells out in microscopic detail how each decision is to be made. Policies, perhaps once rational, become frozen.

After World War II, for instance, the BIA came under fire for its failure to provide schooling for vast numbers of Navahos in relatively isolated areas.

Incidentally, this immediate postwar concern for Indians was in part a reflection of the opposition in Congress to the Marshal plan. In order to establish the reasons for the opposition a few Members of Congress brought up the Indian problem by way of saying: Look, we have not even taken care of our own citizens, why should we go spend millions in Europe?

I submit many of these episodic concerns have been just kind of a secondary derivative technique when other isues are prominent. When these issues go away the concern for the Indians goes away as well.

In response to this criticism, Congress authorized an emergency $20 million allocation and the Bureau embarked upon a crash construction program. BIA chose the simplest and least adequate solution. Close to 50 elementary boarding schools were built or rehabilitated in that period. The justification for boarding schools instead of day schools was efficiency and speed.

In many ways the same justification why there are army barracks, efficiency, and speed.

All of these schools were built without the slightest attention to the educational and psychological needs of the children they were to serve. In terms of physical appearance the schools look very much like prison schools. The dormitories are usually stark barracks that only the most imaginative could call "home," The classroom buildings were all built without educational specifications: the usual space and lighting standards were ignored.

The physical environment, Senator, is very important in developing the kind of warm feeling small children need.

What was formulated as only a temporary, emergency solution in the post-World War II period, has been solidified and remains Bureau policy. The BIA has not been able to come up with an alternative to elementary boarding schools for Navaho children. Though educational experts have long denounced early separation from the family as destructive, the Bureau has continued the program.

Its response to the escalating criticism of these schools consists merely of pointing out that the road system on the Navaho Reservation cannot support day schools. The Bureau has continued to promise to review this policy and come up with alternatives. But in 1968, it spent half of its school construction budget on boarding schools, indicating that no firm policy change has yet taken place.

Actually, close inspection reveals other reasons for maintaining elementary boarding schools. These schools are often just cover-ups for the BIA's inadequate welfare program. Many Navaho parents reluctantly send their children to these schools because they cannot afford to feed and clothe them 12 months a years.

This brings up a very intriguing point. This country is spending through the BIA budget and HEW budget on the order of $850 to $900 average per capita Indian man, woman, and child. Yet the results even if they are taken at their best results are very discouraging. If you took an average Indian family of five and multiplied that number plus their existing income, you would be well over the poverty level as defined by OEO. I think it is striking to point out that whole overseas in our foreign aid program where we spend at best something like $2 per capita in Latin America and expect wonders we are spending close to a thousand dollars per Indian man, woman, and child and the situation remains the same, severe malnutrition, dilapidated housing, poor educational system, miserable transportation and communications, and so on.

Senator YARBOROUGH. How much of that $850 per capita of expenditures by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, how much of that goes to Indians? How much of that goes to the employees of the BIA, and their expenses, their office space and all?

Mr. NADER. The Bureau portion of that $850 per capita is approximately $635. No such breakdown of that figure is presently available.

No matter how severe the educational failures of these schools, they do at least provide for the child's physical needs. Should these schools be abandoned for the more educationally and psychologically sound day school system, present welfare institutions would have to be entirely revamped. Boarding schools are not welfare institutions and should not be judged by those standards. Indian parents have a right to demand both an adequate living standard and quality schools.

The boarding school program offers further examples of the Bureau's determined fight to stand still. On the Navajo Reservation the Rough Rock Demonstration School was funded by the BIA, with OEO, to experiment and provide leadership in attacking boarding school problems. The school has been operating for almost 3 years but the Bureau has adopted none of the creative techniques developed at Rough Rock in any of its other schools. Though adopting some of Rough Rock's programs would require more money than the Bureau presently has, others require only the necessary imagination. For example, Rough Rock has a dorm-parent program that would require little extra funding at other boarding schools. Parents of the students act as dorm attendants for 8-week stints. They are paid only $40 per week but bring immeasurable knowledge and comfort to the students.

One of the serious problems at boarding schools has been the scarcity of qualified personnel available to perform this very essential task. The Bureau has ignored this excellent solution. Rough Rock also sends its children home on weekends minimizing the periods of separation from family and home. Since 90 percent of Navajo boarding school students under 10 years live within 25 miles of their schools, this would also be a simple and effective policy change. Presently children at schools other than Rough Rock can rarely look forward to a weekend at home. This timidity in trying such new approaches verges on the callous. In terms of its effect on Bureau policy, Rough Rock might just as well never have existed.

This reflects on the Bureau's ability to assimilate progressive changes even when they have been proven in the field in prototype or pilot projects.

The sole impact that Rough Rock seems to have had on the BIA is in added pressure for Indian school boards. Rough Rock is run by a board of essentially uneducated Navahos. Additional pressures came from President Johnson's March 6, 1968, message on Indian Affairs: "I am directing the Secretary of the Interior to establish Indian school boards for Federal Indian schools." The BIA's response has been a totally inadequate compromise. A few advisory school boards have been set up, with no power over funds, hiring and firing or general educational policy. The Navaho area director said recently, "The Indians are not as sophisticated as we are in budgeting matters." Yet the Navaho School Board at Rough Rock has been handling its $790,000 budget in a wise and efficient manner.

Sources in the BIA claim that a more meaningful response has been blocked by the invisible man at the Bureau of the Budget. Harry C. McKittrick, long-time foe of needed changes in Indian Affairs, who oversees the BIA in the Executive Office, apparently is opposed to anything more than advisory boards, which can be called tokenism. Whether or not these reports are accurate, the articulate Mr. McKittrick has some powerful allies in the BIA area directors. They exert far greater control over the BIA than the organizational charter of the BIA would imply.

The area directors are the most powerful men in this poorly conceived bureaucracy. In this position resides all of the Bureau's real line control. Though the Washington office has an education division, the director of that division has no line control over the area offices. The area director controls the budget requests, the allocation of funds and the hiring and firing of personnel. He is, in fact, the school board.

One serious problem the Bureau continues to face, for example, is a lack of research capability. A rational approach to this need would be a heavily funded, central research operation. Such an approach was urged by former Commissioner for Education Marburger. But even if the central office had an effective research capacity, the education division's director would find it very difficult to convert research findings into policy, given the effective veto power that resides in the area office.

This failure at the central office level leaves essentially all responsibility for new programs to the area level. And the creativity potential there is close to zero. The Navajo Area Director for instance, readily agrees that elementary boarding schools are not desirable and that the day schools are preferable. But when it comes to action, or even investigating possible actions, he asserted that "no fancy planning" for day schools is necessary. "They'll just come naturally as the reservation urbanizes." Clearly, this type of approach can no longer be tolerated. The Navajos simply cannot wait until the megalopolis reaches Tuba City, Ariz. The entire BIA structure must be rationalized. Pouring more money into hands that cannot or will not move offers little promise.

But Congress, in its occasionally overzealous pursuit of economy, must share some of the blame for the BIA's inflexibility. For instance, Congess demands that the BIA fill every classroom seat before any new school construction can proceed. The Bureau meekly accepts this mandate and proceeds to implement the following migratory absurdity. If seats are empty at the Chilocco school in Oklahoma and the Bureau has some "extra" Alaska Natives from Point Barrow, these students are sent over 6,000 miles to Chilocco.

Senator MONDALE. Has that happened?

Mr. NADER. Yes, sir.

Students are literally hauled all over the country to fulfill this absurd requirement. The Chemawa Boarding School in Oregon serves Alaska Natives and Navajos while close to 500 Indians from the Pacific Northwest are shipped to Oklahoma.

The Bureau schools are always the object of the most intense criticism, and rightly so, since the Federal program should be an exemplary one. But the failure of public schools cannot be ignored.

The reasons for this failure would take too long to discuss here. They are all the reasons that public school education has failed blacks, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans and all other disadvantaged groups: lack of sufficient funding, prejudice and insensitivity. But beyond these reasons, the Indian has been further victimized.

The Johnson-O'Malley Act was passed in 1934 and authorized the BIA to make grants to public schools to educate Indians. What these schools do with this money is of great concern since increasingly the BIA is transferring its educational responsibility to the public schools. In 1968 close to two-thirds of all Indian students attended public schools.

In answer to your question earlier about how much money goes to the Bureau and how much to the Indians, many of the funds, the Johnson-O'Malley funds, are not utilized strictly for Indian education purposes by the public schools. The line where they are and where they are not is one that deserves systematic investigation.

The hearings have revealed substantial problems in the administration of these Federal funds. The Federal Government has failed to use its financial power to force quality controls on the use of this money. Consequently, the States merely use Johnson-O'Malley funds to reduce their own tax burden. Special programs for Indian students are virtually nonexistent. In fact, most State Indian education divisions do little more than the bookkeeping involved in the administration of JOM and other Federal funds. Mrs. Iola Hayden of Oklahoma summarized a typical situation:

> We have in the State at the present time one school which receives Federal funds * * * with a 100-percent Indian enrollment and a three-man non-Indian school board. There are, of course, no Indian teachers in the school and there is no utilization of teacher aides.

I would like to point out here that it is important to be quite aware of BIA figures on student enrollment. There is a difference between student enrollment and student attendance. The reasons for that difference might be explained by the Bureau.

Senator MONDALE. Do we have any figures on the truancy rates of Indians?

Mr. NADER. We have a figure on dropout rates, which is a kind of permanent truancy.

Senator YARBOROUGH. In my State and in most States, the State pays a good share of running the public schools. Formerly, a few decades ago, the local school board did, but now the State bears the major portion, based on the average daily attendance. Does the Bureau of Indian Affairs keep any records like that, the daily average attendance?

Mr. NADER. I don't believe they have accurate records. The response to a request of the Bureau for such information is that we have records at the reservation level or the local level but we don't have them aggregated for the Nation. The question is, if they do have some figures how accurate are the figures?

Speaking in reference to your point there is incentive that if they are not in attendance to say that they are in attendance in order to keep getting funds. I don't think the General Accounting Office has done an inquiry into this area in recent years. Perhaps one could be done.

This legislation must be reviewed and more creative methods of allocation for Federal funds devised. The public schools have had a free ride for too long. It's no wonder that the States jealously guard their "Indian money." Public school officials in New Mexico vigorously fought the construction of a new Federal Albuquerque Indian School. They feared the loss of the no-strings Federal money. Yet, they did not suggest alternatives to meet the needs of these young Indians.

Most studies show that Indian students do better in public schools. These results are deceptive. The public schools use the Federal boarding schools as a dumping ground for all "problem students." "Problem students" can identify anyone from a child with serious emotional disturbances to one who has a language deficiency. And as Senator Mondale recently said, "Many public schools are failing Indian children as badly as the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Dropout rates of many public schools runs from 40 percent to as high as 100 percent (for example, Alliance, Nebraska).

The need for change, great change, in all areas of Indian education cannot be ignored. That is exactly the problem afflicting any minority group that is expendable. Nor can increases in appropriations alone, change anything. The disastrous inadequacies of our present approach demand bold experimentation and top-to-bottom reorganization if any real improvements are to follow. Specific proposals for educational programs should be left to the experts and the Indians themselves. I would like, however, to offer some general suggestions which are political and administrative in nature.

First, Indians must assume a leadership role in all changes. At the local level, Indians must control their own schools. Beyond this, they have been too long denied a voice in national Indian policy formation. No other group of Americans is controlled by the Federal Government, and so deprived of resources to affect that control. A permanent national all-Indian council, as part of the reorganization, that is my second suggestion, could assure continued involvement of Indians at the national level.

I might say that some 13 or 14 years ago when I went through the reservation systems for the first time I came away with the feeling that nothing is going to be done by way of progress in Indian affairs until Indians begin to respect their own culture, begin to identify with their traditions and their own capability and to develop kinds of self-reliance. Any educational system must have that as its first priority. For many American Indians there are no futures. The future is today and today is yesterday. They are people without a future. We must keep this critical objective in mind that the Indians must gain self-respect and control of their own destiny. Even if they make mistakes they must gain their assertion over their opportunities and their future before real progress is made.

Hundreds of millions of dollars will go down the drain unless that principle is accepted.

Second, the BIA cannot provide the requisite leadership while lodged in the Interior Department. The two organizations serve different and often competing constituencies. The Department of the Interior has the prime relation to potential and preservation of the powerful interest groups in natural resources. The problems of Indian education are just part of a larger picture in which the Interior Department has ignored Indian affairs in general and catered to interests that are often opposed to Indian progress. Recently, the National Congress of American Indians suggested that the Bureau be moved out of Interior and established as an independent agency or commission.

This may be the best approach. But such a shift must be accompanied by a thoroughgoing shakedown of personnel and a reorganization that would provide for the more widespread and more rational use of expertise. Whatever the details, Indians must be meaningfully involved in the decision.

I would like to have your permission, Mr. Chairman, to provide for the record an article which I wrote in 1956 which on rereading rings too true today, which in effect shows that the conditions on the reservations and the attitudes outside the reservation are all too unchanged. I think this is a very sobering judgment that is arrived at by anyone who has read the literature of dissent and the literature of criticism in Indian affairs over the past three or four decades.

Senator YARBOROUGH. That article that you refer to is your article on American Indians, "People Without A Future," in the Harvard Law Record, May 1956?

Mr. NADER. That is right.

Senator YARBOROUGH. That article is ordered printed at this point in the record.

(The article referred to follows:)

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Harvard Law Record

VOL. 22, NO. 10 MAY 10, 1956, CAMBRIDGE, MASS. SPECIAL REPRINT

American Indians: People Without a Future

By RALPH NADER

(Copyright 1956, Harvard Law School Record, Inc.)

"We are people who are better known for what we were not than what we were, for what we are not than for what we are."

—A Crow Indian, 1955

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65/68

Mr. NADER. By way of elaboration of my remarks, I would like to insert two other articles, one by myself entitled "Lo, the Poor Indian," and the second by Daniel Henninger and Nancy Esposito.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Where were they printed?

Mr. NADER. Both were printed in the New Republic.

Senator YARBOROUGH. They are ordered printed in the record.

(The material referred to follows:)

[From the New Republic, Mar. 30, 1968]

"LO, THE POOR INDIAN"

by Ralph Nader

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[From the New Republic, March 1968]

Regimented Non-Education—Indian Schools

(By Daniel Henninger and Nancy Esposito)

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71, 72, 73,

Copyrighted Material Deleted

Senator Yarborough. Does that complete your statement?

Mr. Nader. Yes, sir.

Senator Yarborough. I want to thank you on behalf of the committee very much for this very comprehensive statement, your knowledge of the situation. It is informative and will be of help to this committee and I hope to the Nation.

I congratulate you too. While we know you and the country knows you best as a crusader for safe automobiles and your book "Unsafe At Any Speed" has been noted more, so far as I know your publication in this field of the American Indians precedes your publication in the field of automobile safety.

I have heard you speak earlier of your visits to Indian reservations, and your article in the Harvard Law Record back in 1956 nearly 13 years ago now shows your long interest in studying this field. You have made a real contribution to these hearings. I want to thank you very much.

Mr. Nader. Thank you, sir.

Senator Yarborough. Senator Mondale.

Senator Mondale. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I wish to join the chairman in his observation about your contribution in this field as in many others. I think the country, which at first dismissed Mr. Nader as somewhat of a wild man, is beginning to realize that he is one of the most creative, responsible critics in the country today. And, a remarkable lawyer.

I would like to ask you the same question I asked the previous witness. Do you think that we can have an adequate system of Indian education which the Indians themselves do not control?

Mr. Nader. No, I do not.

Senator Mondale. Thus, whatever system we develop must begin with that principle?

Mr. Nader. That is correct.

Senator Mondale. Would you trace the confusion, insensitivity, incompetence, and sometimes downright bigotry, which has characterized Indian education policy for more than a century, basically, to the failure to permit the Indian to pursue his own course as he sees best?

Mr. Nader. Yes. It is a systematic attempt by the dominant culture to impose its value systems and its decisional processes on a subservient culture.

Senator Mondale. Because this has been our policy all of these years, wherever you look you see different ramifications of a white man's failure to understand: what it is that Indians need and want; what their incentives are; what their language means to them, because language is more, as I understand it, than just a question of understanding each other. Language involves a value system. When we use the word "time" it does not mean the same thing necessarily to another culture. When we use the word "nature," others may pronounce it the same but it may mean an entirely different thing. Our concept of the use of nature is a generalized reference but as I understand it from different scholars speaking of the Indians, nature to them means not only that, but also an obligation toward nature. He senses himself a part of a system, a culture and a heritage, which involves responsibility as well as rights. One can only hope, among other things, that if those who controlled the destiny of this country over the last century would have had that same concept of nature, then perhaps we would not be facing the environmental crisis and the pollution crisis which threatens to destroy us.

I have gathered from some of the questions asked here today that some believe that the issue before this committee is whatever we decide as best for the Indian, when that is precisely the problem that has caused the situation that requires these hearings.

It is time that the white man disabused himself of the notion that he is capable of making that decision any more than we would let anybody else make that decision for us. That is why we have local control of school boards. If you went into any community in which I was raised, or Senator Yarborough was raised, and you suggested there was going to be a national system by which somebody else selected the teachers, determined the curriculum, and decided all of the things that are decided now for the Indians throughout this country by a remote bureaucracy, we would have a war. Yet, this is exactly what has been going on in Indian communities. I think until we realize that no matter how far off we might be in the Congress, or anywhere else, we are not going to solve this problem until we disabuse ourselves of the notion that we retain some kind of proprietary right to determine the future of other people and other cultures.

I notice in your discussion, and all the discussion that we have had thus far, that the attention has been primarily directed toward the reservation Indian or the rural Indian. This is certainly an area of profound concern.

Would you care to make any observations about the problem of education for the urban Indian, and how that relates to your testimony?

Mr. NADER. Yes.

As you know, Senator, the numbers of Indians in some of the larger cities is increasing markedly in recent years, particularly Los Angeles, Denver, Minneapolis. The question is how do you handle an essentially alienated, often frightened minority group in an educational system that has been rather insensitive to the needs of the students in the cities whose parents have been there for many years. I think the problems are different. They are very largely the problems of urban education in general with particular sensitivity to the language needs, to the emotional needs of the Indian children in the cities. I think you have struck a very important chord when you mentioned the relationship of Indians to nature, particularly on the reservation. One of the objects of contempt by many teachers in the Bureau's educational system is what they call superstition and animism, which is in part an ascribing of human anthropomorphic qualities to mountains, hills, streams, to other geographic sites on the reservation.

I submit that this is a critical distinction between the two cultures. And that because our culture does not have that kind of appreciation or communion with nature we have seen the Great Lakes, the great rivers, the air polluted, contaminated to a degree where the backlash, the whiplash of an abused nature is now affecting the very health and safety of our peoples everywhere. So, it is a bit stronger than just condescension to say these attitudes are paternalistic. They are destructive. They indicate a feeling that we have not only to crush Indians' values but that we have nothing to learn from them.

I submit that we have a great deal to learn from them in a very personal and a very effective manner, not just in terms of the quality or style of life but in terms of appreciating the necessity of respecting nature if indeed we are going to have a viable natural environment for raising children in the Nation.

The interesting difference between the Indian attitude on many of the reservations and our attitude is that we look at rivers not as something composed of spirits or various human attributes. We look at rivers as sewers. We look at the air as a sewer. We look at lakes as dumping grounds for industrial byproducts and municipal sewage.

I think that we could undertake a greater degree of humility here in respecting a value system which has withstood tremendous bombardment for over 200 years from the dominant culture and has still hung on. That type of retention is almost unknown in the history of the world.

I think it indicates, among other things, the degree of commitment that the Indians have to their value system.

Senator MONDALE. This same value system, as I understand it, would be of value to the American society in many other ways.

One of the least discussed issues in the Congress today is the destruction of migratory fowl and various other species of wild animals. Unfortunately, whenever we permit them to be hunted the reaction of our community is to take all you can get; they call them meat hunters in Minnesota. We slaughter them. It is a question of whether we have Mallard ducks or any other kind of ducks, because we just can't seem to be able to restrain ourselves whenever permitted to hunt.

This is once again a ramification of an appreciation of nature which we could gain from the American Indian. I think there is much we have lost through our policy of arrogance over the years.

I have just one final question: You mentioned that there is in the Bureau of Indian Affairs a Branch of Education. Would you care to comment on the sensitivity and the quality of the personnel in that department?

You mentioned something about the ages. But what can be said of the sophistication with which they approach the problems of Indian education?

Mr. NADER. There have been some dedicated and competent people in that division, Senator. They, of course, left when they felt themselves overwhelmed by the problems and restrictions and not capable of making a contribution.

I think the division itself is a stagnant iceberg, one which operates down to the reservation level in a very primitive way, one which has been shown, and this is really critical, incapable of assimilating proven pilot project techniques, not educational theories, not reasoned analyses or policies but policies that have been proven, not only off the reservation but also some of these proven pilot projects such as Rough Rock. This narrows the focus for evaluating the Nation's capability. It is no longer saying, "Give us the answer, give us the techniques." It is a problem of what happens when you have the techniques developed.

Senator **MONDALE**. Even if one were to assume that there was a highly sophisticated department of education located in the Bureau of Indians Affairs, as I understand your testimony, the real power rests with the area directors of the Bureau who are, by and large, not educators. Do you know any of them who are educators?

Mr. **NADER**. I do not.

Senator **MONDALE**. But they serve, if I understand your testimony correctly, as basically the Board of Education for these schools under their supervision within the region; is that correct?

Mr. **NADER**. Yes.

Senator **MONDALE**. What percentage of the Bureau's budget goes to education? Do you know, or could you obtain that for us?

Mr. **NADER**. When you include school construction and operation, it is almost 50 percent.

Senator **MONDALE**. What is the ratio of educators in the National Bureau of Indian Affairs to the total personnel budget in that department?

Mr. **NADER**. I don't have those figures with me.

Senator **MONDALE**. Will you find out?

Mr. **NADER**. Yes, sir. Out of a personnel total of approximately 16,000, the BIA employs only 2,700 educators—less than 20 percent of its staff.

Senator **MONDALE**. I have the notion that the Bureau of Indian Affairs was created for other reasons; that the education responsibility of the Bureau has been a sort of stepchild. It has not been given the importance it should in the total spectrum of responsibilities which the Bureau undertakes.

I would appreciate that information.

One other thing you did not testify on, and I would appreciate anything you could provide for the record, is the role of the States in all of this. They are really the ones that receive the money under the Johnson-O'Malley funds.

As I understand it, we parcel out Johnson-O'Malley funds with no strings attached. It is what we might call a stump fund. We leave it there and they pick it up and do as they please. We have had testimony that although the funds go to the school districts through the States for the education of the Indian children, the parents and the children in those school systems have little or no say whatsoever over how those funds will be spent.

What are the States doing to try to correct this? What can we do to tie Johnson-O'Malley funds so as to permit a role of substance on the part of the parents and their children and thereby insure that these funds can be used in a way which will serve the interests for which they have been appropriated?

Mr. **NADER**. Yes, sir. I think we need the GAO audit of utilization of the Johnson-O'Malley funds. It is difficult for the people of the East to appreciate the incredible contempt and prejudice of whites who live near reservations toward the Indians. This is one of the most depressing factors of all in terms of trying to see some light in the distance.

I think what is needed fundamentally is an infusion of young people who have had experience in interaction with a different culture; for some of these very difficult human problems, who could go to a reservation complex, deal with Indians as human beings and try to improve their concept of fulfillment and self-respect.

Senator MONDALE. But the point is, that if we are not going to solve this problem without Indian control, how can we do that when two-thirds of the children now go to public schools controlled by others?

Mr. NADER. I think one way to do it, possibly, is to do something rather radical and that is to take the children out of the public school system simply because the environment there is white oriented, non-Indian oriented. It is impossible to bend the existing public school system to the Indian child's needs except, for example, where you have 100 percent or 95 percent you can treat them as de facto Indian schools and have special situations. I think it is simply something to be seriously considered to take them out of these schools and to develop close to home day educational institutions.

Senator MONDALE. Could you be a little more specific in your response for the record? Because in our major urban areas, in our border schools and public schools, very often the Indian population is very remote.

Mr. NADER. Yes. My reference was to the reservation area.

Senator MONDALE. First of all, there are thousands of Indians in public schools. Two-thirds of the money goes to the public schools; and we have an urban Indian situation where, I don't think, the Indian would benefit from what you are talking about here without a further focus on how we would gain a sensitivity for his problem.

Mr. NADER. Yes, the urban problems are entirely different.

Senator MONDALE. Yet we don't have before us any suggestions along that line. I would appreciate anything you could give us.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. NADER. I might say, Senator, in terms of your prior question on educational personnel, the figures that I have, the latest figures I have, indicates 7,000 permanent positions in the Bureau of Indian Affairs relating to education out of a total number of some 16,000 Bureau of Indian Affairs employees. I want to emphasize that the remarks today cannot and do not deal with the urban problem which is a very difficult one, one which is not susceptible to general recommendation, one that almost has to have a specific teacher or tutor-to-student type of approach.

A very personal approach is necessary in addition to the regular curriculum that these Indian children receive in the school.

Senator YARBOROUGH. I believe there are more Indians in Los Angeles than in any other city, aren't there?

Mr. NADER. Yes.

Senator YARBOROUGH. They are Navajo.

Mr. NADER. Navajo and the southwest tribes.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Was it your conclusion now that under the present setup we could not immediately eliminate the boarding school?

Mr. NADER. No, I don't think they can be eliminated. It will have to be a phasing out process. They can, however, be supplemented with specialists.

Senator YARBOROUGH. That is my next question. What suggestions do you have to improve the situation as it is now? Immediate improvement.

Mr. NADER. I think, first of all, the quickest phasing out should occur in the elementary boarding schools. As far as the others, what is really needed is an infusion of people skilled in the mental health problems of children, people who can give them counsel, people who can provide the adequate responsive environment, people who can foresee and forestall factors that Indian youngsters are going to be exposed to as they proceed through the schoolyears.

I think the second improvement would be to bring some parents back to these boarding schools, give them roles even if it is just something as simple as the dormitory aide, so that they have some feeling of identity with what is back home, to bridge this gap.

I also reiterate my suggestion that returned Peace Corps volunteers can be a significant resource here in this entire interim period.

I would like to say something which I think has to be said here. Too often we talk about the Indian Bureau and non-Indians. Of course, if we are going to hope for a reassertion of Indians to control their future, we are going to have to talk about two kinds of Indians in particular, one the professional Indian who has become a kind of parasite to the Indian Bureau system, kind of like a welfare Indian who is an alleged representative of the tribes, representative of the people, but actually he has been co-opted into the Bureau system and has just the same kind of insensitivity at times as the non-Indian employees. This is a very serious problem.

The second problem deals with the young Indian radical, the militant, the college educated. Of course, about 1 percent of the Indians who start in the school system go through college and complete their college degrees. But a great deal, a great number of these Indians have not gone back to their people. This is typical of the brain-drain that operates internationally. They have gone into jobs and in other areas of white culture. The question to really ask is whether there is any possibility of Indian control, of Indian progress, of reassertion on the reservation, near reservation areas, when the most skilled, most educated, most alert, most articulate young Indians are siphoned off into non-Indian society.

While it is encouraging to see a growing militancy in terms of returning to the people, returning to the reservations or at least involving themselves in Indian issues, I think it is still a very serious problem. Until that can somehow be overcome we will simply see a process where more Indians will go through college and be siphoned off and the Indians in the reservation environment will be drained even more fully of whatever talent can be developed there.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Senator Mondale, do you have other questions?

Senator MONDALE. No.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Thank you again, Mr. Nader, for this very perceptive statement you have made, and the very informed paper that you have submitted. You have made a contribution to this hearing and to the whole problem that this special subcommittee is studying.

We may have other questions we will submit to you, or we will confer with you from time to time if some problem arises. You have been publishing in this field for over 13 years, I don't know how long you have been studying it but you have certainly brought a wealth of information and suggestions to this committee.

Mr. NADER. Thank you.

(The Coleman findings referred to earlier follow:)

Senator YARBOROUGH. I want to suggest before I am forced to leave now that we will request the Library of Congress to find out whether the history has been printed of the educational system of the Choctaw Republic, and the Cherokee Nation. We probably will not have those histories for the committee. If extra copies can be obtained we will not print them in the record but just file them for the use of the committee.

Senator MONDALE. The final witness today will be Dr. Jean Van Dusen, pediatrician for the Tuba City Public Health Hospital.

We understand that the other witness scheduled today will be kind enough to stay over until tomorrow, because Dr. Van Dusen must return this evening. We are grateful for your presentation.

(Discussion off the record.)

Senator MONDALE. We understand that Dr. Van Dusen can be with us tomorrow. We think it would be better, so that the full committee can benefit from your testimony, if you are willing to accommodate us in that way. Most of the Senators have had to leave. There is a fight over on the floor to give the Nutrition Committee the money to do their work. That is part of your subject. So let us do that work this afternoon and come back tomorrow. Thank you very much.

(Whereupon, at 1:30 p.m. the committee was recessed, to be reconvened at 9 a.m. Wednesday, February 19, 1969.)

INDIAN EDUCATION, 1969

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1969

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDIAN EDUCATION OF THE
COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met at 9:15 a.m., pursuant to recess, in room 4232, New Senate Office Building, Senator Walter F. Mondale presiding pro tempore.

Present: Senators Kennedy (chairman of the subcommittee), Yarborough, Mondale, Hughes, Murphy, and Bellmon.

Committee staff members present: Robert O. Harris, staff director to full committee; Adrian L. Parmeter, subcommittee staff director; and Herschel Sahmount, minority professional staff member.

Senator MONDALE. The hearing will resume as part of the current series on education. We are somewhat improvising here in terms of scheduling. Right now the projector has yet to arrive, so we will take the witnesses out of order and begin with the best of all, from Minnesota, Mrs. Rosemary Christensen. Is she here? The first witness is Mrs. Rosemary Christensen who is with the Professional Staff of the Upper Midwest Regional Educational Laboratory, Minneapolis, which has been doing such fine work in this field.

The second witness will be Mr. Paul Petrafeso, who is also with the Laboratory, and also testifying will be Mr. William Antell, Indian education specialist for the Minnesota State Department of Education.

We are all very pleased that you are here. Of course, I am particularly pleased, and having spent a good deal of time observing your work, I think we are going to gain a great deal from your contribution.

Rosemary, do you want to start?

STATEMENT OF MRS. ROSEMARY CHRISTENSEN, PROFESSIONAL STAFF FOR THE UPPER MIDWEST REGIONAL EDUCATIONAL LABORATORY, MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

Mrs. CHRISTENSEN. Since September 1968, the laboratory has been engaged in a search of the literature available on Indians with a focus on Indian values.

The bibliography has entries numbering slightly over 300. Each book is being read by a member of the Indian education staff and is abstracted for our files. At the present time, approximately 80 books have been read. Hopefully, by May an annotated bibliography will be ready.

Based on actual social, political, and economic need in the past, values as researched and presented by anthropologists, sociologists, and psychologists in the literature search, can be used as a springboard in working with cultural differences.

An explanation of values and attitudes held in the past by Indians will help in understanding the present Indian. Indians are in a state of transition; hence, values and attitudes will reflect dominant society influence as well as Indian influence.

The conflict that results will necessarily reflect confusion in value systems, and the resultant attitudes may not be clear-cut Anglo or Indian values but a confused fusion of both.

The Martin Luther King Human Relations Seminar, sponsored by the Minneapolis public schools for its 3,000 teachers and produced by KTCA educational TV, is trying to bring about an understanding of the needs, the expectations, and the rights of all men of all colors and all creeds.

This series is examining three mind sets—focuses or frames of reference, individual, institutional, and community—in terms of the teacher's own experiences and perceptions.

The Indian advisory board advises and helps the Minneapolis School Board with any problems dealing with Indians. The Indian advisory committee appointed a values committee to help the M. L. K. Seminar plan its program. Indian values were discussed on the institutional mind-set day.

The mind set of the institution in which the teachers work, the school, has forces within it which makes what it does self-perpetuating. Upon accepting work within the institution, the teacher is called upon to play a certain role—regardless of his personal feelings.

It was stressed to the teachers that Indian children sometimes hold different attitudes and values than dominant society does.

Due to lack of time on the TV only four values or attitudes were presented: (1) time orientation; (2) material outlook; (3) nature relationship; and (4) the attitudes toward competition.

This is what we found in the literature and passed on to the teachers to be used in some way. We did not give any kind of techniques of this sort. We just gave the information.

We thought it would be useful in this sort of seminar situation. There is time—why I am using the present tense is because this is still going on—there is time provided after the TV presentation for group discussions at the various schools. Indians will be available for these discussion groups.

Another problem the Indian advisory board has been working on is Indian-knowledge input into the school system. There are four committees working in this area:

The language committee has been reviewing textbooks from inner city classrooms and will recommend to the school board, (1) amount of material on Indians be increased, (2) emphasis on better materials on the modern Indian.

This committee is also preparing a primer on the Chippewa and Sioux languages along with conversation tapes.

Senator MONDALE. Are there any primers now for the teaching of Chippewa and Sioux?

Mrs. Christensen. No; there are not.

Senator Mondale. None available in the school system?

Mrs. Christensen. No.

Ted Mahto, an Indian teacher for 20 years, is heading this project, and he hopes to be finished in eight months.

The culture committee is concerned with authentic Indian history and is advising the school board to offer more Indian history in the city classrooms. Not the type of history prevalent now, but authentic fact-type history. We would like to get this into the school system.

As long as mine is in an area where there are lots of Indians and has had a lot of Indian history, we would like to stress this in the school system and use it in the curriculum.

The structure committee is interested in the teacher-placement policy, and their recommendation states that only experienced teachers should be working with the minority groups.

Now, the inexperienced teachers shoved into the classrooms where there are minority groups such as Indians don't know how to deal with it. They should be experienced teachers. This is going to be one of the recommendations.

The policy committee is at present attending school board meetings to become acquainted with school board policies and decisionmaking. This committee will be working closely with the structure committee on further recommendations.

The reason the Indians are attending school board meetings is that we would like to become knowledgeable of the workings of the school board, the school, and county work. That is the only way we can make any kind of recommendations that carry any kind of work if we know first of all what is going on and work from there.

A further recommendation common to all committees is that the Minneapolis schools should have a full-time Indian consultant at the administration level.

Senator Mondale. You are speaking now of Minneapolis?

Mrs. Christensen. Right.

Senator Mondale. As I understand, Minneapolis has one of the largest urban Indian populations in the country. Am I correct? Do we have figures on that, Will?

Mr. Antell. Yes; we are estimating between 7,500 and 10,000.

Senator Mondale. Do we have any figures on how many Indian teachers there are in the school system in Minneapolis?

Mr. Antell. Three, to my knowledge. Two of them are social workers.

Senator Mondale. Out of how many?

Mr. Antell. 3,000.

Senator Mondale. You have only three Indian teachers, two of whom are social workers, in the Minneapolis school system? Is this matter under review now?

Mr. Antell. Yes; it is. As a matter of fact, Minneapolis is continually looking for Indian teachers. Like everybody else in Minnesota, we can't supply enough to meet the demand.

Mrs. Christensen. Another program we are interested in is Upward Bound. Upward Bound is directed by a Sioux Indian, Chris Cavender, and is staffed by Indians.

The program is working in three areas: (1) tutorial services to about 80 youngsters in the Minneapolis area; (2) cultural classes for these youngsters covering Sioux history, Chippewa history, Indian values, reservations past and present, Indian leaders past and present, the law, arts and crafts, and the past; (3) seminars conducted by the Upward Bound staff for interested Minneapolis teachers.

The areas covered are: (1) general background of Indian migrations; (2) problems of general poverty; (3) Indian-urban child; (4) problems of the reservation student; (5) effects of BIA on the Indian—pro and con; and (6) Indian values as Indians see it.

Sessions 7–11 will be in-depth discussion of the previous sessions, and 12, panel of evaluations by Indians and white people.

This program is in part financed by the Minneapolis schools. Credit or pay has been offered to the 120 teachers participating in the program; $8,100 has been provided to pay 56 teachers taking this course for pay. The others are taking it for credit.

Mr. Cavender hopes to build an Indian culture/education bank from these seminars for future use by interested teachers.

Mr. Cavender reports that out of 315 Upward Bound programs, Minneapolis has the only one aimed at urban Indians. It represents an innovative approach to the dropout problem, and he feels success is represented by the participation of three-fourths of the students in all aspects of the program.

Mr. Cavender would recommend, however, that such a program should be tested for 4 or 5 years before any definite conclusion can be reached.

Another point of interest, and one I am very much interested in personally, is the emphasis the University of Minnesota is currently placing on the Indian.

The American Indian Student Council, chaired by G. William Craig, general college instructor and a Mohawk Indian, has started the wheels turning to implement a program leading to a B.A. degree in Indian studies.

A task force is being appointed to work on getting this program started by fall of 1969. It will focus on reflecting the needs of urban as well as the reservation Indian.

The unique aspect of this program is that in lieu of a foreign language which the B.A. degree now requires, Chippewa and Sioux will be offered for 25 credits and will suffice for the language requirement. This seems to be a unique aspect of this program.

This opportunity will be open to both white and Indian students. It will also serve to acquaint the white students on the campus with Indian culture.

Another program in the discussion stage is the "store front university" to be situated in the Indian community. There would be courses offered to adults interested in finishing a degree, to high school dropouts, and to professionals working in the Indian community.

Tutorial services would also be offered to the dropout and to the high school student with problems. Also on the agenda is a central office to be located on the campus. This office would recruit Indian students, provide help on a 1 to 1 basis for Indian college students and have immediate authority to grant small loans and scholarship loans.

Instead of going through all the bureaucracy of a university and it takes so much time and all get so disgusted. This would cut through the red tape.

Mr. Craig sees this office working closely with the high schools in the State and with the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

I would say in conclusion that the great thing about the program discussed is the participation of the Indians themselves in all phases.

Senator Mondale. Thank you, Rosemary. I think we will hear from Mr. Petrafeso before we have questions.

Will, do you have testimony?

Mr. Antell. Yes; I do.

STATEMENT OF PAUL R. PETRAFESO, PROFESSIONAL STAFF FOR THE UPPER MIDWEST REGIONAL EDUCATIONAL LABORATORY, MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

Mr. Petrafeso. The testimony I will give will be divided into two parts. The first part will be concerning the evaluation of the boarding schools that our laboratory did in December, and the second part will be concerned with what our laboratory is doing in relation to the problem where it is operating.

We evaluated two boarding schools that are run by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, one at Pierre, S. Dak., and the other at Flandreau; Pierre being the elementary school and Flandreau the high school.

(The material referred to can be found in the appendix.)

The boarding schools that are operated and set up by the Bureau of Indian Affairs handle primarily children who cannot get an education at their home reservation for various reasons such as the inability of the student to get along with the teachers, with other students, the negative influence of the family, or no family at all. For these reasons the child is sent to a boarding school.

Ninety-five percent of the students who do go into these two boarding schools are sent there because of social—supposedly social reasons.

Now, the selection process that these kids face in their assignment I think should probably come under some kind of investigation. This process starts at the local level. Usually it is initiated by the welfare worker, by the principal at the school, or the educational specialist. Now, sometimes the child is referred to the boarding school by a tribal court. But I don't think that there is any systematic way of determining why this child is going to be sent to a boarding school. I think that we need to look at this a little more carefully. Obviously there are kids at these boarding schools who probably should not be there.

Senator Mondale. We had a tragic situation in Minnesota where this 12-year-old Indian child stayed in the county jail for 6 weeks, while he was awaiting transfer to a boarding school. The boarding school officials never came to see him. The parents weren't interested in him, and no one else visited him. Eventually he hanged himself, which, I think, ought to be more than enough evidence that this system ought to be looked into.

Mr. Petrafeso. I agree. After the child is placed in the boarding school, we have a different situation. Because of the fact that 95 percent of these kids are assigned to these boarding schools because of social reasons, the schools that the Bureau operates are in no shape to keep up with the problems that they face. That is, they do not address themselves to the social problems that these kids are sent here for. There is no special training, for instance, for teachers who teach in the boarding schools. You pass a civil service examination and you can apply for a job as a teacher in a boarding school. There is no special inservice training for these teachers, at least at these two schools that we saw.

I was talking with the person at the Bureau who handles the orientation. The question came about, concerning the kind of training these teachers were given upon their entrance into the boarding school as teachers. His reply was that "We give them basic orientation as presented by the Bureau." What this amounts to really is an orientation about fringe benefits and the regulations that the Bureau operates under.

When I asked one of the teachers what kind of inservice training she had had, or training period, her reply was that she had gotten her inservice training after she had gotten there and she got that training from some of the other teachers who had been there awhile. I don't know whether this is bad or good, but I tend to think that this is not too good.

Now, the figures that we have as far as these children entering school indicate that these kids are already about 2 to 2½ years behind in their studies and in their academic performance. Yet again you see the Bureau operating with the self-contained traditional kind of classroom with the standard kind of curriculum.

A school that has the kind of problems that they face with the students certainly is not going to get the job done. This is not enough. It is not reflective at all of the kind of problems that they have.

To further demonstrate that, they have one social worker at Pierre and 300 children. It seems to me it is grossly inadequate for the number of students they have. They have one social worker who, by the way, is not a social worker by degree; not a qualified, at least certified social worker. At Flandreau, they have one occasional counselor for boys and one for girls and no social worker there.

Now, in 1959, a report that was completed or at least begun by Dr. Krush stated that one of the things that had to be done at Flandreau was to create first, and then to fill, a position with a social worker or psychiatrist or psychologist. The position was not even created until 3 years later. To my knowledge, it has never been filled yet. They do have educational counselors. One of the educational counselors acts as a guidance counselor. They also have people in the dormitories whom they have had acting as instructional aides or as kind of parents in their dormitories.

From what I was able to see, these people do not act so much as guidance counselors.

Senator MONDALE. Are they Bureau officials or are they parents?

Mr. PETRAFFSO. They are Bureau employees and not parents. They may be parents, but not of the children there.

I would like to talk a little bit again about the curriculum and mention again that because these children are so far behind, some new kinds of techniques need to be tried, and they have not been tried so far.

Now, the school says that they are set up basically as an academic institution, but when you look at the figures—and I talked to the department chairman, academic chairman, and asked him what kind of job he thought the school was doing educating the children, what kinds of things he thought should be initiated in the school; his reply was that he thought that Flandreau was doing a good job now and the only thing that needed to be done was that more money needed to be supplied for textbooks and supplies. This is the academic chairman of the school speaking out. He made it very clear that he was not an innovator and not a great thinker. In fact, he denied that he was.

Senator **MONDALE**. For all these reasons, I think we can accept his judgment.

Mr. **PETRAFESO**. The idea that this is basically an academic institution and the school was doing a good job is not borne out by the results. Twelve percent of the students who graduate from Flandreau go on to a higher education.

Senator **MONDALE**. Can you drop out of a boarding school?

Mr. **PETRAFESO**. You can drop out of the boarding school, but it does not give you anywhere else to go except to the reformatory. That is my opinion. But you can drop out of the boarding school.

As I mentioned, only 12 percent of these graduates actually continue. There is very little followup on what happens to the students who go on to higher education, either vocational or college or university. Some better followup needs to be taken for these kinds of students.

Now, at the Pierre boarding school, they were working on a program, they were trying to make some kind of changes there. They were working on a program of behavior modification and they were doing this in the dormitory. I think that they are working on basically a theoretically sound idea.

The thing that is wrong with this kind of thing is that they are not applying the theory practically. I think here again it reflects the lack of training on the part of the staff. You don't just whip up and set something up right away without looking at it very carefully and without trying to do as good a job as possible with adequate training.

I would like to mention one sidelight of this program that they have at Pierre, given that the theory is sound. They operate in the dormitories with a token system whereby the child will perform certain kinds of tasks like sweeping his room or making his bed or something like this, and in return he will be able to accumulate a certain number of tokens or points for the tasks he performs. This seems to be working pretty well so far as we can see.

The point is that the accumulation of points is out of line for what the task is. For instance, if a child is perfect in every respect—he makes his bed, he does all these other kinds of things that he has to do—he can accumulate only 60 points per week. This is the maximum number of points per week that the can accumulate.

Now, there are a number of items that he may trade in his points for after he has accumulated enough, and most of these items center around the necessities like toothpaste, toothbrush, combs, deodorant, this kind of thing. Now, a can of deodorant costs 150 to 200 points. Now, if the child were absolutely perfect, it would take him approximately 2½ weeks to accumulate enough points to buy this item.

I think another thing, a frisbee, which is a little thing that you can toss around in the air, which you can buy at any dime store for 30 cents or 50 cents, costs 500 points in this store. If a kid were perfect, he would have to spend approximately 8 or 9 weeks getting enough points to buy this frisbee, which I think is a little bit out of line.

So much stress in this school is put on cleanliness. For instance, children cannot wear their shoes in the dormitory. They are always castigating children, talking about "You have to be clean—you have to be clean." I attended one session in the evening, a mental-hygiene session. I felt very guilty because I walked into the room with my shoes on. I thought I should take my shoes off. I thought the next thing I should do is run back to the dorm and get a can of deodorant and spray it on.

For people to place so much emphasis upon necessities such as deodorant and this kind of thing, I think their point system is not in line with the items.

I think at this point I would like to stress what the Upper Midwest Regional Laboratory is doing. Now, the critical point of stress with the child——

Senator MONDALE. This is the Red Lake School?

Mr. PETRAFESO. Yes. We are beginning a project on Red Lake. As I said, the critical point of stress is the school for the Indian child. The school is required to conform to patterns of behavior which are pretty significantly at variance with the behavior thought desirable by parents and friends.

Now, where he may be content to remain silent and unnoticed, the school demands that he continually make public demonstrations of his knowledge. In the place of the approval of his friends and family, the school offers the Indian child only a "grade" and that is held conditional to his meeting levels of performance set by white urban children. The idea here, I think, is competition.

The net result of such cultural discontent is a low level of attainment by the Indian child, coupled with the lack of interest in school, often dramatically indicated by extremely high dropout percentages. I think in the State of Minnesota it ranges from 45 percent to approximately 75 percent or 80 percent.

One of the major program activities of the Upper Midwest Regional Educational Laboratory focuses on the educational environment of the Indian child. The laboratory has at this point completed a preliminary design for two classrooms to be installed on the Red Lake Indian Reservation during the 1968–69 school year.

These classrooms are so designed as to investigate the questions raised in the evaluation of the Flandreau and Pierre boarding school. Specifically the project hopes to determine, number one, the degree to which the academic performance of Indian children can be improved by a program of individualized instruction and behavior management; secondly, the physical and social costs associated with the proposed program as compared with the costs of conventional mode of Indian education; and thirdly, the behavioral conditions and educational implication of values held by the Indian child.

Now, I think I would like to stress the fact that we are concentrating on individualized instruction. I think this is a message for schools such as Pierre and Flandreau, that when you use individualized instruction, you get down to that 1-to-1 level that you don't have in a regular cell of contained classroom. The first step in attacking learning problems in Indian education is to discover where the child is at present in reference to the academic goals of the school. Here we are referring back to the boarding schools; not only boarding schools but I think public schools in general come under this classification. They don't know where the kid is as far as his academic achievement.

I point out again that these kids are 2½ years behind, and to stick them in the fourth or fifth grade or whatever while they are reading on the second-grade level is putting a great deal of pressure on that child.

While the Indian children as a group are performing well below white achievement levels, there is a good deal of variation from one child to another. These differences among Indian children require special curricular materials and programs of study unique to each child.

The individualized instruction program proposed at Red Lake involves statement of learning goals in terms of desired student behavior. For each class of behavior, curricular materials are developed which enable the student to attain desired levels of performance.

Teachers working with children in the project are trained to diagnose the child's present level of performance and to use curricular materials to meet his individual ability and needs. So we are attempting to get these teachers to work with one child at the level that he is capable of working.

An important attribute of the individualized instruction program is the degree to which learning goals can be divided into small, easily mastered units. Under these conditions, the Indian child experiences success in academic work since he is addressing tasks paced to his ability and interest. The child, like his teacher, knows what he must do in order to master a particular objective. He is no longer confronted with the unfamiliar expectations of the white urban school nor is he told that through failing grades he is not worthy of those rewards that the traditional school holds out to be important.

Once learning goals have been set in behavioral terms for the child, the teacher arranges conditions in the classroom to promote attainment of these goals. This means that she must determine ways to provide reinforcement for each child as he attains behavioral objectives.

Research on human learning has established that the learner attains, and retains, skills in direct proportion to the degree that the consequences of learning are desirable to him. In the case of the Indian child, the teacher must discover behaviors which the child finds pleasant and must see to it that the child's performance of a learning task is followed with the opportunity to engage in reinforcing activities; which merely says that in return for completed tasks or assignment, the child will get some kind of reinforcement that he likes.

Teachers participating in the project at Red Lake will receive special training in identifying those events reinforcing to the individual child and in managing their classrooms to promote attainment of educational goals. Where appropriate, modifications in classroom design are instituted to permit the wide range of activity characteristic of a behavioral-centered individualized instruction program.

It should be pointed out that the project proposed by UMREL at Red Lake is largely developmental in nature. Through instructional activities and curricular adaptation, the laboratory is applying basic behavioral principles to the teaching of the Indian child. In this way, the need for an instructional program relevant to the needs of the individual child is being met within the framework of serious attention to the behavior which the child and his culture value.

Throughout this testimony many references have been made to the values of the American Indian and the inference made that these values may make the adjustment of the Indian to urban society problematic. These inferences draw upon the body of social and anthropological literature, however, and not upon direct verification of the behavioral consequences of growing up in Indian society. The third component of the Red Lake project addresses this shortcoming.

Selected statements concerning Indian values have been selected for behavioral testing. For example, the proposition that the Indian child rejects reinforcement when his teacher singles him out for his good works in the presence of his peers. By systematically varying the frequency of such open reinforcement as applied to a sample of children, the laboratory hopes to discover the truth of the proposition and its educational ramifications.

I think basically that covers what I want to say. I guess I had better give some recommendations, and I have six:

1. That programs of individualized instruction and behavioral management be instituted in Indian schools:

(*a*) Teachers who will operate such programs should be trained both in pre- and inservice instructional programs.

(*b*) Individualized curricular materials should be tested and adopted in these schools.

2. That explorations be made with agencies such as UMREL which are currently engaged in programs of individualized instruction and behavioral management as to their interest in carrying out development and field testing of curricula and training programs.

(*a*) Funds to support such activity should be made available.

(*b*) Provisions for evaluation and cost assessment should be integrated with development and field test activity.

3. That provisions be made for systematic investigation of the influence of the values of the Indian child on his educational activities.

(*a*) Such investigations should be made through observation of child behavior.

(*b*) These investigations should be directed toward the discovery of activities which the Indian child finds valuable and which can be used to reinforce his educational progress.

4. That increased pupil personnel services be provided in boarding schools.

(*a*) Psychological services for children with special behavioral problems.

(*b*) Social workers to promote liaison between the child in the school and his family environment.

5. That the goals of the residential programs of boarding school be separated from those of the educational program.

(*a*) Cost data would be kept separately to permit comparison on a cost-benefit basis.

(*b*) Goals should be stated in terms of student behavior to permit ready assessment and valid comparison.

6. Investigation be made into the procedure that sends children into the boarding schools.

(*a*) Behavioral objectives be established as a criterion for selecting children to attend boarding schools.

(*b*) That other possibilities, such as foster home placement, be explored as alternatives to placement in a boarding school.

I think that that covers the testimony. I think we have a unique situation, unique in a sense in Minnesota that we do not have any Bureau-operated boarding schools. We have in Minnesota a local control over schools.

Senator MONDALE. The Red Lake school system is controlled entirely by an Indian Board, is it not?

Mr. PETRAFESO. Yes; it is a public school with board——

Senator MONDALE. Most of the money is Johnson-O'Malley and very little local tax money?

Mr. PETRAFESO. Very little local tax money. Ninety-five percent of the funds that are received by that public school system are received from State or Federal funds.

Senator MONDALE. Do they hire their own teachers?

Mr. PETRAFESO. Yes, sir.

Senator MONDALE. Very well.

Senator MONDALE. Mr. Will Antell who is with the State department of education. Incidentally, Minnesota is one of the few States of the Union for which the State department of education established a thoroughgoing effort to review, coordinate, and invigorate efforts to improve the education of the Indian.

STATEMENT OF WILFRED ANTELL, MINNESOTA DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

Mr. ANTELL. Right.

Senator MONDALE. Any materials you have along that line will be useful. We will place them in the record.

Following Mr. Antell's testimony, I will order to be included in the record a report entitled "Indians in Minnesota," published in 1968 by the League of Women Voters.

It contains good demographic information and estimates on the Indian population and their educational achievement.

The staff tells me they do not know any other city which has prepared such a report. We will place this in the record for information. Minneapolis also is an example of what other cities might do.

Mr. ANTELL. Mr. Chairman and members of the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education, may I introduce myself. My name is Wilfred Antell, representing the Minnesota Department of Education. May I express my gratitude for the opportunity to appear before this committee to discuss the status of Indian education in Minnesota. Perhaps a brief biographical sketch of my background may give the members of the committee a more meaningful understanding of this presentation.

I am of Indian ancestry, an enrolled member of the Mississippi band of Chippewa Indians—according to Bureau and Tribal records, about three-eighths American Indian.

I was born and raised on the White Earth Indian Reservation located in northern Minnesota. I attended reservation schools in both Mahnomen and Clearwater Counties with the last 8 years in the Bagley Public Schools where a high school diploma was received.

Senator MONDALE. Did you go to one of the missionary schools then?

Mr. ANTELL. No. Undergraduate and graduate degrees were received from Bemidji State College and Mankato State College respectively, and a major in social science.

Additional graduate studies have been completed at St. Cloud State College, Northern Michigan University and the University of Minnesota.

I am a certified teacher with 9 years of teaching experience gained in the Janesville and Stillwater Public Schools.

In July 1968, the Minnesota Department of Education solicited my services as a human relations consultant for Indian education. I might add here that this position provides direct access to Commissioner Mattheis, and the assistant commissioners.

The basis for the following testimony is based on my personal experiences as a Minnesota Indian and educational experiences as a student and educator in the public school systems of Minnesota.

It is the intention of this presentation to review Indian education in Minnesota, assess its current status, and illustrate the effort of educational institutions which are developing new programs for Indian education.

Indian education in Minnesota became a State responsibility in 1936–37. At this time the State of Minnesota entered into a contract with the Department of the Interior to educate Indian students.

Legal authority is based upon the Johnson-O'Malley Act of April 16, 1934 (48 Stat. 596), as amended by the act of June 4, 1936 (49 Stat. 1458).

The Department of the Interior further delegates to the Commission of Indian Affairs (Order No. 2508) authority for the negotiation and execution of Johnson-O'Malley contracts.

By Order No. 566, the Commissioner redelegated this authority to the area offices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Through the years, Johnson-O'Malley was a basic Federal aid program designed to provide financial assistance to public schools located on or near Indian reservations that has little or no local revenue. However, after Public Law 874 was amended in 1958, the Bureau of Indian Affairs changed the basic philosophy of Johnson-O'Malley.

Public Law 874 is a broad-based Federal aid program which theoretically met most of the basic financial needs of eligible school districts. It was at this point that Johnson-O'Malley became a supplemental aid program with great emphasis on programs calling for special services for Indian youngsters.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs defines eligible Indians as those who are at least one-fourth degree Indian and those who reside on tax-exempt land. The current State plan for Indian education has remained basically the same during the last 30 years. The plan calls for Johnson-O'Malley funds being used in two types of public schools: budgeted and nonbudgeted. There are eight budgeted schools in Minnesota and they are located on Indian reservations in Minnesota.

Johnson-O'Malley funds are used in the general operation of the schools. These school districts have very little local revenue and it is necessary to use the funds in this manner. The result is no special services for Indian youngsters.

Nonbudgeted schools—19—are those who are near a reservation and generally receive Indian youngsters who attend high school. Many times they are a separate school district. Johnson-O'Malley funds are used in these schools only for tuition, transportation costs, and hot lunch programs.

In 1967–68 approximately 2,500 Indian youngsters attended schools where Johnson-O'Malley funds were used. The total Johnson-O'Malley funds received during this year was $283,000.

Several budgeted schools—5—will become attached to larger school districts as a result of Minnesota legislative action in 1967. They are mandated to have this process completed by July 1971.

Let's take a look at some interesting statistics as we examine the record of Indian education in Minnesota. According to tribal records it is estimated that 30,000 Indians reside in Minnesota.

I might add that this estimate has ranged anywhere from 22,000 to 33,000. As near as we can figure, going by the tribal records, there are approximately 30,000.

During the last several years large numbers of Indians have left the reservations and have located in the largest urban centers of Minnesota, the Twin Cities and Duluth. Some estimates place as many as 40 percent off the reservation.

State law prohibits the identification of racial groups in Minnesota and it is difficult to precisely state actual numbers. Free movement between reservations and urban centers also adds to the problem. By using tribal records and sight counts, indications are that there are 10,000 Indian youngsters between ages of 5 and 18. In 1968, there were 231 high school Indian graduates.

The League of Women Voters did a study of Minneapolis Indians in 1967. Minneapolis schools enrolled approximately 1,300 Indian students and they produced a total of 10 high schools graduates. The study indicated a dropout rate of 64.7 percent in Minneapolis schools.

A sight count in Minneapolis schools showed 1,629 Indian students. This means that six out of 10 Indian students will not receive a high school diploma.

At this time we have no comprehensive study of the dropout rate of Indian students in Minnesota; however, individual schools indicate the rate varies from a low of 45 percent to a high of 80 percent.

Senator MONDALE. Isn't there a school up in Grand Portage that has a 100 percent graduation rate?

Mr. ANTELL. Yes. I think this is from the eighth grade.

Senator MONDALE. This is an elementary school?

Mr. ANTELL. Elementary.

Senator MONDALE. It is the one that Mr. Peterson runs.

Mr. ANTELL. Right. If we had people like Dave Peterson and his wife we would——

Senator MONDALE. That is my point. We should put in the record of this testimony a short summary of the Grand Portage school, because it is a small elementary school. They have about 30 students, and two teachers, a man and his wife, they are all doing very well.

They have prepared their own textbooks on Chippewa culture and language since there was none available. Those kids, from what I understand, are doing magnificently. I understand Mr. Peterson might be in line for the Outstanding Teacher of the Year Award. I think their innovative effort in Indian education, since there are so few of them, clearly ought to be made a part of this record.

Could you find some material on that so that we can include that in the record?

Mr. ANTELL. I certainly will. I am glad you brought that out, Senator. We are very proud of the fine record that Dave and his wife have completed in Grand Portage.

As a matter of fact, he was one of the runners-up last year in the Teacher of the Year Award. He tells me the key, as he sees it, is the fact that he is so well respected in the community.

He doesn't like to put it this way but this is really what it amounts to; that they live there, they do things with people, and there is a great deal of interaction between the Indian parents and the teachers. This, I think, is quite significant.

Senator MONDALE. I like Mr. Peterson's attitude. We recently had a discussion with all the Indian specialists in attendance. They were all bemoaning the fact that there were no Chippewa textbooks. He said, "I realized that so I prepared my own."

I think it is this self-starting attitude of a committed teacher that is so missing in the examples to which there has already been reference in some of the boarding schools.

Mr. ANTELL. This is rather alarming in light of recent data released from the National Education Association. According to this report, Minnesota ranks first in the Nation with the fewest number of dropouts in grades 9–12. (Eight percent.) Consider the percentage if it did not include Indians.

During the last several months a priority item in my activities with the Department of Education was to visit Indian communities throughout Minnesota to make inquiries as to how Indians visualize the public schools.

Needless to say, the esteem of the school by Indian parents is reflected in the large numbers of Indian youngsters not attending school.

I would like to add at this point as I did travel around the last several months talking to parents, it brought back a lot of memories of my own particular childhood

The problem that the Indian mothers were citing to me were some of the same problems my mother had in trying to get eight youngsters through the public school. So it really did hit home and we have been providing this information to the Department of Education where people in key positions have never responded to this particular type of testimony.

I think it is very relevant here.

There are three major areas where immediate and intensive attention must be focused on:

1. The poor relationship between school and Indian community.
2. The lack of understanding between Indians and middle-class educational institutions.
3. Curriculum that needs to be generally overhauled.

We are working very hard to involve Indian people in school affairs. Organization of Indian Advisory Committees are becoming common practices of several school systems in Minnesota. Indian parents are responding enthusiastically for the opportunity to determine new programs or policies as they affect their schools.

A major responsibility of mine is to keep the Department of Education fully informed as to the feelings of the Indian communities throughout the State and also to insure their communities that they have a direct communication channel to the Commissioner of Education.

There is a great need to reeducate school personnel about the history and culture of American Indians. We are finding a lack of compassion and understanding of Indians by teachers, administrators, and other school personnel.

Senator MONDALE. You recently went over, with one of your committees, the textbooks used in Minnesota schools with this problem in mind.

What are some of the things you found that need correction?

Mr. ANTELL. One of the standard textbooks in Minnesota has been Marion Antoinette Ford's book "Star of the North."

As we have observed and looked at this book we find it historically inaccurate and we find it very distasteful and offensive to the American Indian. Minnesota Indian, particularly.

It cites them constantly as lazy, as doing a lot of drinking, of massacring white people, on the warpath, and in one particular section as I recall it, they referred to the American Indian male, saying the only work that he ever did was to stamp on wild rice during the wild rice season.

There are implications like this throughout the textbooks. Lately, Indian communities have been protesting this. The school systems are beginning to respond to this and are taking them out of use.

The latest was in Duluth, the latter part of last year. They responded to the wishes of the Indian community and took it out and discarded it.

We are finding this to be not the exception but rather the actual practice.

Senator KENNEDY. Is there any effort made in other State departments of education, to review textbooks that State is using to eliminate some of the kind of problems that you have noticed in your State?

Mr. ANTELL. I would say during the last several months this has been one of our major expectations here. We are currently beginning a series of conferences on curriculum and it is our major intention here to evaluate these, to weed out the materials that are offensive and defame the Indian, and also to insert information that will give a positive view of the Indian.

We think that perhaps during the next year we will have some very heavy input in this area

Seminars, conferences, workshops, and other service activities as they relate to Indians are becoming priority items with school districts that have large numbers of Indian youngsters.

Indian educators and Indian parents are organizing, planning, and implementing such programs and they are proving to be very beneficial.

Teacher training institutions are beginning to reexamine their programs. It is suggested that they require prospective teachers to include studies about minorities. The Department is very active in assisting colleges and universities in this respect.

We have found Minnesota teachers very poorly informed about Indians from our State. Naturally, this is also true of the Indians themselves. In many cases they know even less about their history or identity.

During the last summer when Minneapolis was putting on a workshop, one of their requests was to have Indians come and tell teachers something about the past. The Indian parents responded in this manner:

"How can we? We attended the public school systems and we know nothing about our history or past. What we know we are getting on our own."

However, there is a resurgence upon the part of many Indians to study their rich and cultural background. Materials are sketchy and difficult to obtain, but many Minnesota Indians are becoming very knowledgeable about their past.

There have been no attempts, to my knowledge, of intensive research on Minnesota Indians by people of Indian ancestry. Many of the elder Indians who possess an abundance of historical information are heading for the happy hunting ground, a part that history will never be able to record. We must act soon to try to preserve some of this information.

The curriculum materials in school systems reflect a negative picture of the Indian. Invariably he is something less than a human being, always depicted as lazy, a savage, massacring white people, on a warpath, drinking, and so forth.

Consider the impact on Indian boys and girls as they read and observe materials such as this as they proceed through the public school.

We are in the process of massive curriculum changes for schools in Minnesota. Our major aim will be to include materials that will illustrate that American Indians indeed have something to be proud of and that they can say with pride and dignity, I am an Indian.

Family education for Minnesota Indians: We are in the process of coming up with a new State plan for Indian education and one of the rationales for this is a family education for Minnesota Indians.

Meetings, individual discussions, conferences and workshops have been held during the past 6 months to develop communication lines between educational agencies and institutions and the rural and urban Indians of Minnesota.

This interaction has led to the creation of the Minnesota Indian Education Committee. The Minnesota Indian Education Committee is composed totally of Indian members, and is the first such group to be established throughout the Nation.

The reservation tribal councils and urban Indian organizations have recommended delegates who have been appointed by the State commissioner of education.

The committee will provide State education institutions and agencies with a direct and continuing relationship with Minnesota Indians.

They will initiate action, as well as recommend direction and policy regarding education programs. With developing and expanding efforts by the State, coordination will become a major function of the committee.

It will provide direct access to the educational leaders of the State by the Indian representatives. Educational needs were expressed for program from preschool through adult levels.

Major progress has been made in the development of community involvement and participation among the reservation areas through the efforts of the Indian community action program (I–CAP) agency in Bemidji, Minn.

Bemidji State College serves in a coordinating role and provides technical assistance to the local CAP agencies on each of the reservations. These agencies provide such services as Headstart for preschool Indian children, employment, recreation, and tribal assistance.

A "family approach" builds on the strong family relationships which are characteristic of the Indian culture. Success is more likely to occur when the family unit (although the concept of "unit" varies considerably) participates in the educational program. Education needs are prevalent in all age groups because traditional programs have failed.

A statewide approach, though difficult to implement, is essential to the success of the program for the following reasons:

1. To provide for the mobility of Indians between the reservation areas and the urban centers.
2. To provide continuity between rural and urban efforts.
3. To facilitate the sharing of ideas and information.
4. To enable teacher exchange, and more effective in-service programs.
5. To give recognition to existing tribal structures.
6. To gather all available resources to focus more directly on educational problems.

The few educational successes and many failures indicate the following components and concepts are essential in the implementation of all programs in the family education project for Minnesota Indians:

1. Indian leadership and direction.
2. Indian community participation.
3. "Open entry" employment of Indian adults and youth in educational programs.
4. "Career ladder" opportunities.
5. The inclusion of Indian culture and heritage as an integral part of all activities.
6. A design to restructure traditional school settings and curricular approaches.
7. Federal, State, and local support and facilitation.

As special services, educational programs, vocational training, materials, and resources become available to Indian families a network of Indian education advisers of home-school coordinators will be established to visit and inform Indian families of available educational opportunities.

They will receive special preparation to work with teachers, administrators, school psychologists and sociologists, and library personnel to provide direction in programs operation, and to facilitate communication between the schools and the Indian communities.

The home-school coordinators will serve in the districts in which they reside and will have opportunities for education and career advancement.

Minnesota State plan for Indian education:

Commissioner Mattheis has asked Ed Cain and myself to prepare a new State plan for Indian education.

After extensive traveling throughout Minnesota, talking with Indian parents, school personnel, boards of education, and other educational institutions, we have come to the following conclusions:

1. Indian education must be a statewide program;
2. the program should provide special services for Indian students;
3. educational service centers shall be located in three geographical areas of Minnesota with adequate staffs; and,
4. Johnson-O'Malley funds will be used to coordinate efforts in securing other Federal funds.

The Minnesota plan will provide a structure for the assessment, planning, development, operation, and evaluation of special educational services and programs for Indian children and youth.

The plan requires the involvement and participation of Indian youth and adults in all phases of program development and implementation, and approaches educational needs through the "family unit" concept.

The basis for the successful effectuation of the plan is determinate upon the maximum utilization and coordination of existing resources and programs through a statewide design.

The mobility of the Indian population of the State between the reservations and the urban centers necessitates a statewide approach.

School records show that some Indian children have transferred schools as many as 13 times; as many as 35 percent will move during the school year.

Continuity between urban and rural programs is vital because of the mobility of Indian families, to facilitate sharing of information, and to strengthen the staff of rural schools with the specialists and expertise available in the urban setting.

The statewide approach facilitates coordination between the Indian people, the schools, the Minnesota Department of Education and the colleges and universities.

We anticipate approval of this plan by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and will begin implementing it as soon as possible.

I might add here, as I indicated earlier, that Johnson-O'Malley serves about 2,500 out of a possible 10,000.

At this time we cannot offer any services to schools having a large number of Indians that do not reside on or near a reservation. We feel that it is essential that we do.

Senator **Kennedy**. Is it because of the inadequacy of the funds or the interpretation?

Mr. **Antell**. I believe it is interpretation. The key to our State plan is the necessity of providing special services to Indian youngsters, and to reach all Indian pupils wherever they reside.

We are optimistic of its potential.

The next few pages explain some exciting programs going on in Indian education.

Rosemary and Pete talked a little about them. I will not go over this. They talked about the upward bound program in Minneapolis and the STAIRS program. Both of these involve Indian parents in the educational process. They are tutorial in design, will also provide enrichment in Indian history, culture, and sometimes in languages. The staff are all Indians.

It has been in operation for about 6 months and it has created a great deal of enthusiasm in the Indian communities.

I observed when it first started there were few Indians that would come to board meetings. At the last meeting I attended in January, you could hardly get in the room. So this involvement is a real factor here and we are encouraged.

Late last fall, the U.S. Office of Education extended an invitation to Indians from Minnesota to provide testimony about ongoing programs concerning Indian education in Minnesota. The Indian communities responded and presented an excellent program to that Office in November of last year.

The U.S. Office indicated they had never quite heard such an impressive presentation as that presented. This and other activities conducted in Minnesota was the reason Minnesota was selected as one of the six areas in the Nation that would receive special assistance from the USOE.

The Department of Education, Minneapolis schools, and the University of Minnesota have all submitted proposals dealing with different facets of Indian education. Some have been funded and others are getting excellent reviews.

The most recent one was the library proposal funded for, I think it was, $135,000. We also have committed some funds in the Department under ESA, title II, library section, to hold an institute at the University of Minnesota this summer where we will bring in librarians or resource people from schools that have a large number of Indian youngsters, to retain these librarians so that they can go back and begin to use the materials that are becoming available, that will be helpful for the instructional staff as well as the student body.

We also are going to concentrate on some developmental reading programs in this area.

The other programs that are currently being reviewed are getting excellent reviews. We think we are going to get a dropout prevention program which would have a great deal of impact on Minnesota. Also, this idea of parental involvement here.

Senator Kennedy. What are you trying to do in the dropout program? Do you give them personal counseling? Exactly how do you go about that?

Mr. Antell. What we are attempting to do is to get school systems to hire a large number of Indians to act as coordinators. What this has meant in the past is that the school systems were hiring truant officers to get kids to come to school. It had a negative impression on Indian families.

What we would like to do here is to get Indians employed by the school system that can relate both to the school setting and to the family setting, and that the large number of these people would act as counselors to the Indian community, hoping that they could explain the role of the school a little bit more so that they have a little bit better grasp of the responsibilities here and also to provide the school with information about the Indian communities.

The excellent cooperation between educational institutions in Minnesota, Indian communities, and the U.S. Office of Education is providing an excellent arena for action in our State.

Let me conclude by saying that we have serious educational problems in the Indian communities of our State. We realize the great task before us, and it will not be an easy one to solve.

We are extremely optimistic as there is an emergence of Indian leaders in Minnesota who are dedicating themselves to improving Indian education. The Indian people themselves are responding enthusiastically to the request for involvement in school affairs.

Educational institutions throughout Minnesota are also responding to the challenges facing Indian education. The Department of Education is committed to providing a meaningful and worthy education for Indian youngsters.

I might add here that the hiring of an Indian was perhaps their first step and this has made a deep impression on Indian communities throughout the State.

Assistance is needed on every level of government and it is reassuring to me as an American Indian to see the U.S. Congress listening to testimony of Indians. I am confident that this great institution will act accordingly.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, this concludes my presentation. Thank you very much.

Senator **Kennedy**. Mr. Antell, I want to commend you for your statement and your response.

As I understand, Minnesota is one of the outstanding States showing concern for the problems of Indian education.

I think your statement this morning reflects not only your interest, but the interest and leadership of those in the State of Minnesota.

I think it is a great tribute to you and to the department which you represent. I think it is a very complete statement, and I have no questions at this time.

Mr. **Antell**. Thank you very much.

Senator **Mondale**. Mr. Chairman.

Senator **Yarborough**. Mr. Antell, your statement says it is estimated according to the last tribal records that there are 30,000 Indian residents in Minnesota. What percentage of those are Chippewas?

Mr. **Antell**. The vast majority of them. I would say upward to 25,000 would probably be Chippewa.

Senator **Yarborough**. What tribes do the other 5,000 belong to?

Mr. **Antell**. There are Sioux Indians that provide the second largest number. The rest of them are very small in number: Menominee, Oneida, Sac and Fox, some Pueblo, These are very few in number.

Senator **Yarborough**. The Sioux dialect is part of the great Sioux language?

Mr. **Antell** Yes.

Senator YARBOROUGH. What is the Chippewa, an Algonquin language?

Mr. ANTELL. Yes.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Quite a different language.

Mr. ANTELL. There is a standing disagreement between the Sioux and Chippewa. If you read history as related to us by the white historians, the Chippewas drove the Sioux out.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Is that your tribal history also?

Mr. ANTELL. It probably will be. We get a lot of joshing on this.

Senator YARBOROUGH. The charcoal-burnings show that the Maori in New Zealand had accurate tribal records thousands of years old. The charcoal said they were in New Zealand within 50 years of the time when the Maoris tribal history says they came to New Zealand. So I don't discount tribal history being accurate.

Mr. ANTELL. I would say that the oral history is respected a great deal and passed on from generation to generation.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Thank you. I want to congratulate you on what you are doing in Minnesota. So far as I have heard and seen from the testimony, we have no record of any other State that is moving so progressively in this field. Congratulations to you. In the interest of time, Mr. Chairman, I will forgo further questions.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

First of all, let me say how proud I am, representing Minnesota, to see the great and inspiring work of the Upper Midwest Regional Laboratory, the State department of education, the efforts by Mr. Antell, and those of Mr. Ammentorp, who is also with the Midwest Regional Laboratory. We do not have time today to hear from some of the remarkable people at the University of Minnesota who have been contributing so much to Indian education and the Minneapolis public school officials.

I think in Minneapolis we have the best school superintendent in the country. And in many other areas in Minnesota we are seeing a remarkable effort to undo the tragedy of insensitivity and lack of concern over the years.

We have a long list of witnesses, but I would still like to ask a long list of questions. All day yesterday with our witnesses a common criticism of the present system of education for the American Indian has been that there does not exist with the parents of the Indian children, who are being educated, the authority to have something of substance to say about the education of their children.

Now, in Minnesota only the smallest percentage of Indian children actually end up in boarding schools. As I understand it: far less than 5 percent actually go to a boarding school and all those outside the State. Practically all of our schoolchildren are being educated in public schools. Some of these schools are exclusively Indian such as at Red Lake, where they have an Indian school board and presumably control the curriculum.

Mr. Antell, you are a product, yourself, of a public school system. Could you give us your conclusion as to whether you consider this local control fundamental to the quality of Indian education?

Mr. ANTELL. Yes, I think it very definitely is. I think it has been the unfortunate experience that local school districts do have this power, but, because of poor orientation as to what the roles of the board of education members are, this is entirely lacking.

It seems to me it should be a priority system, to let these board members know that they have the control of that local school district. So often, because of the mobility, we find many cases where board members are elected and leave and come back, so they have no training here and they are asked to sit on the board and many times the administrator of that local school system runs that school. It confuses issues in relation to the responsibility of the department of education. Many times it is passed on to the Indian school boards that they are regulated extensively by the department of education. This is not true. They do have local control vested there. It seems to me we have to do something to prepare these board members to fulfill their roles.

Senator Mondale. That is an interesting second element here. We have talked primarily about the remote control by the Bureau of boarding schools in the past. Apparently you are testifying that there are also problems of local control; that the school boards need help. If you have a chance, perhaps you can submit in writing some of your observations on these problems. I think it would be of value to the committee.

I have one other question. Most of these schools to which you have made reference are supported primarily through Johnson-O'Malley funds and the other two sections. Do those funds come conditioned in any way to assure adequate concern for the quality of Indian education or is it money that simply comes to the school district concerned to be used by them as they see fit?

Mr. Antell. I think the Bureau of Indian Affairs would like to see us use the money very differently than we have. It comes to us and we give it to the particular school districts; they use it as they see fit. The Bureau recommends that we provide special services. But because of the lack of money available, we have to use this money for the general operation of the school. We couldn't provide these services.

So in this particular case, we feel that the Bureau has taken some important steps here, much further ahead of us. We just haven't been able to provide these special services because of lack of money. We mentioned Red Lake a while ago. I think this goes along with this local control, that they just don't have money.

Senator Mondale. As a matter of fact, the Red Lake School is in danger of closing, is it not?

Mr. Antell. They are very worried about making it through the year with the amount of money they have. Although with the new regulation on our hot lunch program, this has freed some of our Johnson-O'Malley money. We anticipate being able to use this.

Senator Mondale. Good. One further question.

Mrs. Christensen, you referred in your testimony to the upward bound program in Minneapolis dealing with Indian youngsters. How successful has that been in encouraging them and supporting them in further educational work?

Mrs. Christensen. It has only been going since September, so we can't really say.

Senator Mondale. Thank you very much.

Senator **Yarborough**. I would like to thank Minnesota and the Chippewa Indians for the production of wild rice. I understand that that is virtually a monopoly, that the Chippewas have a monopoly on the harvesting of it. At the time the Massachusetts Bay Pilgrims landed in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, it was growing all the way east from the Atlantic Seaboard. Through pollution and other things, it is practically limited now to Minnesota. Does the Chippewa Tribe have a monopoly under the law there for harvesting it?

Mr. **Antell**. That is a good point. As a matter of fact, they don't. It is very unfortunate because of the State laws the Indian is coming out second best. They are developing some commercial processes and this is sort of relegating the Indians' position here to a secondary one.

Senator **Mondale**. Traditionally we have had these few wild rice lakes which are unique kinds of lakes. Native wild rice only grows in certain of the lakes. So the commercial interests, seeing there is a little money in it, have constructed artificial wild rice lakes and driven the wild rice price down. That is one source of pretty decent money that has come to our reservations, particularly some of the remote ones like Nett Lake. If prices are driven down, it will be a sad day indeed for the Indians of our State.

Senator **Yarborough**. I am glad you clarified that. As you say, it takes a unique kind of condition. Originally it grew all over the eastern United States, at the time the Pilgrims came, but now production is limited to Minnesota.

Senator **Kennedy**. I want to welcome Senater Hughes of Iowa, who will be serving on this subcommittee, as well as meeting his other responsibilities to the full committee. He was an extremely distinguished Governor of one of our great States and is very much interested in the problems of Indian education. We want to welcome Senator Hughes here. If you have any questions, we will be more than glad to hear them.

Senator **Hughes**. Not right at this time.

Senator **Mondale**. Mr. Bellmon.

Senator **Bellmon**. Mr. Antell, I have been very much interested in your testimony, particularly in the position you hold. In Oklahoma, we have, of course, a large Indian population. It is my observation that generally speaking the Indian adults have virtually no voice in the educational programs for their children.

Since in Oklahoma, our Indian population is generally distributed throughout the total community, it is very difficult for an Indian to win a place on a school board. How do you in your capacity as a human relations consultant operate in order to give the Indian adults more of a voice? How do you go about making it possible for them to express their opinions to the school authorities?

Mr. **Antell**. As I indicated, we are setting up these advisory councils. I am meeting with them very regularly.

Senator **Bellmon**. Advisory councils of——

Mr. **Antell**. To school systems. For example, the Minneapolis school system has a very active Indian advisory committee.

Senator **Bellmon**. Made up of Indians?

Mr. **Antell**. All Indians, right. So, as Rosemary indicated here, we meet with them at least once or twice a month. These people are, in turn, sitting and listening to testimony.

Senator **Bellmon**. You say "we." You mean the advisory council meets with whom?

Mrs. **Christensen**. The school administrators and the assistant superintendent of urban affairs attends every meeting.

Senator **Bellmon**. Does your advisory council ever meet with the school board of education?

Mr. **Antell**. Yes, they do. We also have a statewide Indian education committee, and through this we are trying to initiate action on a local level in these reservation areas. A member that comes from that area goes back and also sits in on board meetings and provides inputs there.

Senator **Bellmon**. Now, when your advisory council meets with an administrator or school board, what sort of reception do you get or what sort of counsel do you generally try to give?

Mr. **Antell**. In the ones that we have advisory councils, they are very good. But this is the exception. On the vast majority of the schools, we have not been able to make this step yet. Many of the communities have been a little bit leery of taking this particular step.

Senator **Bellmon**. The white community?

Mr. **Antell**. Right.

Senator **Bellmon**. What about the Indians; are they willing or even eager to voice their opinion?

Mr. **Antell**. They are becoming quite vocal, especially with the young leaders that are emerging now. They are beginning to state their case very well.

Senator **Bellmon**. What is the role or what is the reaction of the BIA to your work? Do they generally cooperate?

Mr. **Antell**. Yes; they have very little to do with public education in Minnesota. They are supporting us financially through Johnson-O'Malley. So, we have extensive meeting with them when we negotiate the financial contract. They do do some supervisory work, also. But it has been very good. The young man that is in there now is attending a lot of our community programs, getting involved with the community. We see this as a real asset here.

Senator **Bellmon**. We have had some testimony before the subcommittee from Indians indicating that they would like to have or take control of their own schools. Do you have an opinion about this?

Mr. **Antell**. I think it would be excellent on these reservation areas here, and I think in Minnesota they do have this. There is no interference from the Bureau of Indian Affairs at all. They do receive some static from the State Department now and then on rules and regulations. It is a matter of understanding their role as a board member.

Senator **Bellmon**. The testimony has indicated that one reason the Indians would like to have control of their own schools is to preserve their language and also to educate Indian young people in tribal traditions and even religion. Do you consider this kind of system to be a help or a hindrance so far as assisting an Indian young person in obtaining an education and equipping himself to make his way?

Mr. **Antell**. I think it is very important, and I think this is a local issue, a local possibility that this board has. They are not convinced at this time that they should perhaps spend funds for this type of program in competition with their basic education.

I think they are beginning to see the value of this young Indian having some pride and dignity, knowing something about his history and culture. So they are beginning to move in this direction. We know of no school board yet at this time that has adopted any curriculum that would insure this.

Senator BELLMON. Now the big problem seems to be related to the dropout difficulty, that Indian young people who come from one environment into a school system find it difficult to adjust and difficult to learn at the same rate in the same way as the white children who have a different cultural background. Do you have any suggestions as to how this transition can be made?

Mr. ANTELL. This is a real difficult one. I think it is a combination of the parents' understanding the role of the school and the school having some understanding of that Indian family. To realize these basic differences, value systems and attitudes, it seems imperative that the teachers need a great deal of work in this respect. They get caught up in the middle-class expectation of these kids.

There is really not much understanding on the part of teachers and school personnel on that Indian youngster's background. It seems to me that is one of the major areas that we need to concentrate on with that particular teacher.

Senator BELLMON. I have one other question. One of the problems that seems to contribute to the high dropout rate in Oklahoma is the temporary or migratory nature of the employment that a lot of Indian adults engage in. This means that a lot of the children might go to school for a short time and be taken out while the family goes off to work or perhaps for a ceremony, something of this kind. Is there any way you know of that the Indian adults or Indian young people could be made to appreciate more the value of education and the great disadvantage that they do to young people when they are taken out of school?

Mr. ANTELL. Yes. We see this as a real problem, and I guess our major task here is to convince the Indian population that education will meet their needs. We find this migration, taking the kids out of school for "ricing" in the fall when they are just starting, gets them off on the wrong foot, they get behind in their lessons. They come back and they are at a disadvantage because they are so far behind in the class.

On the other hand, we think that if the teachers would understand that this is a cultural part of the Indian's life, that they might also be able to make some exceptions.

We in Minnesota have done many things for youngsters who live on farms. They take their youngsters out in the fall during harvest time, for deer-hunting. The schools seem to be able to adjust to this type of situation. It seems to me if the teachers in the school system could be a little bit more understanding about this cultural activity that the Indian involve himself in—as you mention, powwows, tribal celebrations; the Indian people just up and go—it seems to me if the teachers would understand this, they might be able to make this transition a little bit easier.

Senator BELLMON. Part of your work as a human-relations representative is working with Indian adults, trying to convince them that they do their children a disservice when they interrupt their education?

Mr. ANTELL. Very definitely.

Mr. PETRAFESO. Senator, I think one of the things that we have to address ourselves to is to focus on the teacher. Now, we have hit the idea of local control, which I think is a good thing. In Minnesota we have local control. At Red Lake Reservation, for instance, the school board is all Indian. Now the children at Red Lake, at this particular reservation, are not getting an adequate education, and there is local control.

I think we need to focus and I think there needs to be more programs directed at training this particular teacher. You mentioned having the Indian child make the transition. I think that the teacher plays the important role here in helping this child to make a transition, in helping this child to get the skills that are necessary if he chooses to use them.

So I think that in addition to looking at the idea of local control, which is good, we have to look at the training that these teachers are getting in the schools.

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM AMMENTORP, PROFESSIONAL STAFF FOR THE UPPER MIDWEST REGIONAL EDUCATIONAL LABORATORY, MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

Mr. AMMENTORP. I am also at the Regional Laboratory. We are working in the project on the Red Lake School as outlined in the testimony. The important point is that the weight of the problem of the Indian child is direct interaction between him and the teacher, in terms of curriculum materials, differences of points of view with respect to values. This is where it hurts the child directly, in the classroom.

In order to combat the problem, I think the efforts that we direct must be focused on the training of the teachers, developing training materials that can be used largely individually and on an in-service basis. I think we have a large number of teachers that must be trained because we cannot simply reach these people through traditional means. We have to devise training packages that must be used in the local schools to bring these people up to date on Indian culture, on curriculum materials, and on school operation that will give them an opportunity to reach the child.

Senator BELLMON. The problem I see is that no matter how good the teacher is or how good the curriculum is, they can't possibly teach the child if he has gone off with his parents to pick cotton.

Mr. AMMENTORP. Part of the problem is that the Indian parent cannot see at this point the relevance of the school. I can't say that I blame him greatly, because I think we have not delivered on the promise that education holds for the child.

I am inclined to agree with your major point that the child in the long run will be better prepared for a role in society if he is given the same kind of training as the white child. Until we address ourselves to that training, it is hard to convince the Indian adult that the child should stay in school.

Senator BELLMON. Do you, in your work in the human-relations field, make any effort to prepare materials for Indian adults to impress upon them the importance of keeping the children in school? How do you go about trying to convince an Indian family that in the long run they are better off to accept some sort of permanence and keep their children in an educational institution?

Mr. ANTELL. At this point we don't have any published material. Most of our work is doing field work, meeting with parents and impressing upon them the need for the youngsters to receive this education.

As Bill has said here, at this point they have not really seen this need. They look at the history of some of their own experiences. They begin to write off education. Their experiences have been very unpleasant in many cases.

It seems to me now that, with the type of people that we are getting in the programs, that this might help the image of success as far as the Indian is concerned as he begins to see other Indians in key positions or who have gotten some further training, vocational training, or a college degree. We don't have enough of this. We should try to get this in front of people much more than we do.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Mr. Chairman, may I ask another question?

Mr. Antell, were you and your group here yesterday when we were speaking to this lady and these gentlemen from Iowa about the GI bill? Were you in the room?

Mr. ANTELL. No.

Senator YARBOROUGH. The new GI bill of rights for the cold-war period covers anybody who entered service on or after February 1, 1955. There are over 7 million discharged veterans. The VA is not pushing this. Under this new bill, broader than any in the past, a person coming out of military service can get his highschool studies finished free. The Government pays for it. Then he starts using his entitlement to go to college.

You ought to see that every one of the Chippewas coming out of service uses this to the maximum. It is a great opportunity for people in the lower economic bracket of income to get a college education.

The Indians do their part militarily. They go and they get their honorable discharge. It should be a great boon. I recommend that you help see that they get instruction in this. If they want it, they can get vocational education, on-the-job education, on the farm, flight training, go to business college, go to technical college. It covers every scope of education now. This is the broadest GI bill we ever had. If we can get my amendment through, it will be even better.

Mr. ANTELL. We do have an excellent scholarship program in Minnesota that is a combination of several different agencies contributing here. The State legislature, in the last biennium, appropriated $75,000, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs matched this with more, and with private foundations starting a program last year, approached $200,000. We have 188 this year on scholarship programs.

Senator YARBOROUGH. In college?

Mr. ANTELL. In college. Our problem is that we don't have enough high school graduates.

Senator YARBOROUGH. That is the reason I mentioned, under this GI bill, it reaches back to furnish a high school education, too. That had not existed before. Previously, when the person went to high school, he used up his entitlement. If you were in service as much as 18 months, then you get 36 months. That is 4 years of college. If they have not finished high school and go to high school, the Government pays all that out first and then they start their 36 months. You can't miss on it. You get that word out.

You said about 40 percent of the tribe was going to the cities. What has happened to them in the cities? Has that been covered already? What educational level? Are they your better-educated Chippewas that go to the cities? Do they have a job assured when they go or do they move into cities looking for jobs?

Mr. ANTELL. I think they go into the cities looking for jobs. Many of them do not have a high school education.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Have they learned the practical method, working in garages as mechanics? When they go to cities, do they have the aptitude? Have they been trained as mechanics or in some trade or vocation before they go to the cities?

Mr. ANTELL. No.

Senator YARBOROUGH. If they are not trained in anything, they are more apt to be among the unemployed than those who are trained.

Mr. ANTELL. That is right.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Thank you. I note what you say here about the law prohibiting putting what race people belong to on these questionnaires. Do you have any information about the percentage of unemployed among the Indians of the 40 percent that moved off the reservation into the cities

Mr. ANTELL. No, we don't. Some of the OEO programs on the reservations are doing some work on this. They are finding when they come back that their statistics run around 60 percent unemployed.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Unemployed in the cities or on reservations?

Mr. ANTELL. In both places.

Senator YARBOROUGH. In other words, they leave the tribal doors open and they come back when they want to?

Mr. ANTELL. Yes; there is free movement.

Senator KENNEDY. Senator Murphy.

Senator MURPHY. I don't have any questions. I would like to say that I am sorry that other duties did not permit me to be here, but I will read your statement very carefully. From what I did hear, I am certain it will be most helpful to the committee. I thank you very much for coming.

Senator BELLMON. Let me ask you a question. If I have understood properly, in the State of Minnesota apparently, execpt for perhaps in urban centers, the schools where Indian children attend have a sizable proportion of their student body who are Indians. Is that the case?

Mr. ANTELL. Would you repeat that, please?

Senator BELLMON. Except in the urban centers in your State, the schools where Indian children attend are totally Indian or largely Indian or are they schools with a small proportion of Indian students?

Mr. ANTELL. On the Indian reservations, on the eight budgeted schools, and these are——

Senator BELLMON. Will you define the term "budgeted school"?

Mr. ANTELL. Budgeted schools are ones that are on the reservation and have very little local revenue. We distinguish between budgeted and unbudgeted for the purpose of appropriating Johnson-O'Malley moneys to offset the revenue. The other schools are located adjacent to and they are generally a rural school district in Minnesota. The

Indian youngsters coming off the reservations obtain their secondary education there. This district in turn has to pay tuition cost, transportation cost, things like this.

Senator BELLMON. These schools are predominantly Indian schools; the students are mostly Indians?

Mr. ANTELL. The eight budgeted schools are, yes; as high as 85 percent in some cases.

Senator MONDALE. We have several schools located next to small reservations where the number of Indian children in the school system is very small.

Senator BELLMON. In the situation where the Indian students are a minority, perhaps even a small minority, do you feel that the approach you mentioned, which is to give the students training in Indian culture and history, is a practical way to approach the dropout problem when you are dealing with a group that is largely white?

Mr. ANTELL. I think that there is an awareness in the State as a whole of doing this in every school system, that there is a greater appreciation of minorities. It seems to me that if we are going to get these young Indians to develop some pride and dignity, they have to do it because of their Indian background. They are Indians and they are constantly told that. The only information they have is generally negative. If these school systems would bring out the positive things of the Indian history and culture, it would definitely help these youngsters.

Senator BELLMON. You say it would help the young Indian students as well as the white students?

Mr. ANTELL. Yes.

Mrs. CHRISTENSEN. I think white people should learn about Indians as well as Indian people. I went to a secondary classroom in Minneapolis. One of the children asked me if the Indians still lived in India. I think it is deplorable that they don't even know that they live in the United States. I think it is time white people learn what the Indians really are.

Senator BELLMON. Most of us think we know about Indians; we watch television. The reason I raised the question is that in Oklahoma most of our Indian students attend public schools; in fact, practically all of them do. In these circumstances, there may be only 2, 3, 5, or 10 percent Indian among the total enrollment.

I was wondering if the approach of trying to teach Indian culture to the whole student body had been tried and what sort of reaction we would get. I can see it might be of value to the white students as well as to the Indians.

Senator KENNEDY. I want to thank you very much for appearing here. It has been extremely helpful. I am hopeful, as a result of these hearings, to develop some legislation. If you will be kind enough to counsel with us and give us the benefit of your guidance, as you have shown here your very broad background and experience in this area, it will be very helpful in the development of the legislation. We may call on you frequently in the future. We want to thank you for your presence.

Mr. ANTELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

(The report entitled Indians in Minnesota follows:)

INDIANS IN MINNESOTA

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LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA
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Introduction

The American Indian has been viewed by most of us in motion pictures, novels and on television as the antagonist in the drama of the "westward march of civilization." These pictures and our limited personal contacts lead to no real understanding of the people. While we do not have time in this study to recap the whole history of the great variety of Indian people, it is essential that we understand that this variety does exist. When a group of members of the League visited Mr. Roger Jourdain, Chairman of the Red Lake Band of Chippewa Indians, he said we will do a service if we merely cast aside our generalizations and realize that these are men with the same hopes and aspirations as other men.

Many anthropologists believe that the Indians originally came to this hemisphere from Asia, probably across what is now the Bering Straits. Their migrations have been variously dated but some would appear to have taken place longer than 12,000 years ago.

When Columbus discovered America, the variation in the levels of civilization which existed here was greater than that in Europe at the time of the Holy Roman Empire. The Mayas earlier had developed the decimal system, 1000 years before it was used in Europe. Their calendar was superior to that in use anywhere in its time. Indian peoples contributed agricultural crops other than corn and tobacco — potatoes, tomatoes, melons, squash, lima beans, cocoa, cotton, to name a few. They used gold, silver and copper, rubber, chewing gum, drinking straws. The weaving of the pre-Inca peoples has never been matched. Using cotton, alpaca and vicuña fibers, 190 different classified hues in 7 color ranges, and intricate weaves not yet duplicated by us, they contributed the finest woven materials known. That their engineering feats were remarkable can be seen in examples like the Inca fortress near Cuzco, built about 1450 A.D. Its huge stone blocks, weighing up to 200 tons, are fitted together so perfectly that a knife blade can rarely be inserted between them. Or we can consider the Inca roads stretching over thousands of miles of the Andes mountains with almost no variation in width.

The Mayas had a system of writing. The final act in the destruction of their civilization was the burning of their books. Bishop Diego de Landa, in his *Relación*, wrote, ". . . as they contained nothing but superstition and lies of the devil, we burned them all, which the Indians regretted to an amazing degree and which caused them great anguish." "Their literature included history, science, the lives of great men, astronomy, astrology, prophecy, theology, ritual, legends and fables, 'cures of diseases, and antiquities, and how to read and write with letters and characters with which they wrote,' as Bishop Landa was told in the 1560's, and seemingly 'certain songs in meter,' and 'farces . . . and comedies for the pleasure of the public.'" (pp. 21–22, American Heritage Book of American Indians.)*

Where Indian peoples were urbanized, they developed complex social and political structures. And even when they were not, they developed sophisticated systems. Benjamin Franklin is said on good authority to have copied the League of the Iroquois in designing the Federation of States.

We cannot conclude that all Indians possessed highly developed cultures. Many were extremely primitive. But their potential is at least as high as that of non-Indians. In 1944, comparative studies of Indian and white children were done by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the University of Chicago. Using two performance tests, the Grace Arthur Point Performance Scale and the Goodenough "Draw-a-Man" test, Hopi, Zuni, Papago, Sioux, and Navajo Indian children were compared with white school children. All of the Indian groups did at least as well as white children on the Arthur Scale, and every Indian group had a higher average than the white children on the Goodenough test. (Fey and McNickle, pp. 117–8.)

The Chippewas were remote from the frontier and had little or no historical role in the early days of the United States. Feeling the press of displaced tribes in the East, they themselves moved westward and displaced the Sioux in large areas of Minnesota. The Minnesota Law Review (1955) suggests that "Chippewa claim to aboriginal title may face a Sioux claim of title prior in time to the Chippewa" (p. 856). The aboriginal Chippewa were a hunting and gathering group. Theirs was not an economy of abundancy, but, at its best, of sufficiency. In the spring and summer, maple sugaring, berrying, and, finally, wild rice harvesting brought together large groups of families and friends. Then community life existed — dancing, singing, the activities of the Grand Medicine Society and informal socializing. Families shared and worked together cooperatively. This social life lasted only as long as the short northern summers, and in the winter, individual families followed the lonely hunting trail and life was extremely harsh. Even in the larger southern Chippewa villages where people were somewhat more sedentary, this yearly cycle held sway.

When the Indian was removed from his lands and restricted to a small area, he lost his freedom, his way of life, and therefore his self-reliance and self-respect. He had no wish to become "civilized." It bore no meaning or relevance to his way of life, and nobody tried to make it relevant to him. Understandably, he has a fundamental resentment against those who forced him to change his way of life and who have held him in abeyance for many years.

If our ancestors were unable to understand the value of a culture which differed from theirs, let us hope that present day social studies have made us more tolerant. We can cite many examples where the white man's values clash with the Indian's. One fundamental difference is their relation to the land. As recently as 1957, the Tuscaroras of New York told the Federal Power Commission that their reservation was not for sale. They explained that it was part of their religious belief that the land "did not belong to us, we were only the custodians of it, and that we were to preserve it for the coming generations. As such, the land cannot be sold and is priceless, there can be no value placed upon it." (Edmund Wilson, *The New Yorker*, Oct. 24, 1959, p. 54.) They expressed a sense of unity with nature and did not understand the whites' exploitation of nature. Self-respect is measured not by how much wealth a man can amass for himself but by how much he can give away. They conceive of a leader as a servant rather than a "boss." Traditionally, they valued being a good hunter, being able to determine one's own life, getting along well with others, generosity, gentleness with children, caring for the aged, fidelity to one's word, and the ability to "speak out" among men. They prefer group action to individual action. Often in the past, when a white man thought he was communicating with a leader, he was really speaking to a man who had been selected for his ability to express a group decision. He was not a leader in our sense of having followers. When we say, "If we could only get to their leaders . . ." it is hard for us to realize that perhaps by our definition, they don't have any. The word of one man does not necessarily indicate that the group is committed.

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* See bibliography for full reference.

Between their culture and ours lies the history of our treatment of them which has always been a mixture of conscience and convenience. Only last year, we broke our oldest treaty with the Indians, signed by George Washington and the Senecas of New York, to acquire land for the Kinzua Dam. In a lecture on August 1, 1962, Mr. Harold Fey observed that when we talk of educating, assimilating, and bringing religion to Indians, most of us are still trying to destroy Indians as Indians. We feel they must accommodate themselves to the white man's culture, a culture which, on the other hand, is not prepared to accept them. Indians feel that they are still being "dealt with." Is is any wonder then that they are often described as bewildered, aimless, or hopeless?

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND MINNESOTA INDIANS

Treaties and Claims

When white settlers first came to this continent, Indians held the balance of power and our government was forced to deal with them through treaties and other agreements. These contracts were intended to make peace with the Indians and to acquire lands for white settlement. Later, as Indian power waned, the treaty-making period ended. Indians were confined to reservations, and the nation turned its attention to other matters. There was a second, transitional, period in which restrictions on land-holding were relaxed and tribes were gradually given a large degree of self government. The most recent policy of Congress, embodied in House Concurrent Resolution 108 (see p. 13), is one of complete federal withdrawal, integration of the Indian population and termination of reservations. Since 1953, experiences with termination have been unfortunate, and the present practice of the Bureau of Indian Affairs is not to push for termination. Resolution 108 still stands, however, as Congress's statement of the ultimate goal.

It is important to take a good look at the treaties which the United States government entered into with the Indian tribes, because it is only through the treaties that it is possible to understand the basis for Indian claims, evaluate any Indian land or other property rights, and consider the controversial matter of federal withdrawal.

"Until 1871, relationships were established with the various Indian tribes through treaties, the power stemming from the Constitution as in the case of treaties with a foreign nation. Approval also took the same course — a two-thirds vote of the Senate. After the making of Indian treaties was abolished in 1871, the United States concluded 'agreements' with the various tribes which were then ratified by both houses of Congress. This permitted the House to have a voice in Indian Affairs. It was expressly provided by statute that the obligations already incurred would not be lessened and the treaties then in existence were to remain in force.

"This ban on treaty-making with the tribes has created considerable confusion, much of it semantic. To many the word 'treaty' imparts greater obligation than an 'agreement' embodied in an act of Congress. In practice, the Indians continued to call every written agreement a treaty whether it was in fact or not. There was no change in the method of negotiation. Both before and after 1871 representatives of the United States would meet with the chiefs of a tribe, work out a satisfactory arrangement, put it in writing, sign it, and send it to Washington. In fact, there appears no difference in effect between a 'treaty' or an 'agreement,' since either can be abrogated, revised or renegotiated by Congress, with or without the consent of the Indian tribes.

"However, the argument has been made that in the Treaties the

United States treated the tribes as international nations, which it was receiving into its guardianship. The idea of the Federal Government acting as guardian of the Indians is said to stem from a phrase in a 1784 treaty with the Six Nations in which the United States received the tribes 'into their protection.' In this treaty, as well as in subsequent ones, the United States did appear to accord the Indians an international status, one of the treaties containing a type of extradition arrangement whereby the tribes promised to deliver any Indian robbing or murdering a white to the nearest military post to be punished by the laws of the United States. An amendment to that same treaty in 1789 contained a type of mutual assistance agreement whereby the United States and each tribe promised to inform the other if information were received of an uprising being plotted, the Indians agreeing to deny passage through their lands to hostile bands. One further article permitted the Indians to punish as they saw fit whites settling on lands confined to the Indians, and such whites were to be 'out of the protection of the United States.'

"Much as this would indicate a conclusion that the Indian tribes were dealt with as having an international status, no validity can attach to it. Congress can abrogate unilaterally a treaty with any foreign government as it can abrogate a treaty with any Indian tribe, or an agreement which does not bear the meaningless designation of 'treaty.' The real explanation is that the Federal Government in its dealings with the Indians followed a realistic course. Its goal was peace with the tribes, and, later, the securing of land for white settlement. As the power of the tribes waned so did the reflection of bilateral negotiation in both treaties and agreements. The path of federal activity to date appears conclusive against attaching any great significance to the treaty status, shattering an idea which lingers on in the minds of many Indians." (Minnesota Law Review, Vol. 39, June 1955, No. 7, pp. 855–866.)

Historically, two quite different attitudes had an influence on treaties with the Indians. One reflected the hostility of the French-Indian Wars. The "Treaty of Paris" (1763) disposed of the eastern half of the United States without any reference to the claims of ownership of the Indian tribes who lived there. In other words, it was assumed that the aboriginal tribes had neither title to the soil nor sovereignty. Title was in the Crown exclusively.

Under English Common Law, subscribing to this idea, Indian occupancy of the soil was merely a right of user, the land was subject to being reduced to ownership by treaty, and the dominant power reserved the right to extinguish the possessory rights of the Indians.

The other concept of Indian title, developed by Francisco de Vitoria, was that Indians were "true owners, both from the public and private standpoint," since certain basic rights inhere in men *as men*. This idea was embodied in the Northwest Ordinance (1787): "The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property, rights, and liberty they never shall be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity shall, from time to time, be made, for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them."

Land transactions of the United States Government and the Indian have been referred to as the biggest real estate deals in history. It is not surprising that alleged error in this type of claim make up a substantial number of cases handled by the Indian Claims Commission which was set up in August, 1946. One of the earliest, *United States vs. Alcea Band of Tillamooks* (1946) 329 US 40 held that the Federal Government was bound to pay Indians when it took from them land which they held under aboriginal ownership.

The Claims Commission has jurisdiction over five types of claims:

1. Claims in law or equity arising under the Constitution, laws, or treaties of the United States.

2. All other claims with respect to which the claimant would have been entitled to sue in Federal Court, if United States were subject to suit. Example: Suit by Tribe v. State of Minnesota.

3. Claims based on alleged fraudulent treaties, contracts, agreements, or claims based on duress, or mutual or unilateral mistake.

4. Claims based on the taking of lands by the United States, without the payment of compensation agreed to by the claimant.

5. Claims based on fair and honorable dealings not recognized by any existing law or equity.

The Act setting up the Indian Claims Commission expressly provided that claims would be heard "notwithstanding any statute of limitations or laches," or delay. Also, it provided that "No claim accruing after August 13, 1946, shall be considered by the Commission." (28 U.S.C.A. 1505 provides that the Court of Claims shall have jurisdiction of claims accruing after August 13, 1946.) At any time during a hearing of the Indian Claims Commission, the Commission can certify "distinct and definite questions of law" for instructions from the United States Court of Claims. After final decision, there is a three-months period in which either party can appeal to the Court of Claims; and the decision of the latter court, in turn, is appealable to the Supreme Court of the United States.

The statement already made, that Congress has the power to abrogate Indian treaties, has a limitation that must be noted. Certain provisions of the treaties give rise to what is called "*vested property rights.*" For example, several of the treaties which the government made with the Chippewa Indians provided that the Indians reserved a right to hunt, fish and gather wild rice, or provided that certain land assigned to individual Indians was to be exempt from real estate taxes. These are vested property rights that fall within the protection of the Fifth Amendment of the United States Constitution. Such a right cannot be taken except for a public use and for just compensation. A question of constitutionality is involved in Termination Acts which provide that after a stated number of years, the reservation land is to be subject to real estate taxes.

In Minnesota, there are nine treaties between the various bands of Chippewa Indians and the United States government, and one treaty between the Chippewa Indians and the Sioux which established a boundary describing the agreed territory of each (Treaty of 1825).

There were five treaties with the Sioux Indians, the last two of which ceded nearly a million acres on the north bank of the Minnesota River, at a price to be fixed by the Senate. (The Indians were so confident of generous treatment that their delegations to Washington consented to treaties which completely transferred their rights to the lands but which left the purchase price to be fixed by the "Great Council of the Great Father," the United States Senate!) These two treaties, signed July 19, 1858, and the ensuing delay of two years before the Senate awarded the Indians 30¢ an acre for land worth five dollars an acre are cited among causes for the Sioux Outbreak by Folwell.

An act of Congress of February 16, 1863, abrogated all the treaties with the Sioux and left them homeless. The exiled Sioux were shipped out of the state by steamer from the St. Paul levee, where there was "hooting and stone throwing but no serious damage to the defenseless cargo," according to Folwell (Vol. II, p. 259). In later years, some of the Sioux returned to Minnesota, and the present day Sioux communities in southern Minnesota are made up of small acreage allotments assigned to them by the government to relieve their distress.

All of the Minnesota Indian treaties have in common that they describe the land ceded, and with the exception of the two Sioux treaties of 1858, already noted, set out the consideration: money, goods (blacksmith and farming tools and implements, cotton cloth, blankets, etc.), and services. But the background in which they were negotiated and the fact that their main purpose was to open land for white settlement should be kept in mind. The custom of fur traders to extend credit to the Indians resulted in pressure on the Indians to cede their land to get cash to pay their debts. In the case of the Sioux treaties, the money paid can be traced almost directly into the hands of traders.

Finally, it should be stated that there is Indian land in Minnesota untouched by treaty cession. The Red Lake Indian Reservation is unique among Chippewa Indian reservations in that it is not land ceded to the United States Government by treaty and then set aside for a reservation for the Indians. The Red Lake Indian Band never ceded, but hold their land communally under original aboriginal title. The Red Lake Band also did not accept allotment (see p. 10).

The nine treaties between the United States Government and the Chippewa Indians are listed as follows:

Treaty of 1837 — St. Peters — The Chippewa Nation (Page 491; 7 Stat. 536)
Treaty of 1847 — Fond du Lac — Chippewa of the Lake Superior and Mississippi Bands (Page 567; 9 Stat. 904)
Treaty of 1847 — Leech Lake — Pillager Band of Chippewa (Page 569; 9 Stat. 908)
Treaty of 1854 — La Pointe — Lake Superior and Mississippi Band (Page 648; 10 Stat. 1109)
Treaty of 1855 — Washington, D.C. with Named Chiefs representing Various Bands of Chippewa (Page 685; 10 Stat. 1165)
Treaty of 1863 — Washington, D.C. — Mississippi, Pillager, and Lake Winnibigoshish Bands (Page 839; 12 Stat. 1249)
Treaty of 1863 — Old Crossing of Red Lake River, Minnesota — and the Red Lake and Pembina Bands (Page 853; 13 Stat. 667)
Treaty of 1866 — Washington, D.C. — Bois Fort Band (Page 916, 14 Stat. 765)
Treaty of 1867 — Washington, D.C. — With 10 Named Chiefs of the Mississippi Band, starting with Hole-in-the-Day, the Younger (Page 974; 16 Stat. 719)

(Page numbers above refer to Kappler — Laws and Treaties, Vol. 2.)

The five treaties with the Sioux are:

1. Treaty of September 29, 1837 (7 Stat. 538)
2. Treaty of July 23, 1851 — Treaty of Traverse des Sioux (10 Stat. 949)
3. Treaty of August 5, 1851 — Treaty of Mendota (10 Stat. 954)
4. and 5. Treaties of July 19, 1858 (12 Stat. 1031; 12 Stat. 1037)

Federal Laws

A catalogue of laws is forbidding, but in the interest of brevity, we are presenting them in this form. The most frequently cited laws are starred.

1787 — NORTHWEST ORDINANCE. This Ordinance exerted a constructive, humanitarian spirit, and undertook to protect the rights of Indians in the land they occupied. In essence, it recognized Indian sovereignty.

MARCH, 1789 — CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES. Article I, Section 8, the Commerce Clause, gives Congress the power "to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and with the several states, *and with the Indian tribes.*" Article II gives the President power to make treaties with the consent of the Senate (two-thirds vote necessary for ratification). (See 1924 for the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.)

AUGUST 7, 1789, ACT OF, STAT. 49. Established the Department of War and provided that that Department should handle, in addition to its primary military affairs, "such other matters . . . as the President of the United States shall assign to the said Department . . . relative to Indian affairs."

MARCH 11, 1824, ACT OF. The Bureau of Indian Affairs was established by order of the Secretary of War. (See Federal Indian Law (1958) Dept. of Interior, U.S. Govt. Printing Office, Washington, D.C.) However, it was not until June 30, 1834, that an act was passed (4 Stat. 735) which provided for the organization of a Department of Indian Affairs.

INDIANS IN MINNESOTA

JULY 9, 1832, ACT OF, 4 STAT. 564. General Indian prohibition law.

MARCH 3, 1849, ACT OF, 9 STAT. 395. The Bureau of Indian Affairs was transferred from the Department of War to the Department of the Interior.

MARCH 3, 1863, ACT OF, 12 STAT. 652. Provided for the removal of all Sioux then in custody of the government to some place outside of any state as a punishment for the Sioux uprising.

* MARCH 3, 1871, ACT OF, 16 STAT. 566; 25 USCA 71. This Act abolished the treaty-making method of dealing with Indians, giving the House of Representatives a voice in future dealings with Indians, and provided that no Indian nation or tribe be recognized as an independent nation with whom the United States may contract by treaty. The Act also provided that no treaty obligations already made were to be invalidated or impaired. It provided (Sec. 3) for the withdrawal from noncitizen Indians and from Indian tribes the power to make contracts involving the payment of money for services relative to Indian lands or claims against the United States, unless such contracts should be approved by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Secretary of the Interior. Since many of the grievances of the Indians were grievances against these officers, the Indians were effectually deprived by this statute of one of the most basic rights known to the common law, the right to free choice of counsel for the redress of injuries.

* FEBRUARY 8, 1887, ACT OF, 24 STAT. 388. The General Allotment Act or Dawes Act. This Act was proposed in the belief that "The enjoyment and pride of the individual ownership of property is one of the most effective civilizing agencies." The principal provisions were: (1) The President of the United States was authorized to allot tribal lands in designated quantities — 160 acres to each family head, eighty acres to each single person over 18 years and each orphan under 18, and 40 acres to each other single person under 18. (2) Each Indian would make his own selection; but if he failed or refused, a government agent would make the selection for him. (3) Titles were continued in trust for 25 years, or longer, at the President's discretion. (4) Citizenship was conferred upon all allottees and upon other Indians who abandoned their tribes and adopted "the habits of civilized life." (5) Surplus tribal lands remaining after allotment might be sold to the United States. (Fey and McNickle, p. 74). In 1887, Indians owned approximately 140,000,000 acres of land. As a result of this law and its amendments, in the next 45 years their holdings were reduced by 90,000,000 acres. Another effect has been that division among heirs has resulted in parcels which are economically useless. This is one of the most important statutes of Indian legislation.

JANUARY 14, 1889, ACT OF, 25 STAT. 642 (Kappler, *Laws and Treaties*, Vol. 1, p. 301.) In Minnesota, land was allotted to Chippewa Indians under the Nelson Act for the "relief and civilization of Chippewa Indians of the State of Minnesota." Where title was not restricted, for the most part, Indians sold their lands and timber rights, which resulted in landless Indians who also were shortly without money. In Minnesota, only the Red Lake Band elected not to allot tracts to individuals. The result is that Red Lake alone remains a solid block of Indian land, while other reservations are checkered with white-owned tracts. This is the crucial difference between an open and a closed reservation.

JUNE 2, 1924, ACT OF, 48 STAT. 253; 8 USCA 3. All Indians born within the territorial limits of the United States became citizens of the United States. This Act clarified the status of those Indians in Minnesota who had not previously secured citizenship through marriage to white men, through military service, or through receipt of allotments or special treaties or statutes. They were also given the vote. (By virtue of the 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, Indians as citizens of the United States automatically become citizens of the state of their residence.)

* 1928 — THE MERIAM SURVEY. Entitled *The Problem of Indian Administration.* The survey drew unfavorable comparisons between the service standards of the Indian Bureau and those of state agencies and ultimately led to a series of statutes looking to the transfer of power over Indian affairs from the Department of the Interior to the states. This survey was the first objective, scientific statement of Indian conditions. It was made at the request of the Department of the Interior, and was completed by Lewis Meriam and a staff of associates for the Institute of Government Research. The central finding of the survey was that "most Indians were poor, ill-housed, in bad health (tuberculosis was present to an alarming degree), backward, discontented, and apathetic. A major cause, according to the report, lay in the Allotment Act and its swift across-the-board application to all tribes whether prepared for it or not." (p. [illegible]23 Justice) The report proposed a single principle of action: that education in the broad sense be recognized as the primary task of the Indian service.

* APRIL 16, 1934, ACT OF, 48 STAT. 596; 25 USCA 452. Also known as the Johnson-O'Malley Act. It authorized the Secretary of the Interior to enter into education and welfare contracts with schools and states to provide for education, medical attention, agricultural assistance and social welfare, including the relief of distress of the Indians in the state. It provided funds to assist school districts that had a preponderance of tax-free Indian lands. The JOM education contract with the State of Minnesota this year amounted to $156,000. The welfare foster care contract amounted to $230,000. There were some minor amendments to this Act in 1936. (See Act of June 4, 1936, 49 Stat. 1458.) "The Johnson-O'Malley Act contemplates that the Secretary of the Interior will fix minimum educational standards not less than the highest maintained by the State. This important requirement in the Act permits the Federal Government to set out and enforce standards and to see that teachers have a basic understanding of problems that develop from merging two cultures. This money can also be used for training teachers in techniques necessary for dealing with children where English is used as a second language, or for

engaging supplementary teachers." (*A Program for Indian Citizens,* 1961, p. 32.)

* JUNE 18, 1934, ACT OF, 48 STAT. 984, 25 USCA 461. Indian Reorganization Act. The purpose of this Act was to conserve and develop Indian lands and resources; to extend to Indians the right to form business and other organizations; to establish a credit system for Indians; to grant certain rights of home rule to Indians; to provide for vocational education for Indians; and others. It provided for the acquisition of lands to be made into Indian reservations. The adoption of the Indian Reorganization Act marked the first time that statutory support was given the broad educational principle laid down in the Meriam Survey. The real heart and core of the Act was the recognition of the inherent right of Indian tribes to operate through governments of their own creation, and through business corporations which the tribes could create and manage. The result of this Act was that for the first time Indians began to have some idea, through their own experiences, of the mechanics and philosophy of American society. Representative leadership began to develop.

AUGUST 14, 1935, ACT OF, 49 STAT. 620, 42 USCA 301. Social Security Act. It provided for old-age assistance under Title I, aid to dependent children under Title IV, aid to the blind under Title X. This law, of course, was not passed primarily for the Indian people, but it has had a great effect on them.

* AUGUST 13, 1946, ACT OF, 60 STAT. 1049, USCA 2A, SECTION 70. This Act established the Indian Claims Commission. Its purpose was to hear and determine claims against the United States on behalf of any Indian tribe or group of American Indians. (see p. 7). At the present time, there are several petitions before this body which include the Chippewa Indians of Minnesota as a party to the petition. Most of these petitions involve a claim by the Indian tribe that they were not paid the true market value of the land, as values were at that time, the date of sale. The amount of money claimed is considerable, being in excess of $50,000,000. What final disposition the Indian Claims Commission will make of the alleged damages suffered is, of course, unknown at this time.

1948 — HOOVER COMMISSION. The Commission reviewed the record of Indian Affairs administration, reported on gains in self-government, education and economic enterprise. It was even more specific in citing the gains made under the Indian Reorganization Act. The Commission proposed to turn the responsibility for the Indian social programs over to the states, terminate tax exemption for Indian lands, and transfer tribal property to Indian-owned corporations.

SEPTEMBER 23, 1950, ACT OF, 64 STAT. 967; 20 USCA 631; PUBLIC LAW 815. This Act authorized federal aid for building to school districts which provide free public education to substantial numbers of children who reside on tax-exempt land, i.e., principally children residing on Indian reservations. It is administered by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

SEPTEMBER 30, 1950, ACT OF, 64 STAT. 1100; 20 USCA 236; PUBLIC LAW 874. (Expanded in Act of August 12, 1958, 72 Stat. 548, to include Indians.) Under Public Laws 874 and 815, Congress appropriated money to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, to be paid school districts where federal activities have an impact. (Impact is used in the sense of an increased load on local educational agencies because of federal activities.) It should be noted, however, that both Public Law 874 and 815 prohibit direction or control over the personnel, curriculum or program of the public schools. Consequently, when this money is used for the education of Indian children, the federal government is barred from setting standards or supplying the additional classes often needed by Indian children. (A Program for Indian Citizens, 1961, p. 32.)

* **AUGUST 1, 1953, HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 108.** (The Senate Concurring), INDIANS. We will quote this in full, since it is the most recent expression of policy by Congress.

WHEREAS it is the policy of Congress, as rapidly as possible, to make the Indians within the territorial limits of the United States subject to the same laws and entitled to the same privileges and responsibilities as are applicable to other citizens of the United States, to end their status as wards of the United States, and to grant them all of the rights and prerogatives pertaining to American citizenship; and

WHEREAS the Indians within the territorial limits of the United States should assume their full responsibilities as American citizens: Now, therefore, be it *Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate Concurring)*, That it is declared to be the sense of Congress that, at the earliest possible time, all of the Indian Tribes and the individual members thereof located within the States of California, Florida, New York, and Texas, and all of the following named Indian tribes and individual members thereof, should be freed from Federal supervision and control and from all disabilities and limitations specially applicable to Indians: The Flathead Tribe of Montana, the Klamath Tribe of Oregon, the Menominee Tribe of Wisconsin, the Potowatamie Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska, and those members of the Chippewa Tribe who are on the Turtle Mountain Reservation, North Dakota. It is further declared to be the sense of Congress that, upon the release of such tribes and individual members thereof from such disabilities and limitations, all offices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the States of California, Florida, New York, and Texas and all other offices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs whose primary purpose was to serve any Indian tribe or individual Indian freed from Federal supervision should be abolished. It is further declared to be the sense of Congress that the Secretary of the Interior should examine all existing legislation dealing with such Indians, and treaties between the Government of the United States and each such tribe, and report to

> Congress at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 1, 1954, his recommendations for such legislation as, in his judgment, may be necessary to accomplish the purpose of this resolution.

The resolution was cast in terms granting Indians the rights and privileges of citizens, but they were already American citizens by federal law and they already had the rights possessed by white citizens. The resolution is not so important for what it would give Indians as for what it would remove from them.

Since Resolution 108 was adopted, 11 basic termination laws have been passed to implement it. Experiences of the terminated tribes have been described as disastrous, and confusion, fear and distrust are felt by those Indians who anticipate termination in the future. "One reason Indians oppose termination is that they fear the loss of tribal land. Between 1953 and 1957, more than a million and a half acres of Indian land were taken out of trust. It is estimated that practically all of this land was sold to non-Indians. The rate of sale has been approximately 3 percent per year which means that Indians in this 4-year period have lost approximately 12 percent of their lands." (P. 123, 124, Justice.) "Since 1950 the major controversy in Indian affairs has been whether the United States should follow a program of pressing for prompt termination of tribes without the consent of their members. This appeared to be the goal until September, 1958, when Secretary of the Interior Fred A. Seaton, in a radio broadcast in Flagstaff, Arizona, stated that none would be terminated without the consent of its members." (P. 8 *A Program for Indian Citizens* 1961.) Present Bureau policy seems to be not to press for termination. But we must remember that this resolution, as a statement of the policy of Congress, is still in effect; what has been altered is the timing.

AUGUST 15, 1953, ACT OF, 47 STAT. 586; 18 USCA 1161; PUBLIC LAW 277. Repealed federal prohibition against the use of liquor by Indians away from reservations. Use on or off reservations must conform to state and/or tribal laws.

* AUGUST 15, 1953, ACT OF, 67 STAT. 586, PUBLIC LAW 280. This Act assigned to five states, including Minnesota, jurisdiction over law and order on Indian reservations *with the approval of the tribe*. It should be noted that the Act has written into it the express exception, "Nothing in this section shall authorize the . . . taxation of any real or personal (trust) property . . . or deprive any Indian . . . of any right under Federal treaty with respect to hunting, or fishing . . . or the licensing or regulation thereof." For a discussion of the impact of this legislation, see "The Administration of Justice" section of this report.

JUNE 17, 1954, ACT OF, 68 STAT. 250, 25 USCA 891, PUBLIC LAW 399. This Act provided for a per capita distribution of Menominee tribal funds and authorized the withdrawal of the Menominee Tribe from federal jurisdiction. The final termination date was April 30, 1961. This was the first act of its kind, and it has been followed by several acts of a similar nature. The Menominee tribe is having a difficult time. Their lands have become a separate county, their lumber industry is very depressed, and they must provide their own relief.

JULY 14, 1954, ACT OF, 68 STAT. 458, 7 USCA 1681, PUBLIC LAW 480. To prevent waste of commodities acquired through price-support operations, the Commodity Credit Corporation is authorized, among other things, to donate such commodities to the Bureau of Indian Affairs for use in non-profit school lunch programs and in the assistance of needy persons.

AUGUST 5, 1954, ACT OF, 68 STAT. 674; 42 USCA 2001; PUBLIC LAW 568. This Act transferred the maintenance and operation of hospital and health facilities for Indians from the Bureau of Indian Affairs to the Public Health Service. It took effect on July 1, 1955.

PUBLIC LAW 959 (1956). This Act provided vocational training for qualified Indians.

PUBLIC LAW 87–273 (1956) 70 STAT. 986; 25 USCA 309. Vocational Training Program — eligibility; contracts or agreements. In order to help adult Indians who reside on or near Indian Reservations to obtain reasonable and satisfactory employment, the Secretary is authorized to undertake a program of vocational training that provides for vocational counseling, or guidance, institutional training in any recognized vocation or trade, apprenticeship and on-the-job training for periods that do not exceed 24 months. Available to Indians age 16–35 years. Provides transportation, subsistence during course of training.

AUGUST 12, 1958, ACT OF, 72 STAT. 548, PUBLIC LAW 85–620. PL 874 was expanded to include Indian children.

JULY 12, 1960, ACT OF, 74 STAT. 469; PUBLIC LAW 86–634. This Act provided a fine and/or imprisonment for removing No-hunting or trapping, or fishing signs, or boundary markers from Indian reservation land. It is aimed at white poachers.

JUNE 16, 1961, ACT OF, 75 STAT. 92; 25 USCA CHAP. 2-A, SEC. 70; PUBLIC LAW 87–48. This Act sets the termination date of the Indian Claims Commission as five years from and after April 10, 1962, or at such time as the Commission shall have made its final report to the Congress on all claims filed with it.

1961, PUBLIC LAW 87–27. The Area Redevelopment Act. (See Economic problems)

PUBLIC LAW 87–250 (1961). 75 STAT. 520; 25 USCA 470

Indian Corporations: Appropriations for loans. Authorized an appropriation of $20,000,000 for a revolving fund, under the administration of the Secretary of the Interior, to be available to Indian chartered corporations, *for the purpose of promoting the economic development of the tribes and of their members.* (This section amended the amount available for loans to Indian chartered corporations from $10,000,000 to $20,000,000.)

The Bureau of Indian Affairs

The Bureau of Indian Affairs was created in the War Department in 1824 and transferred to the Department of the Interior at the time of its establishment in 1849. The main objectives of the Bureau's programs are: maximum Indian economic self-sufficiency; full participation of Indians in American life (this means that Indians will adjust to whites, not that whites will adjust to Indians); and equal citizenship privileges and responsibilities for Indians.

The major functions of the Bureau with respect to its work with Indians and with natives of Alaska are:

1. To act as trustee with respect to Indian lands and moneys held in trust by the United States and to assist the owners in making the most effective use of their lands and other resources.

2. To provide public services when needed — such as education and welfare aid — *where these services are not available to Indians from other agencies.*

3. To furnish guidance and assistance for those Indians who wish to leave reservation areas and enter normal channels of American economic and social life.

4. To collaborate with the Indian people (both tribally and individually) in the development of programs leading toward full-fledged Indian responsibility for the management of their own property and affairs as well as the gradual transfer of public service responsibilities from the Bureau of Indian Affairs to the agencies which normally provide these services to non-Indian citizens.

The Minneapolis Area Office of the BIA has general supervision of the Bureau's activities in the states of Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Iowa. The Minnesota Agency, located in Bemidji, has administrative jurisdiction over all Bureau operations in Minnesota.

Bureau services in the Minneapolis Area are these:

1. *Relocation Services* (now called Employment Assistance) to assist Indian individuals and families who wish to leave the reservation for relocation purposes. The objective is to make it possible for Indians to move from areas where their opportunities for making a living are very limited, to urban centers where employment is more readily available. Participation in this program is purely voluntary.

2. *Adult Vocational Training.* Training is given selected, eligible Indians, ages 18 to 35, at any qualified vocational school.

3. *Industrial Development,* wherein industries are encouraged to locate on or near reservations to make employment opportunities available to those Indians preferring to remain on reservations.

4. *Education.* The federal government contributes to the cost of educating *eligible* Indians in the public schools through Johnson-O'Malley Act funds, administered by the Bureau, and through P.L. 874 funds, administered by the U.S. Office of Education. There are three Bureau-

operated vocational training schools: Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas, Chilocco Indian School, Chilocco, Oklahoma, and the Institute of American Indian Arts. The Bureau has a scholarship grant program which is designed to assist eligible high school graduates to attend college.

5. *Welfare.* Needy Indians in the Minneapolis Area who live on tax-exempt lands and who require welfare assistance usually receive such aid through the county and state welfare programs. On the Red Lake Reservation the Bureau administers a welfare program for the residents of the reservation which includes general assistance, child welfare and other social services not provided by the local county welfare department. The Red Lake Tribal Council also provides tribal funds for some welfare services which includes burials for members of the tribe on the reservation, and care for children on the reservation who are neglected or abandoned by their parents. The Bureau has a contract with the State of Minnesota which provides for foster care of eligible Indian children.

6. *Roads.* The Bureau's Branch of Roads constructs and maintains many miles of roads and bridges in reservation areas. After roads or highways in reservation areas have been constructed by the Bureau to highway standards similar to federal aid secondary roads and when circumstances warrant, the responsibility for their continued maintenance is transferred to township, county or state highway departments. One exception is the Red Lake Reservation where the Bureau continues all maintenance work. However, negotiations are proceeding with Beltrami County for that county to accept such mileage as will tie in with their county road systems.

7. *Forestry.* Although in most respects management of Indian forests is directed toward the same objectives sought in the management of public forests, there are certain fundamental differences which give rise to different problems. Indian forests are private property held in trust by the United States for the use and benefit of Indian owners. The objectives are:

a. Preservation of such lands in a productive state by providing effective protection, and by sound silvicultural and economic principles of sustained yield.

b. Regulation of the cut in a manner to return to the Indian owners the greatest perpetual economic returns.

c. Development of Indian forests to promote self-sustaining communities and to encourage Indian participation in forest production and management.

d. Management of forests in such a manner as to retain the most beneficial effects in regulation of water and soil conservation and use for all concerned.

e. Preservation of forests to develop the greatest aesthetic and recreational value in accordance with the wish of the Indian owners.

f. Preservation and development of grazing, wildlife and other land values to the extent that such action is in the best interest of the Indian people and their neighbors.

The Branch of Forestry cooperates with the State and Federal Forest Service in the development of the forest use and management for the benefit of Indians. Mr. Sheehy expressed a great need for a marketing specialist in this Branch.

8. *Realty.* The Branch of Realty assists Indians and tribal groups in: (1) formulating reservation land-use plans and programs; (2) advising techniques of, and assisting in, land ownership adjustment, partitionments and conveyances to reduce multiple ownership; (3) appraising land; (4) advising techniques of, and assisting in, land exchange between Indians and non-Indians, and acquisition of needed land: (5) processing applications for fee patents, removal of restrictions, etc.; (6) surface and sub-surface leasing of Indian land; and (7) gathering information for the probating of Indian estates.

(From "Indian Reservations and Bureau Activities in the Minneapolis area," 1961)

Indians eligible for BIA services are those who are one fourth or more Indian and who reside on tax-exempt land. About one fourth to one third of Minnesota's Indians qualify.

"The Bureau of Indian Affairs was required to develop and become a responsible public agency within the ambiguities of conflicting doctrines and political forces. The men who have headed the Bureau, as Commissioner, generally have reflected political temper rather than public principle, and it could hardly be otherwise since the Commissioner is the appointee of the administration in power." (p. 61, Fey and McNickle.) Changes in Bureau policy may occur with acts of Congress, or changes in administration, or with a change in the Commissioner, or even with a change in personnel in any agency. Most of us, when the government changes hands, continue business as usual. But the conduct of the Indian's business depends upon what the federal government is willing for him to do. It may mean that some project which is half completed will be abandoned. It may affect his ability to purchase things with tribal funds or to borrow money. "For one reason or another, the numerous and dominant peoples have not been able to make up their minds what to do with the 'colonies of troublesome strangers.'" (p. 124, Justice.) The Bureau is frequently under fire among Indians. To them it is the tangible arm of a government they have come to distrust and which they hold responsible for their deep lack of social and economic security. As can be seen, the Bureau serves an important purpose, and talk of getting rid of the Bureau has been described as "killing the dog to get rid of the fleas."

MINNESOTA INDIANS

State Laws Relating to Indians

The role the state governments have been willing to play in the solution of Indian problems is limited. The policy of the state is embodied in S. 574, introduced in the U.S. Senate January 14, 1957, by Senator Thye. The bill provided, first, that the United States should pay the actual cost of certain services contracted for Indians in the states of Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wisconsin; and second, for a more equitable apportionment between such states and the federal government of the cost of providing aid and assistance to Indians under the Social Security Act. The bill, which had bipartisan support, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

The Declaration presented by Senator Thye is as follows:

NORTH CENTRAL STATES INDIAN POLICY DECLARATION

1. "The scope of this proposed joint action and program is not to solve all Indian problems, but to crystallize intergovernmental relationships between the federal government on one hand and the states and political subdivisions on the other, an essential first and necessary step to solving Indian problems.

2. The basic premise is that Indian welfare is a Federal responsibility. Indians are located where they are as a result of Federal Government action and for this reason some states do not have an Indian problem. It is, therefore, unfair that certain states should be forced to assume large financial outlays for proper and necessary Indian services.

3. The Federal Government is not meeting its total responsibility in providing services for Indian people.

4. The states and political subdivisions in many instances have established facilities that can be made available on a non-profit cost basis to the Federal Government to assist it in adequately and economically meeting its legal and moral responsibilities.

5. The Federal Government has failed to provide necessary services; therefore, the states and political subdivisions have, on the basis of humanitarianism, been forced to provide certain vital services to sustain minimum levels of health, education, and welfare for Indian people.

6. The policy of special privilege, crisis, and expediency as a necessary basis of negotiation in forcing the Federal Government to provide for the needs of Indian people is not conducive to the solution of Indian problems or to orderly intergovernmental State-Federal relationships.

7. There is no uniform, logical or understandable Federal plan or pattern among the various states and even within states for providing such services to Indians, or for reimbursing states or political subdivisions for services provided by states or subdivisions.

8. There should be uniformity among the various states in the provi-

sion of services by the Federal Government, or in the full reimbursement to the states or political subdivisions for providing such services.

9. To correct existing discrimination between and within states and present deficiencies, it is manifestly necessary that the States take concerted action before the Congress and in securing uniform and equal administrative consideration from the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

10. Unless the existing deficiencies and practices are corrected the present discrimination against the Indian people and certain states will continue and our Indian citizens will be prevented from achieving their rightful place in our society."

This rather lengthy quotation is included as a background for the kind of laws which have been passed in Minnesota. There are three dealing with education: (1) one allows the State Board of Education to enter into contracts with the United States for the education of Indians in Minnesota, to receive grants of money from the United States and to disburse the same; (2) another allows the State Board to award scholarships to any student who has one-fourth or more "Indian blood" and who, in the opinion of the Board, has the capabilities to profit from education; (3) the third provides for the admission of Indian pupils free of charge to the Morris Branch of the University of Minnesota. This branch was built on Indian lands.

One law provides for the branding of "imitation Indian-made goods." Five relate to the harvesting of wild rice; one deals with the taking of pelts, skins or hides on Indian reservations. One statute authorizes the governor and commissioner of public welfare to accept the conveyance from the federal government to the state of buildings in Cass County as treatment facilities for tubercular Indians.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs assumes responsibility for those who are one-fourth Indian and who live on and sometimes near trust land. The large number of Indians not residing on such lands are in an anomalous position. The 1961 Report of the Minnesota Indian Affairs Commission recommended, regarding the treatment of tubercular patients, that the federal government revise its policy of providing for only those Indians who reside on reservation or tax-free lands. Thus the state does not appear ready to declare its responsibility. Where the federal government or local governments refuse assistance, the state will provide minimal help for humanitarian reasons. As can be seen in the Health and Welfare sections of this report, the amounts of money spent are considerable. Thus, the state does play a part in Indian relief. There seems to be a reluctance to admit this responsibility in the form of legislation, however, probably due to the fear that if the state declares its willingness to assume this role, federal assistance will be withdrawn. The question of where federal financial responsibility ends and state financial responsibility begins has never been resolved.

Perhaps the most significant bill relating to state policy was the "Van Loon Bill," H.F. 1352, which was defeated in the 1957 session of the legislature. This bill called for the creation of an office of Indian economic development in the Department of Business Development. It called for operation under a commissioner who would assume responsibility for aiding in the establishment of new business enterprises to extend employment opportunities for Indians. The office was also to gather and make available information on the aptitudes and abilities of Minnesota's Indians for various types of employment, success in employment, etc. It was to be responsible for experimental and pilot approaches, research, etc., and it was to cooperate with federal and state agencies and civic groups. An advisory committee was suggested with one member of the legislature, one from the Consolidated Chippewa tribes, one from the Red Lake Band, and a member of the faculty of the University of Minnesota, the full size of the committee to be seven members. An appropriation of $65,000 was requested for the biennium. Even before the bill died, the appropriations had been removed by amendment.

In recent years three committees have functioned in an advisory capacity to the governor and the legislature in Minnesota. The Indian Committee of the Governor's Human Rights Commission and the Indian Action Committee, which was created by the governor, have recently been combined and placed under the Governor's Human Rights Commission. It is the only official group of this kind now working toward a solution of Indian problems. Another advisory committee has been the Minnesota Interim Commission of Indian Affairs which was created by the Minnesota State Legislature. It does not exist now because the 1961 legislature did not appropriate funds for interim committees.

Mr. Harry Basford, Chairman of the Legislative Indian Affairs Commission, stated the purpose of such committees: "In Minnesota we feel there should be a group that is interested in the problems of the Indian people. We say that this committee should have at least three qualifications; (1) they should be close enough to the executive branch so that when any problems come up the governor will be immediately aware of these particular problems; (2) they should be close enough to the legislative branch so that if there is a need for a law or a change in a law, that it can be accomplished, and (3) the committee should be close enough to the Indian people so that they can meet with them and discuss their problems and, of course, try to come up with a solution. In other words, the committee should be able to meet with the people and then be the go-between (sic) the people themselves, the Indian people, and various political subdivisions and the officials of these subdivisions." (p. 49, *Governor's Interstate Indian Council*, 1959.)

It should be noted that the one committee which now exists depends upon volunteers. If the volunteers are conscientious and ambitious, they can gather information and make recommendations, but they have no further function.

Indians are eligible for assistance from the state which is provided for all other residents if they do not live on tax-free land; also, the state does contribute to the support of their schools and provides some special funds for Indian scholarships. The burden of legislative opinion seems to be, however, that the federal government should provide for all Indian assistance, regardless of the Indians' land status — in other words, that having any Indian inheritance automatically should make one the concern of the United States rather than of the state.

Populations and Lands

Estimates of Minnesota's Indian population run from 15,500 to about 20,000. There are 11,000 Chippewa in the north, on or near reservations, and about 400 Sioux in the south. The Twin City area figures vary between 3000 and 8000. Mr. Erwin Mittelholtz, Guidance Counselor, stated that about one-half of Minnesota's Indians live in the Twin Cities. Outstate, according to the 1960 census, Duluth had 402 (the Duluth-Superior area, 1,385), St. Cloud 132, Albert Lea 77, Red Wing 73, Hibbing, 32, Moorhead 17, Brainerd 10. There were about 200 Indians in Bemidji. Lack of accurate estimates is due to difficulties in definition and identification and to the mobility of the population.

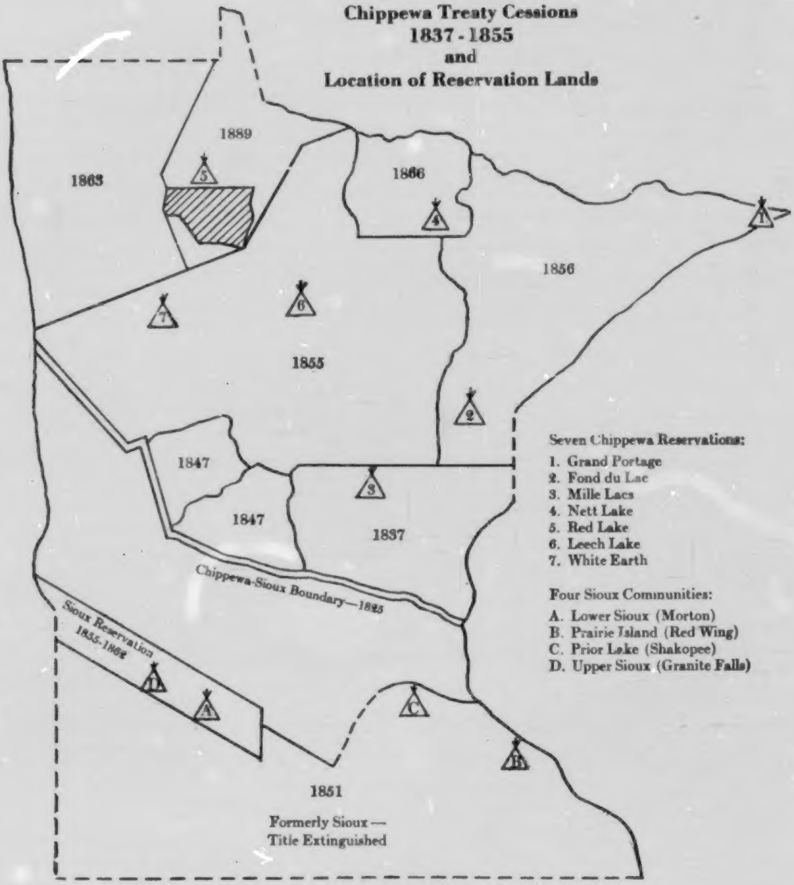
Estimated Indian Resident Population as of April 1, 1960

(From Indian Reservations and Bureau Activities in the Minneapolis Area, 1961)

Reservation	Resident populations on tribal or allotted land only	Adjacent resident populations who are considered residents and who receive some Bureau service	Total *	¼ or more Indian blood residing on Tax-exempt Indian land
Fond du Lac	650	200	850	277
Grand Portage	175	150	325	130
Leech Lake	2,350	400	2,750	954
Mille Lacs	500	300	800	397
Nett Lake (Bois Fort)	400	200	600	340
Red Lake	2,900	300	3,200	2,313
White Earth	2,150	400	2,550	729
Sioux Communities:				
Upper Sioux (Granite Falls)	80	40	120	73
Lower Sioux (Morton)	120	40	160	107
Prairie Island (Red Wing)	75	20	95	42
Prior Lake (Shakopee)	10	..	10	2
Winnebago (Houston County)	10	..	10	10
	9,420	2,050	11,470	5,374

* The total population amounts to about half the number of Indians on tribal rolls at these reservations and communities.

Chippewa Treaty Cessions
1837 - 1855
and
Location of Reservation Lands


1863
1889
1866
1856
1855
1847
1847
1837
1851
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
A
B
C
D
Chippewa-Sioux Boundary—1825
Sioux Reservation 1855-1862
Formerly Sioux —
Title Extinguished

Seven Chippewa Reservations:

1. Grand Portage
2. Fond du Lac
3. Mille Lacs
4. Nett Lake
5. Red Lake
6. Leech Lake
7. White Earth

Four Sioux Communities:

A. Lower Sioux (Morton)
B. Prairie Island (Red Wing)
C. Prior Lake (Shakopee)
D. Upper Sioux (Granite Falls)

▨ —Unceded: Red Lake Band of Chippewa Indians—Closed Reservation—Unalloted

Minnesota Indian Reservation Land, June, 1962

Reservation	Total Acreage	Tribal Acres	Allotted Acres	Govt. Acres	% of Reservation Indian-owned (Dec. 61)
Fond du Lac	21,634	3,932	17,702	....	52%
Grand Portage	41,636	32,913	8,644	79	76%
Leech Lake	23,726	12,320	11,402	4	19%
Mille Lacs	3,384	3,252	132	....	(no boundaries)
Nett Lake (Bois Fort)	40,282	25,976	14,301	5	39%
Red Lake	564,465	564,363	102	....	99+%
White Earth	56,062	25,382	2,070	28,610*	8%
Sioux Communities:					
Upper Sioux (Granite Falls)	746	746	....	....	
Lower Sioux (Morton)	1,743	1,743	....	....	
Prairie Island (Red Wing)	534	534	....	....	
Prior Lake (Shakopee)	258	258	....	....	
Winnebago (Houston County) **	289	....	289	....	

* 28,178 acres is "submarginal land" purchased by the Resettlement Administration of the Department of Agriculture, and later purchased under the Farm Security Administration Program for use of Indians. Legislation has been introduced from time to time to turn these lands over to the Indians completely; perhaps the main difference would be hunting, fishing, trapping rights or laws.

** part of 4,288 acres scattered through southern Wisconsin and Houston County, Minnesota. These are not considered a "reservation" by the Bureau because of their scattered nature and the fact that few Indians live on tribal lands.

Reservation lands are lands held in trust by the United States for the Indians. Most of this is tribal trust land, i.e., land held in trust for a tribe. Land may also be held in trust for an individual to whom it has been ("allotted" land). After the enactment of the Nelson Act, 1889, whenever a Chippewa Indian became "competent and capable of managing his or her affairs," the Secretary of the Interior could issue a patent-in-fee which would give the Indian clear title to his or her land, which could then be sold. Competency commissions were created to make recommendations, and soon many reservation lands were "allotted in fee-patent" and sold. Column 5 of the above table indicates the amount of land which passed out of Indian hands in this way. In both the Leech Lake and White Earth Reservations, Indians hold only a small part of their original lands.

In later years, few owners managed to get clear title because allotted lands were passed down through inheritance to many heirs. There is a bill in Congress which would allow the sale of allotted land to which there are many heirs at the behest of only one heir. However, the Bureau now tries to get the signatures of all known heirs, and if one heir does not want to sell, the entire process is held up. If allotted land is to be sold, the tribe has the first chance to buy it. The land is appraised, and the tribe will usually buy it if it can afford to, in order to consolidate its lands or benefit its holdings.

In 1860, the Sioux occupied sizeable tracts of land in southern Minnesota. After the Sioux uprising of 1862, they were driven out of the state. A few returned to their homeland, and in later years, in recognition of their great need, the Sioux communities which they now occupy were set aside for them by the federal government.

Trust lands are not subject to taxation. Residence on such land and blood quantum are crucial considerations in determining eligibility for services of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Tribal Governments

All of Minnesota Chippewa and Sioux (except Prior Lake) elect and are governed by councilmen.

The first group to organize under a written constitution was the Red Lake Band in 1918. The governing body, the General Council, was composed of the tribal chiefs and members appointed by the chiefs (each chief had the power to appoint five members). All powers rested in a council which was not elected. Although the constitution stated that the Council should respect and give proper consideration to petitions from any member, it also had the sole authority (by a two-thirds vote) to amend the constitution and "decide in disputes as to Chiefs." This organization, under the strong leadership of their chiefs, served to protect the property of the tribe with the greatest care, both land and money. The Red Lake Band has maintained an attitude of independence from the federal government through the years, and this has allowed them to remain intact and solvent. Unlike other Minnesota bands, they did not accept the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934.

However, a revised constitution of the Red Lake Band adopted in 1958 resulted the following year in the first secret ballot election ever held on that reservation. Two district representatives from each of four districts were elected to the Tribal Council, and three officers were elected at large — a Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer — forming an 11-member Council. In addition to the governing body, there is an Advisory Council composed of seven Hereditary Chiefs of the Band. The seven chiefs serve in an advisory capacity to the Tribal Council and continue in office until the office is vacated by resignation or death. Successors are chosen by a majority vote of the Council. Representatives' terms are staggered, and all terms of office are four years. The Council may reapportion, subject to a vote of the people.

Eligible voters register and absentee ballots are offered for non-resident members on the tribal roll. Candidates must be over 25 years of age, pay a filing fee, but do not have to be residents.

> These are the authorities of the Council: the sole right to represent the band in negotiations with other levels of government and private persons; to employ counsel (with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior); to regulate and license business activities within the reservation; to remove intruders, subject to review

> by the Secretary of the Interior; to enact law and order ordinances, establish a police force and a tribal court, and regulate inheritance; to administer funds and keep the records public; to prepare budget requests; to enact hunting, fishing and trapping ordinances; to follow the conservation practices outlined in the Reorganization Act; and "to manage, lease, or otherwise deal with tribal lands and resources in accordance with existing Federal laws."

Red Lake lands are not leased to outsiders; the resources such as timber are worked through cooperative enterprises. Referendum (petition by 25% of the eligible voters or eight Council members) and recall are provided for. Amendments may be passed by a majority of 25% of the voters, and may be placed on the ballot either by the Tribal Council or by a petition of 25% of the eligible voters.

The remaining Chippewa bands (formerly under the Consolidated Chippewa Agency) are organized together as the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe. This group, the Lower Sioux Community and the Prairie Island Sioux Community, adopted constitutions and bylaws under the Reorganization Act of 1934, and later, at their petition, were granted corporate charters. Thus organized, the councils serve as both a legislative body and a corporate board of directors. These constitutions and charters contain what were deemed to be "inherent rights and powers of Indian tribes":

1. to determine the form of government, whether following customary law or written form;
2. to administer justice on the reservation except for 10 major crimes under the jurisdiction of the federal government;
3. to determine tribal membership;
4. to regulate inheritance, the power being limited where tribal land was allotted;
5. to levy taxes on members and fees on non-members doing business on tribal property;
6. to exercise the usual authority of the landlord, including the right to exclude persons not members of the tribe;
7. to regulate domestic relations, provide for adoptions of children, etc.

Congress has the power to legislate in this area and may curtail or eliminate tribal powers; but until and unless it does so, the tribes may continue to exercise the powers proper to their status as "domestic dependent nations."

Fey and McNickle remark, in *Indians and Other Americans* (p. 121) that, "The translation of these principles (the inherent rights and powers) into action had been the purpose of the reforms in Indian administration and the Indian Reorganization Act. These were belated measures, taken after the Indians had lost heavily in lands and other assets, and after a long period of close supervision and interference in their internal affairs had reduced the tribes to abject dependency." Nonetheless, Commissioner John Collier said the Act "converted the tribe from a static to a dynamic concept. . . . If we strip the word tribal of its primitive . . . connotations and consider tribes merely as primary or somewhat localized human groups, we can look upon it (tribal self-government) as the most important single step in assimilating Indians to modern democratic life."

The Minnesota Chippewa Tribe is composed of all Chippewa groups except Red Lake — White Earth, Leech Lake, Fond du Lac, Nett Lake including Lake Vermillion (Bois Fort), Grand Portage, and Mille Lacs. These reservations have a degree of home rule, but their lands and business affairs are handled by a 12-member Executive Committee. Two delegates are elected annually from each precinct on the reservation (64 delegates in all) and these delegates select two persons from each reservation to serve on the Executive Committee and also elect the officers of the Executive Committee. This Committee, empowered by the constitution, may manage all business affairs of the tribe, administer tribal lands and assign them to individuals or to community organizations, represent the tribe in negotiations with other levels of government, appoint legal counsel (with the approval of the Secretary of Interior), may prevent any disposition or encumbrance of tribal land or assets without the consent of the tribe, and organize associations for economic purposes. The constitution (ratified in 1936) and charter are full of safeguards protecting tribal assets: many actions require approval or review by the Secretary of the Interior or his representative, limits are set in indebtedness and the pledging of future income and the length of time for which timber leases and similar contracts may be made. Guarantees of conservation practices are included in land use permits, whether assignments are made to members or whether land is leased to outsiders. The charter states specifically that there is to be no sale or mortgaging of tribal land within the reservation. Certain supervisory powers may be terminated with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, and ratification by a majority vote, or without the Secretary's approval and with the vote of two-thirds of the eligible voters. These supervisory powers include the 10-year limit on timber contracts and the limits of indebtedness and pledging of future income.

Because there is much tribal business to be taken care of, the Minnesota Chippewa employ a manager, Howard LaVoy, who has an office in the Federal Building in Bemidji. His major concerns are the two chief sources of income for the tribe's timber contracts and land leases (for resorts, etc.). Timber has been the greatest source of income for the tribe in the past, but it has dropped sharply, according to Mr. Gerald Sheehy, a Vice President of the tribe, and it is expected that land leases will bring in more income this year than the timber contracts.

The Chippewa constitution provides for reservation home rule, and each reservation has its own local council to run local affairs and to pass ordinances, to decide about the sale of liquor, etc. Grand Portage and Nett Lake also have set up their own game ordinances and have state fur stamps. There are also village councils on some reservations.

Since organizing, the Chippewa have never had a referendum. It is felt that a majority of 30%, the required majority, would be very difficult to get. Of the 20,000 enrolled, less than 8,000 live on or near the reservations, and at least 6,000 would have to cast ballots. If absentee ballots did not suffice, it would take an act of Congress to revise these documents. Feeling runs high in the area of amendment, for the 10-year limit on timber sale contracts precludes a private industry's making a large investment if the contract might not be renewed. The Bureau of Indian Affairs is working to update the constitution (and perhaps charters) of the groups requesting it, and it is possible that a change will be made to allow enabling federal legislation on the timber sale contracts to be effective here. This would provide a 25-year lease and a 25-year option. Another area the Chippewa may want changed is the manner of electing Executive Committee members: the delegate system may be done away with and members elected directly. Many also wish less Bureau guidance in setting fees for licenses, permits, etc. They would like to negotiate for the going rate. There is also a question of more home rule, especially in the area of industrial development, to allow each reservation to finance its own projects.

The Prairie Island and Lower Sioux Communities have identical constitutions (ratified in 1936) and corporate charters. They are governed by community councils of five members elected for a two-year term. The councils are authorized to appoint four department chairmen: land, agricultural, forest and conservation, and public welfare. The last three work with government specialists in the various fields. The land chairman makes assignment recommendations to the council for approval. The constitutions set up the following stipulation on land assignments: if land that was originally purchased by the government for the Mdewakanton (Meh-du-wah′-ku-ton) Sioux, it must be assigned thus, and the Secretary of the Interior is the final judge of this assignment. If, however, the land was purchased by or for the community, the land may be assigned to any member, and the council is the final judge on the assignment.

The charters are identical with the Chippewa, except that debt limits are lower for these smaller groups.

Land assignments are small, and most at Morton (lower Sioux) are rented out to local farmers. Community members must fulfill their residence requirements, however, to keep their assignments. If they fail to use their land or are gone for more than two years, they lose the assignment. Thus, most commute to other jobs, some as far as the Twin Cities and leave their families behind on the land.

At Prairie Island, the land is bounded by the Mississippi, the Vermillion River, and marshland. Some land is rented but much is sandy land or submarginal land that no one would rent. People there try to get seasonal work nearby, and in the winter do some piecework making moccasins and other handwork.

Granite Falls (Upper Sioux) is not incorporated. They are governed by a council, however, and have adopted a set of rules. Sioux Indians on community trust lands and nearby are governed by provisions adopted in April, 1962. They have a five-member council, four members elected from the community and one from outside the community but within a five mile radius. Councilmen serve for 4 years and are supposed to meet quarterly.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF INDIANS IN MINNESOTA

The Administration of Justice

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Report states, "In some cases, reservation Indians have not been provided with adequate law enforcement by the States to which the Federal Government had ceded civil and criminal jurisdiction. Further study would be needed to determine the exact extent of this problem. The problem could be dealt with in part by requiring a firm State commitment that all governmental services will be provided as a prerequisite of any future withdrawal of Federal responsibility.

"Reservation and nonreservation Indians are treated unfairly by police and courts in many localities, particularly those adjoining large reservations. Indian neighborhoods are sometimes not given adequate police protection by local authorities. Further study would be required to determine the extent of this problem."

"Many American Indians are members of semisovereign tribes. They are also citizens of the United States and entitled to the rights and privileges of citizenship. Indian tribal governments are not at present subject to the limitations imposed on State and Federal Governments by the Bill of Rights and the 14th Amendment. Tribal governments are thus free to inhibit and have in fact in some instances inhibited the free exercise of religion by tribal members."

The administration of justice among Indians today presents many special problems because of the confused legal status of the Indian and the problem of jurisdiction of the courts arising out of the complex, ill-defined relationship of the Indian to federal, state and tribal governments. Though by law he is a citizen with the same rights and privileges as other citizens, he finds himself caught in a conflict of laws and jurisdictions or, in some instances, in a legal vacuum in areas where neither state, federal nor tribal courts can act.

Legal conflict, chaos, and confusion deny the Indian the equal treatment under the law due to him as a citizen of the United States and of the state in which he lives. His rights as citizen are modified by his membership in his tribe and by his historical role as "ward" of the federal government. The tangle of treaties, statutes, court decisions, attorney general's opinions, administrative rulings, tribal constitutions and charters, regulations, tribal ordinances, shifting federal policy, and interpretations of rulings at every administrative level tend to prevent rather than promote any administration of justice by the courts which have jurisdiction over him.

To understand the position of the Indian in the courts, one must trace the steps by which he came to possess his anomalous legal status.

1. Tribe as sovereign. Indian as tribal member.

In the early days when each tribe was a sovereign power, the maintenance of law and order was "a native and indigenous function of tribes." Laws were rudimentary, and their enforcement was the responsibility, more often than not, of individuals rather than an official of the tribe. Tribal councils composed of older men who had been warriors or had risen to positions of leadership through their qualities of bravery or generosity or wisdom, performed a three-in-one-function of making and administering decisions as tribal officers and dispensing justice on occasion. Punishment was seldom necessary. Offenders were brought into line by admonition and rebuke. Among some tribes, as the Comanches, the law system functioned without courts, and justice was hammered out in every case by opposing parties pressing their notions of individual rights and tribal standards. Responsibility for instituting action rested with the injured member, and his friends helped him prove his case if a confession of guilt was not forthcoming from the guilty one. Procedure was regulated by customs and specific punishments for certain offenses were understood. If the offense was adultery on the part of the wife, the husband could punish her by death or by disfiguration after her guilt had been determined by confession or witnesses. The defendant had to pay damages, which usually included his favorite horse, to the affronted husband, the amount being determined by bargaining between the plaintiff and the defendant. In the case of murder, punishment was primarily the concern of the dead man's relations and the kin frequently took the life of the murderer. Even if the murderer were not killed, he was ostracized, and a blight cast over his family. Revenge killings did not result in feuds.

Ostracism by the group — having to leave the tribe for serious offenses such as murder — proved such an effective means of punishment among the Cheyenne that killings were relatively few. The system was simple, but custom and group opinion were strong forces for the maintenance of law and order.

2. Submission to federal authority. Growth of the concept of Indian as ward.

Conquest of the tribes by the United States put an end to the external aspects of sovereignty, but internal sovereignty — or the right to self government — still existed as an inherent right of the Indian. It was this internal aspect of sovereignty that was recognized by treaties which the United States made with various tribes. When the tribes ceded lands to the United States and were received into the "protection" of the federal government, each tribe retained its full sovereignty on the land reserved to them. They exercised their full governmental function, including the administration of justice, both civil and criminal.

An early case, ex parte Crow Dog, affirmed the exclusive jurisdiction of the Indians over crimes committed on the reservation, in the absence of federal legislation granting jurisdiction to the courts. With this last statement providing legal basis for congressional limitation on tribal jurisdiction, it was not long before Congress gave federal courts jurisdiction over 10 major crimes committed by Indians. This jurisdiction was later extended to include crimes committed by or against an Indian on non-reservation land.

As the system of laws governing Indians and the rights of jurisdiction of courts gradually changed through treaties and legislation, so the legal status of the Indian also changed. He had lost some of the inherent rights of sovereignty of his own tribe without gaining rights under the constitution of the new government which assumed authority to regulate aspects of his conduct.

Because they were sovereign nations, the tribes were adjudged in *Talton vs. Mayes*, 1896, not subject to constitutional limitations imposed on the federal government, including the Bill of Rights. The federal government had no right to impose limitations on *proceedings* in Indian *courts* through enforcement of civil rights, though through legislation it could sharply cut down the *jurisdiction* of the courts.

One concept useful in keeping Indians in subjection under federal law was that of the Indian as ward of the government. Since the effect of the treaties and agreements with the federal government was to receive tribes into their "protection," the relations of the U.S. to the Indians, according to Chief Justice Marshall in *Cherokee Nation vs. Georgia, 1831,* resembled that of "ward." The concept of "guardian and ward" of the government implies legal disability on the part of the "ward."

In the courts of the country, Indians have suffered many injustices in the name of guardianship. One of special significance is a restriction in freedom to contract for services relating to claims without the approval of the Secretary of the Interior or the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The effect of this ruling, since many of the grievances involved the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, was to deprive them of their basic rights to free choice of counsel in the redress of grievances. Few people were concerned that a basic right was lost. The Indian was considered incompetent and inferior. The idea had been deeply ingrained in the public mind.

The creation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1824, also had an effect in promoting the popular misconception of the Indian as a "ward." Acting as trustee with respect to Indian lands and moneys, the Bureau, through its agents, supervised many aspects of the life of the Indian, including the maintenance of law and order. The Indian agent and tribal custom determined justice. A tremendous body of regulations grew up, each one subject to interpretation at every level of administration. The "justice" administered was often hardly worthy of the name, for the superintendent was judge, jury, policeman and prosecuting attorney.

Most Indians were ignorant of their rights under the law. There were those in the Bureau and out who exploited the ward concept to the full for their own advantage. Some of the most brutal encroachments on Indian rights were made in the name of protection. A certain number were sincere people who were either misinformed or used by forces who wanted to acquire Indian lands. Because of the ignorance on the part of the public about the importance of the land status of the Indian, legislation with ostensible good purpose, like the allotment act, was enacted with disastrous results for Indians.

3. Indian as Citizen. Relation to the State.

With the passage of the General Allotment Act (1887), some "competent" Indians gained citizenship through earning fee title to allotted lands. What actual advantage accrued to such Indians is difficult to see. When their lands were sold and the money spent, they had slavery of grinding poverty rather than the "emancipation" and the "removal of restrictions" promised by the law.

When no longer on reservations, Indians became citizens of the state in which they lived and subject to the jurisdiction of the state and local courts. When lands *within* the reservation were sold to non-Indians, the state courts had jurisdiction over the non-Indians but not over relations between non-Indians and Indians in Indian country. Thus, different problems arose in the administration of justice on "open" reservations where some lands had been allotted and sold, and on "closed" reservations where lands were held communally and the old division between federal and tribal jurisdiction continued. Many efforts were made by the state to enforce its laws even when they conflicted sharply with treaty rights.

When all native-born Indians were granted citizenship in 1924, they became citizens of the state in which their reservation was contained, but not subject to the jurisdiction of the state courts. On this point the Supreme Court had this to say as late as 1956: "Citizenship is not incompatible with tribal existence or continued guardianship and so may be conferred without completely emancipating the Indian — we hold that the granting of citizenship in itself does not destroy tribal existence or the jurisdiction of the Indian tribal courts and that there was no intention on the part of Congress to do so."

Problems of the administration of justice became even more complex. Off the reservation the Indian was subject to the jurisdiction of the state courts and was in all respects a full citizen with all rights and duties of citizenship. When he returned to the reservation, justice was administered under a different code of law with different penalties.

The granting of citizenship, then, did not rob him of his membership in his tribe, with its attendant rights of communal ownership of land, tax exemption, the use of and participation in credit funds and other benefits. The tribes also retained the right to self government and the administration of justice.

Statutory recognition of these rights came by way of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. By authority of this law the tribe could adopt a constitution and bylaws upon majority vote of its tribal members, subject to the approval of the Secretary of Interior, or establish a tribal court through their own law and order codes, authorized by the

I. R. A. constitution. This was the most helpful step in years in giving Indians control over their affairs.

Most tribal courts under this act were modeled after courts of Indian offenses established by the Department of Interior. They do not have jurisdiction over the ten major crimes. Red Lake is the only reservation in Minnesota having a Court of Indian Offenses and it is set up for a Chief Judge and two Associate Judges. Neither type of court resembles state and federal courts. Jury trial with six members may be had only if there is a substantial question of fact. Verdict may be by a majority of the six. Usually no provision is made for appeal, and where it is, the trial judge, trier of fact and appeals court are one and the same person, since few reservations have more than one judge. Licensed attorneys are not allowed to practice in the tribal courts by a rule in most tribal bylaws. Recently, however, the prohibition of attorneys in courts of Indian offenses has been declared unconstitutional. As of May of this year, 12 courts of Indian offenses and 53 tribal courts (including one at Red Lake), were in existence. Red Lake does now permit attorneys.

The publication "A Program for Indian Citizens," in commenting on law and order under tribal government, says . . . "to be immune from double jeopardy and bills of attainder and to have the guarantee of a fair trial — are minimum conditions which all Americans should enjoy. For any tribe to over-ride any of them violates the very assumptions on which our free society was established." It sharply criticizes the administration of justice in tribal courts where hearings are conducted by judges without legal training and professional lawyers cannot appeal, and calls for the right to appeal in a case involving civil liberties to a tribunal having a trained, judicial officer.

Yet serious as these conditions are, the system of laws administered by the courts have points in their favor which must not be overlooked. In "Indians are Citizens," Felix Cohen states that in general one will "find in the criminal code of any Indian tribe a document that anyone can read and that many Indians do read in the space of half an hour, with clear and simple definitions of offenses, and with a very humane scale of punishment."

This code he compares unfavorably with the lengthy, often vaguely worded state laws so numerous that not one percent of the population could read them, with "barbarous" punishments for trivial offenses.

Many of the tribal courts were well adapted to the needs of the people served, and even without constitutional guarantees, come closer to real justice than some state or local courts under more sophisticated and "better" systems.

One way that has been proposed to solve the legal tangle of the Indian is to terminate his status as a dependent and gradually integrate him into the society, by abolishing the reservation. This policy of termination was stated in a resolution of Congress in 1953. It was carried out to a limited degree in the field of law and justice when Public Law 280 was passed by Congress (see Federal Legislation). This law conferred jurisdiction with respect to civil and criminal causes of action on the reservation to five states, including Minnesota (except for the Red Lake reservation).

If clarification of laws was the intent, few people would agree that P. L. 280 has been successful to date. Many feel that neither state and county officials nor Indians understand provisions of the law. Confusion, uncertainty, and unwillingness to assume financial responsibility for law enforcement have resulted in:

1. Failure of local authorities to enforce state law on reservations.
2. Failure to give Indians access to all state courts.
3. Conflicts between state laws and treaty rights and privileges.
4. Delay and discrimination by courts in administering justice.

Some of the problems arising in Minnesota out of the operation of Public Law 280 may best be demonstrated by pointing out some of its effects on members of the Nett Lake Reservation. Mr. Sheehy noted that in the five years prior to 1951, Nett Lake had one major crime in five years. In the five years following the passage of P. L. 280, there were 18 major crimes. The inability of the tribes to get local law enforcement on the reservation after the withdrawal of federal police was directly responsible for the outbreak of crime. It took a great deal of persistence and planning for Nett Lake to get a deputy.

The situation that prevailed there was also found in other areas of the community where an offender who is an Indian is let go until real violence occurs — i.e., when the offense is against another Indian. In situations involving non-Indians, the courts tend to "throw the book" at the Indian offender.

Further, since few Indians know the extent of their rights, they tend to plead guilty, whether they are or not. Many have ceased to believe justice is possible at the hands of white men. Even when they do know their rights, and ask for them, Indians may not be justly treated. One Nett Lake Indian who asked to make out a complaint in a justice court was jailed himself.

In addition, a new area of conflict of laws arises when precedents set in federal courts come into conflict with provisions of Minnesota law. The state law may be more applicable to the facts in the case at bar, but it does not prevail over a precedent set in a federal case, involving other tribes in other states.

Problems also arise because of local discrimination arising from reluctance to have a county sheriff act when the lands of the Indian are exempt from county taxes. Indians, distrustful of the courts, shy away from presenting legitimate complaints.

Though in time many of the situations will be corrected, at present many feel the situation has worsened rather than improved. In addition to having the status of citizen, ward and tribal member, the Indian is constantly treated as a member of a minority race. This is particularly true in the justice courts of his county. The new series of abuses that have arisen cannot be corrected until the meaning of the law is clarified.

Partly because tribal members feared hostile state and local attitudes and partly because of their own lack of understanding of the proposed new system, Red Lake Indians opposed transfer of jurisdiction to the state courts on the basis that state law would not be of benefit to tribal members. Their concern about what would happen to their fish and game rights is probably justified, for many attempts have been made in the past to enforce state game laws on Indian reservations. Public Law 280 expressly reserves such rights to the Indians but such guarantees have been broken before. Most Indians fear the legislation as an "effort to undermine the tenure of lands" as well as to take over long established rights under treaties and laws. History seems to justify their fears.

Red Lake has serious problems, however, that jurisdiction of the state courts might aid in solving. The effectiveness of their tribal court at the present time is impaired because (1) the population is fluid, moving off and on the reservation and being subject to state laws "off" and tribal law "on"; (2) the jurisdiction of the Indian court is ill defined in both civil and criminal matters; (3) its decisions and orders do not have force and effect off the reservation; (4) the court does not have penal institutions, provision for probation, and other services.

Still more serious is the "no man's land" where no government is responsible. Without access to state Probate courts, which alone can grant a required order to commit, Red Lake Indians cannot be admitted to state mental institutions. No juvenile court of the state can act to acquire control of a neglected child. No delinquent youth is eligible for probation under the state Youth Conservation Commission laws, administered by juvenile courts, and at least one county (Beltrami) has withheld county welfare, claiming that since county courts have no jurisdiction, they are not required to act.

Yet, despite these difficulties, Red Lake Indians are not thinking in terms of submitting to state laws for the solution of their problems. The retention of group identity, of their own culture, of their land as a homeland, is far more important. Submission to the law might endanger their status. They want the non-taxable status of reservation lands preserved, ancient hunting and fishing rights upheld, and other treaty rights safeguarded, including the rights to self government. They feel that any plan to change their status should be their own.

One possible solution under these conditions would be the proposal made in the 1958 Minnesota Interim Report on Indians. Retaining political control, the tribe could adopt as their own the state laws covering areas not covered by federal or Indian laws and contract for needed services with the state. Some arrangement would have to be made for the government to assume some of the expenses.

Provisions could be made for the adoption of a Bill of Rights by the tribe to assure due process.

With the Red Lake Indians under the old system, as with the Chippewa tribe and the Sioux under Public Law 280, a primary need is for the assumption by the federal government of some financial responsibility for needs of Indians. Under Public Law 280, it is impossible to discover where federal responsibility begins.

The Indians in both instances are "caught in the squeeze by lack of foresight and compassion of those who govern."

1. Many Indians are denied justice because they are ignorant of their rights or fearful of hostile officials.
2. In local courts or under state law, they are denied civil rights.
3. They are discriminated against in the courts, frequently receiving severe penalties.
4. They are denied services through lack of jurisdiction or through failure of a unit of government to assume responsibility.

Discrimination and injustice are also the lot of many Indians who become Twin City residents. A disproportionately high number of Indians are sentenced in courts. They are hurried through the courts, not knowing what is happening. They are seldom given probation. Some are subjected to police brutality; many receive heavier sentences than white people.

Judge Sletten, in commenting on the situation in the Minneapolis Police Court, said, "Due to the failure over the years to get a response and due to their mistrust of us, it has been difficult to work with Indians through our probation officers so most end up in the workhouse."

Certain things must be done to improve the administration of justice among Indians, but nothing should be done without consulting the Indian himself.

1. P. L. 280 needs clarification and amendment.
2. Financial responsibility must be defined both for services administered from the states and for law enforcement.
3. Basic civil rights must be extended to all citizens, and equal protection of the law given. Tribal court laws should be revised to integrate with state law.
4. Indians must be educated to know what their rights are.
5. White citizens must abandon the false conception of the Indian as "ward" and inferior, recognizing—
    a. The broad extension of his contribution to America.
    b. The historical basis for his special privileges.
    c. His right to choose assimilation or a separate, cultural identity.

The public must be alerted to recognize bills which actually are directed at forced liquidation of tribal assets but which hide under pretended altruism, e.g., to "confer complete citizenship," to "emancipate," to "remove restrictions." The restricted status of the Indian citizen on a reservation depends on his possession of a certain body of special rights under treaty tied to his land status. He has the right at any time to relinquish his tribal membership, and with it the rules and restrictions that modify his citizenship. He does not need the assimilationists to do it by taking his land.

Economic Problems

As with their other problems, economic difficulties of Indians must be examined in the light of history. The Meriam Survey (1928), already discussed, reported: "An overwhelming majority of the Indians are poor, even extremely poor, and they are not adjusted to the economic and social system of the dominant white civilization." The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 was an attempt to create conditions in which the Indians themselves could operate to relieve this distress. It forbade the individual allotment of tribal lands and authorized the Secretary of the Interior to return to tribal ownership lands which had been withdrawn for homestead entry but had not been preempted. For example, such land was returned to the Red Lake Band in the Northwest Angle of Minnesota. It authorized the appropriation of funds to purchase land and add it to the diminished resources of the tribes, and it established a revolving credit fund to enable Indians to improve their land holdings and supply themselves with equipment. It was recognized as an inherent right of tribes to operate through business corporations which the tribes could create and manage.

The Declaration of Indian Purpose (1961) stated, "The tribes that made the most effective use of the . . . powers of their written constitutions became, in effect, operating municipalities, managing property, raising revenue for public purposes, administering law and order, contracting for the services of attorneys and other professional advisers, and promoting the general welfare of the people."

The Committee on Indian Affairs of the Hoover Commission had this to say in 1948: "Tribally owned and controlled economic enterprises are playing a significant part today in the improvement of Indian life. There are tribal (or village) loan funds, herds, forests, range lands, sawmills, fisheries, canneries, stores, marketing cooperatives. and other enterprises. The benefits . . . are of at least four kinds. (1) These projects produce revenue which Indians need. In the enterprises involving agricultural resources a modern conservation policy tends to be followed and the assets are growing in value. (2) The enterprises provide employment for Indians. . . . (3) Tribal loan funds are being used to secure . . . livestock, farm machinery, equipment, boats, fishing gear, trucks — for individual Indians. (They are also being used to further education and provide for home construction and repairs.) . . . (4) Not the least of the benefits of these Indian enterprises is the education they provide in present day economic institutions."

Indians were provided with a source of credit and the technical advice needed to use credit effectively. Under the Reorganization Act, in the nation as a whole between 1935 and about 1950, a total of $5,500,000 was appropriated, and $1,800,000 was added from tribal funds. Since repayments went back into the revolving fund, it was possible during this period to make loans of approximately $17,000,000. The tribal corporation assumed the responsibility of obtaining repayments, but made the money available to individuals or tribal enterprises, after careful planning. So good was the credit record that as of June 30, 1960, only 2.2% of the primary loans and only 1.12% of the relending operations had been declared delinquent.

According to the "Declaration" Indian owned livestock had more than doubled, total agricultural income had increased from $1,850,000 in 1932 to almost $49 million in 1947, Indians increased the acreage of croplands farmed by almost 400,000 acres and took over the operation of more than 7 million acres of grazing land. A total of 3,689,163 acres of land was acquired by Indians under various authorities and appropriations.

Then, for some reason (at one point, at least, the desire to cut expenditures), these policies began to falter and to be reversed. "The lack of continuity in federal Indian policies and programs has done more to discourage Indian effort than perhaps any other aspect of administration," says the "Declaration." The Hoover Commission: "The pessimistic conviction that no reform will be carried to a finish is so deeply imbedded in the minds of reservation Indians, that it will have to be dealt with continually and persistently. . . . The personnel of the Indian Service is also affected by the same doubts." It must be remembered that for a program of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to be a success, it must have financial and statutory support by the Congress, as well as the understanding and cooperation of the Indians themselves, and of the public in general.

In 1943, in Senate Report No. 310 of the 78th Congress, it was recommended not only that the Indian Reorganization Act be eliminated, but that the Indian Bureau be abolished completely in three years. By 1947, the matter resolved itself into a question of what tribes might be removed from federal supervision. The Bureau of Indian Affairs as requested by Congress offered drafts of legislation which would provide for the creation of tribal corporate enterprises and would empower the tribes to carry on their own business as tribal entities, subject, during an interim period, to the advice of a local committee drawn from the federal government, the state and the tribe. However, the Congressional committees favored a more drastic approach and considered bills to transfer various functions of the Bureau to other departments of the government. By 1950, the policies of rehabilitation and enlargement of physical resources, the advancement of local self-government, the acceptance of an educational process as a guide to policy and action, had all been scrapped.

Beginning in 1948, the basic land policy of the Bureau was reversed. Restrictions were removed from the sale of Indian lands. Between 1948 and 1957, 2,595,414 acres of individually owned trust land were removed from trust status and made available for sale at a steadily accelerating pace.

The credit program was reduced wherever possible, regardless of the effect this might have on Indian development. Indians were advised to seek commercial credit sources elsewhere, and the interest rate on loans from the federal revolving credit fund was raised. Loans were made for one year at a time, the lending personnel staff was reduced, and an unused surplus was accumulated.

This trend culminated in the policy of Termination, of which the "Declaration" remarks, "Instead of social and economic betterment, the Indians are offered homelessness and deeper poverty than any they have known. And to add insult to injury, this is to be accomplished in the name of citizenship!"

When we consider plans for economic development, we must remember that most of the reservation lands are either submarginal or idle and undeveloped; they are adjacent to the distressed non-Indian areas of the state. Unemployment is a serious problem. Even on the Red Lake Reservation, which has the largest land holdings in Minnesota and the largest per capita land holdings of any tribe, only 97 out of the 2500 Indians living on the reservation are permanently employed. Most reservation Indians, if they can find employment at all, must rely on seasonal, intermittent, or part-time employment, and on relief. Six times as high a percentage of Indians in Minnesota are on relief as of the population as a whole. Even if reservation Indians do have "homes," these homes are lacking in sanitation, heating facilities, a safe water supply and anything but the most primitive equipment. These lacks are so serious as to constitute a menace to health. (Interim Commission Report, 1958)

Proceeds from any profitable undertakings of the tribe may be placed in local banks or in the U.S. Treasury for safekeeping, depending upon the agreement with the tribe. In the latter case, money cannot be withdrawn to be paid out to individual Indians without a vote of the tribal council and the approval of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Permission for these payments must be granted in the appropriations act of each Congress. Dividend payments of a tribe must be divided by the total number of enrollees, and these occasional payments do not constitute any substantial, steady or dependable income.

Suggested remedies fall into three categories: (1) Indians may be relocated where there is employment, or where they may be helped to go into business for themselves; (2) reservation resources may be better developed and utilized by tribal organizations or corporations or by individuals, to provide more employment and more income for Indians residing on or near reservations; (3) new industries may be set up on or near reservations by private companies.

The reader is referred to several reports which present plans for economic development of reservation areas: The Van Loon Report: *A Program to Help the Indians of Minnesota Improve their Economic Well-being*; *The Report to the Secretary of the Interior by the Task Force on Indian Affairs (1961)*; *Report of the 1958 Minnesota Interim Commission on Indian Affairs*; *The First Year Report of the Governor's Indian Action Committee*; The Report of the Governor's Human Rights Commission: *A Five Year Plan for Economic Improvement of Minnesota Indians*; The American Indian Chicago Conference's *Declaration of Indian Purpose*; *The Provisional Overall Economic Development Plan for Red Lake Indian Reservation, Minnesota* and the proposals of the Humphrey-Marshall Bill (Senate File 1595) introduced March 14, 1957.

Except that some of these plans call for state and some for federal financing, the similarity between them is remarkable. Generally, they call for these things:

1. The Indian must have a voice in the solution of his economic problems.
2. Land, resources, and manpower (and skills) must be assessed.
3. There must be a plan to overcome lack of capital and credit — either through government loans or by encouraging the investment of private capital. Here there is envisioned some sort of "pump-priming" initially with the program being economically self-liquidating.
4. Plans should be geared to the economy of the area.
5. Technical assistance and management supervision is essential as well as research and experimentation in the production, distribution and marketing of Indian land products.
6. There must be some sort of training program through which the Indians themselves can gradually take over the operation of these enterprises.
7. There must be some sort of advisory body — a board of directors or advisory committee — to assist in economic development procedures. These should include representatives of government, Indians, and qualified non-Indians.
8. Industries should be encouraged to locate in these areas.

While none of these plans has been implemented by legislative action, the Task Force Report has had an impact on the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Also, following passage of the Area Redevelopment Act (Public Law 8727), 48 Indian reservations, including several in Minnesota, were formally designated as "redevelopment areas" which may qualify for assistance under the law. This may provide a valuable tool.

As a national program, the Indian Industrial Development Program of the Bureau of Indian Affairs dates back to 1955. Prior to that time the emphasis was on the establishment of tribal enterprises on the reservations, such as sawmills, fisheries, etc., but now the program has changed from an exclusively Indian program to area-wide industrial development which will benefit Indians and non-Indians alike. According to Mr. Bernard M. Granum, Industrial Development Specialist of the Minneapolis Area Office, the Branch of Industrial Development employs Field Industrial Development Specialists in Chicago and Los Angeles to work with trade associations, industrial development organizations and professional plant location service organizations, and Area Industrial Development Specialists, to work cooperatively with the tribal organizations and also with state, county and local groups. Employees of this Branch see themselves as "doorbell ringers," attempting to bring to manufacturers and people with ideas which might become productive, their knowledge of tribal assets, tribal laws and customs, the abundance and trainability of Indian labor. They help to pull together from various sources the needed capital. Their role ranges from simple encouragement to active negotiation.

The new Area Redevelopment Administration program promises to benefit Minnesota Indians in several ways. Not the least of these is the requirement that in order to qualify they must submit a Provisional Overall Economic Development Plan (POEDP). This is an accurate study and analysis of all their resources, material and human, a description of the present conditions, anticipated needs for new jobs and vocational training, the history of past ventures, goals for the future, proposed methods of attaining these goals, and an action program. Most of the Minnesota bands have completed these plans. Some of them are outstanding, according to Mr. Granum, and in the process they have found some things which they can do themselves immediately, with little or no help. Indians themselves feel the need for expert advice and qualified personnel in setting up these plans. Such experts are not now available to them, said Mr. Sheehy.

The Red Lake Plan already has been approved by the Bureau and by the Department of Commerce and filed in Washington. This means that at any time the Red Lake Band should wish to borrow money for a project, the request would be checked against the plan and considered with relation to the total picture.

Already the ARA has granted the aid necessary to provide geologic mineral surveys for several of the reservations. They are now attempting to get a study on wild rice.

It is not a simple matter to qualify for the special Indian revolving credit funds, Mr. Granum explained. A considerable amount of documentation is needed, since there is no collateral, and other avenues of credit must have been exhausted. Money cannot be loaned directly to an individual, but the tribe can borrow the money and take the responsibility of reloaning it to an individual.

Relocation and Vocational Training

Relocation is seen as another avenue for economic betterment. The

Bureau of Indian Affairs has had a relocation program since 1951. An individual must be one-fourth or more Indian, and reside on tax-exempt land, to qualify. World War II brought many Indians off the reservations to serve in the armed services and to work in shipyards on the West Coast. Many of this group were dissatisfied with reservation conditions upon their return; it was this group that the Relocation Program was primarily designed for. Also, special training and relocation programs were set up in conjunction with the termination of the Menominee and other reservations in 1953 and the years immediately following; as these programs proved their value, similar programs, particularly of vocational training, were requested by other tribes.

Part of the ill feeling which exists in the Indian mind toward relocation programs was no doubt due to its association with termination. After the policy of termination was dropped, an attempt was made to eliminate this association in the minds of Indians, so that the constructive aspects of the program would be recognized. With the reorganization of the Bureau under the new administration, the title "Branch Relocation Services" in the various Branch offices was changed to "Employment Assistance." Clearly, the emphasis now is upon vocational aid rather than upon a physical move away from the reservation, though the ultimate aim — adjustment to the larger society — is still the same.

Public Law 959, passed, in 1956, provided for an appropriation of $3,500,000 to provide adult vocational training to eligible Indians (between the ages of 18 and 35 years). There was a later supplemental appropriation of 3 to 4 million dollars, and there will probably be a further appropriation this year. Indians who qualify in this program have several possible destinations: they may go to one of eight field offices in Chicago, Cleveland, Dallas, Denver, Los Angeles, San Francisco, San Jose, or Oakland; or they may go to one of 10 destination cities in the Wisconsin-Minnesota area. In the Field Office program, Indians may be provided direct employment service or adult training; they are encouraged to take jobs in the cities in which they are trained.

The Area program, developed as an expansion of the Field Office program, is aimed primarily at vocational training, though direct employment service is also given. In Areas such as Minnesota-Wisconsin, where there are relatively numerous employment opportunities, more Indians participate in the in-area training, fewer are sent to Field Offices. Last year, out of a total of 380 units handled in the Minneapolis Branch Office, 109 were relocated. The general feeling is in favor of in-area training as opposed to relocation, though some Indians are willing to be sent anywhere.

The Field Office Program is primarily designed to send personnel where job opportunities are greatest. However, since early relocation programs were designed with the partial aim of getting Indians away from the "bad influence" of the reservation, there is still a great deal of resistance to such programs; consequently, the development of the in-area training program is highly approved by the Indians.

In the Area program, approved vocational courses in various schools throughout Minnesota and Wisconsin are chosen; arrangement is made for a certain number of spaces to be filled by Indian applicants. Only Indians on reservations and immediately adjoining areas are eligible for either the Area or the Field program. Applications are received from the Agency and approved by the Area Branch Chief. School records are examined and aptitude tests are given; then, if the individual is found to be qualified, a budget is set up for him according to his family needs. He is given transportation to the city in which his training is to take place. The Bureau helps him find a place to live, helps in his community adjustment, and gives him subsistence and health coverage under a Blue Cross-Blue Shield plan. Progress reports are sent from the school to the Branch Office and 60 to 90 days before completion of training the trainee is counseled on job-seeking. He receives subsistence for up to a month, or until his first pay check arrives, and is encouraged to continue in the Blue Cross Health program at work.

Some of the courses offered under the program are: aircraft and power plant technology, auto mechanics, barbering and beauty culture, business training, carpentry, radio and T.V. There is also a woodsman's course at Grand Rapids, in which two Indians are presently training for jobs with the Bureau; they will aid in the resource development program.

There are no placement problems with graduates, and there is a high rate of completion of training. Also, job stability is far greater for those who have received training than for those who get direct employment service alone. Continuous studies are made of those who have participated in the program, and an attempt is being made to get company management to recognize danger signals which indicate personal problems possibly leading to separation. Within a three-month period after initial employment a trainee may still get financial help up to his one-month's limit from the Bureau. However, it is estimated that in the training and relocation programs combined, 75% complete training and continue with their job.

Last year there were 40 openings sustained throughout the year in the various vocational schools in the Minnesota-Wisconsin area; this year there will be 75. However, applications far outnumber the openings, and it is hoped that the program can be increased even more.

In the Field Office program, applications are approved by the Area Director; transportation is furnished to the area, and a report as to the type of school, in the case of vocational training, and as to general progress is sent to the Branch Office periodically. In each Area Office is a Community Living Unit which works with the Indian family in matters of budget, schools, living quarters, and health problems. The Indian usually takes a job in the city in which he is trained. None are trained in Minnesota. Indians want a Field Office to be established in Minneapolis.

If an Indian does not qualify for this Bureau service and wishes to move to a community where there is a better chance for employment his difficulties increase. The "self-relocated" Indian has serious problems. There is no program of counseling on the reservations for Indians leaving for the cities on their own, and no coordinated program in the cities. The bewilderment which is possible can be educed from reading the kind of counseling service which the BIA sees itself as *possibly* having to provide in its program: English as a second language, how to use maps, public transportation, telephones, restaurants, drug stores, super markets, barber shops, public toilets, cooking ranges, refrigerators, laundry equipment, how to pay rent, where children may play, what to do with rubbish and garbage, how to budget money and pay bills, installment buying, how to enroll children in school, etc., etc. The Indian often has difficulty in getting a job because of lack of job experience and training. There is a complicated inter-county snarl regarding residency and relief which makes this help almost impossible for him to get. He may have to accept poor working conditions and low pay and often encounters discrimination. He will be forced to live in low or even substandard housing and may have difficulty in finding a place to live at all because of discrimination. He may live with a relative for awhile until he can get on his feet, though the relative is probably only a little better off himself. If he or a family member become ill, he may be eligible for health care, but it takes a professional social worker several days to figure out how, and he may not even know about the social worker. An Indian will often return to the reservation for health care, with the result that he must begin over again with his residential requirement when he returns to the city. He is not usually aware of such instruments as FEPC, and as a rule he does not like to complain.

Where can he turn? There are some volunteer church groups such as the United Church Committee on Indian Work, the Indian Affairs Committee of the Catholic Interracial Council, the Minneapolis Lutheran Minority Mission of Central Lutheran Church, and others; there are neighborhood houses like Waite House and Unity House in Minneapolis; organizations such as the Upper Midwest American Indian Center, the St. Paul Indian Club, the AFL-CIO Jobs for Indians under Mr. Louis Lerman. The Indian Employment and Guidance Center, a newly created organization housed in Waite House and headed by an Indian, Mr. Gerald Sheehy, is attempting to increase the employment market for Indians in the cities, as well as to give employment counseling. Mr. Larry Martin of Waite House is attempting to coordinate these agencies so that Indians will not be "lost" between them. However, initial contact remains a big stumbling-block.

An organization entitled Youth Employment in North Minneapolis is studying problems of school drop-out, juvenile delinquency, and youth employment in an effort to enlist the support of schools, churches, business men and civic organizations to combat problems of minority young people. Since there are many Indians, as well as Negroes, in this area, possibly many Indian youths will be reached who would not ordinarily be helped.

Most of these services depend upon private charities. We should ask ourselves what the state itself should provide.

Welfare

From the first, the federal government contacts with Indians involved the supplying of provisions and other services. During the treaty-making period payments for land were made in goods and services as well as cash. Following the treaty-making period, up until the late 1920s, Indians were confined to reservations and were the sole concern of the federal government. They were controlled and cared for by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. For the most part, the money used for their relief came from Indian funds and not tax money. For instance, in 1901, only $7,000 of $205,000 recorded for Chippewa relief in Minnesota were gratuity funds. The remainder were tribal funds. (Winchell, N. H., *The Aborigines of Minnesota*, 1911.) Thus the comment in 1928 from the Meriam Report referring to the rationing procedure, "it worked untold harm to the Indians because it was pauperizing and lacked any appreciable educational value."

During the 1920s, the role the federal government had assumed gradually began to change. Indians were made citizens of the United States and therefore of the states. The system of issuing rations was declining, and in 1929 was stopped. During the depression, the role of the government in the welfare of all its citizens was altered, and Indians were included in programs designed for all citizens.

While welfare needs diminished during World War II, the lack of employment opportunities and the population growth have greatly increased these needs in recent years.

Total Number of Indians Assisted and Cost of Assistance *

	Persons	Expenditures
1956	7,235	$1,462,433
1957	7,240	1,621,252
1958	8,582	1,911,322
1959	9,133	2,179,229
1960	9,216	2,323,825
1961	9,951	2,663,446

* "Cost of Care of Minnesota Indians, Calendar Year 1961," prepared by: Research and Statistics, Minnesota Department of Public Welfare, May 1962.

The tribes no longer have the money to provide help for their members. The Bureau of Indian Affairs no longer provides welfare for all Indians. The state and local governments have not as yet accepted in practice that Indians are citizens and entitled to equal treatment in all respects with other citizens. With the welfare costs greatly increased, with the recent movement of Indians in large numbers from reservation areas to the Twin Cities, and with the line of responsibility between federal and state programs not clearly defined, the current special problems of Indian welfare arise.

Indians have very limited employment opportunities and as a group are on the lowest economic level in the state. In figures compiled by the Minnesota Department of Public Welfare from records submitted by the 21 counties with large Indian populations, public assistance expenditures for Indians in 1961 were $2,663,446. This aid was supplied to 9,951 persons. ("Cost of Care," etc., 1962) While these funds are administered by the county, they come from federal, state and local sources.

Sources of Public Assistance Funds,
Entire State of Minnesota 1961

Program	% Federal	% State *	% Local
Old Age Assistance	55.2	22.3	22.5
Aid to Dependent Children........	47.7	26.7	25.7
Aid to the Blind..................	40.9	30.2	28.9
Aid to the Disabled..............	69.0	15.8	15.2
General Relief	.6**	6.2	93.2

* Includes state share in categorical aids, state equalization aid for the entire state ($1,061,963), and state Indian indigent care ($286,284).

** Federal contract payments for Indian foster home care ($145,106) and Minnesota Plan medical care for Indians (Contract for fiscal 1962, $165,000).

(Source: Mr. Richard Newman, Director, Research and Statistics, Minnesota Department Public Welfare, August, 1962)

The percentage of Indian welfare recipients is high. Indians received 3.1% of all public assistance payments during 1961 ("Cost of Care," etc., 1962). Based on December case load figures, 45.4% of the total Indian population in Minnesota as reported by the 1960 census received some form of public assistance, according to Mr. Newman. Mr. Gerald Sheehy reported a study done by the Executive Committee of the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe in which it was found that 93% of the residents of six reservations received some form of welfare assistance in 1961.

The welfare load is especially heavy in the northern counties with large Indian populations. Due to large acreages of federal and state forests, tax forfeited lands, and land held in trust for Indians, the amount of land left to carry the tax load is small. Among the more extreme examples:

	Beltrami County	Cass County	Clearwater County	Cook County
Federal lands	4.4%	20.2%	24.4%	61.0%
State and county lands.....	46.6	31.8		21.1
Indian lands	19.3	3.6	19.7	4.0
Tax paying lands	29.7	44.4	55.9	13.1

(Source: Estimates prepared by the Minnesota Legislative Research Committee, *Minnesota Indians*, Publication No. 27, March 1950)

The Welfare Burden on Counties with Large Indian Populations

	Becker	Beltrami*	Cass	Mahnomen	Hennepin (incl. Mpls.)
Indian population—1960	1,236	2,959	1,542	789	2,391
% Indians to County Population	5.2%	12.6%	9.2%	12.4%	.3%
Total Public Assistance to Indians	$278,031	$254,449	$365,374	$100,347	$539,906
Source of Welfare Moneys:					
Federal	57.7%	54.4%	50.8%	51.2%	30.6%
State	31.7	25.7	31.4	25.1	24.3
County (local)	10.6	19.9	17.8	23.7	45.1
Number of Indians Receiving Assistance	1,127	910	1,438	516	1,699
% of Total County Welfare Expense which is used for Indians	27.2%	21.4%	29.7%	34.3%	15.5%
% of Indian Population (1960) Census) Receiving Public Assistance December 1961	59.7%	20.8%	72.0%	36.6%	48.0%

* Beltrami County provides for the categorical aids on Red Lake Reservation but does not provide for general relief for this reservation. A portion of Leech Lake Reservation is in Beltrami.

(Sources: Mr. Richard Newman, Dept. of Public Welfare, and "Cost of Care of Minnesota Indians, Calendar Year 1961")

There are certain jurisdictional problems between the various levels of government. By Minnesota Law (Sec. 261.03 and 261.10), meeting welfare needs is clearly the responsibility of the county or township of residence. Also, since Indians are citizens of the state whether they live on the reservation or off, state services must be made equally available to them. It is federal policy to provide services on reservations where they are not available from other sources. The ultimate goal of federal programs is the full integration of the Indian as American citizens. This means eventual transferral of full responsibility to the state and withdrawal of federal programs. However, rightly or wrongly, federal programs for Indians are viewed by Congress as "gratuities." It is not compulsive for the federal government to give aid, and appropriations rest solely upon Congress. The Indian has no legal recourse to force the federal government to provide services (according to Mr. Nugent, United States Attorney, in his oral presentation in the Beaulieu case before the Minnesota State Supreme Court, September 26, 1962).

Congress has never established who is eligible for federal Indian services. In 1954 when medical services were transferred from the Bureau of Indian Affairs to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, both agencies urged a definition of who was eligible for services. Congress did not write any definitions into the law. As a Bureau policy decision, federal aid is based on some relationship to Indian lands held in trust by the federal government. In Minnesota, in contracts with the state, this policy means that federal Indian programs are limited to those who are at least one-fourth Indian and reside on tax-exempt land.

While it is clearly established that the state or its subdivisions have the responsibility to provide welfare, it is equally true that the federal government provides welfare funds for Minnesota Indians. States argue that Indians were located in some states by action of the federal government, and that all states should share in their support. In the *Report of the Minnesota Interim Commission on Indian Affairs*, 1958, Mr. Ray Lappegaard stated, "The State is willing to accept the responsibility of providing welfare services to Indians with Federal financial support." (p. 29)

The county point of view can be seen in this statement from the Community Welfare Council's *The Minnesota Indian in Minneapolis* (1956): "We recognize that Indians as citizens should have the right of movement and individual choice as to place of residence. We also recognize that many Indian families have successfully adjusted in new counties without need for financial assistance; however, it is unreasonable to expect any local community to assume the entire financial burden through local tax assessment for the maintenance and medical relief needs of indigent non-residents on other than an emergency basis. We believe the present federal policy of limiting financial responsibility to Indians on *reservations* is unsound and artificial. Such arbitrary boundaries in terms of modern day mobility, create unnecessary technical and administrative problems, with responsibility falling on surrounding rural county governments without resources or inclination to assume such responsibility for indigent Indians."

An example of these knotty jurisdictional difficulties involves Beltrami County in general relief on Red Lake Reservation.

The establishment and regulation of welfare services rests with the state. Where there is federal participation, it is channeled through the state with state responsibility for meeting federal requirements. General relief (also called general assistance, poor relief) is primarily the responsibility of the local government with some regulation by the state. Under state law:

1. All relief programs, categorical aids or general relief, require a need factor to be established. Local governments can vary eligibility requirements based on the amount of possessions allowable.
2. It is the responsibility of the local government to provide relief to any person meeting the need requirement. "He shall receive such support or relief as the case may require from the county, town, city or village in which he has a settlement at the time of applying therefore." (Minnesota Statutes 261.03)
3. One year's continuous residency without relief assistance is required before residency is established. (Minnesota Statutes 261.07)
4. Until new residency is established, welfare responsibility rests with the county or subdivision where the recipient previously resided. "The

county or subdivision in which such poor person shall by such order be found to be his settlement shall thereafter be charged with his care and support." (Minnesota Statutes 261.10)

5. Court orders are required ordering the father to support his family when aid is needed.

6. Welfare recipients must check regularly with the State Employment Office to remain eligible.

7. The state has established budget amounts that must be used throughout the state for categorical aids. While these budgets are recommended for general relief purposes, the local governments are not required to follow them.

8. The local governments may give general relief either by cash (categorical aids must be given by check) or as "relief in kind" where no cash is given. Such aid is given by purchase order or direct payment to landlord, utilities, etc.

9. Local governments may establish work relief programs for those on general relief.

10. General relief programs may be handled by either the county or the township. In Minnesota about 17 counties are on the township system; Becker and Hennepin are the only ones with large Indian populations.

11. State law provides for appeal by the individual to the Commissioner of Public Welfare if he feels he has been denied relief unfairly or has not been given sufficient aid. Local governments may also appeal to the Commissioner when disputes arise over residency.

The state has an equalization aid program for all welfare programs by which it reimburses counties with limited tax bases for expenditures over and above their ability to pay. About 17 counties are on this program. The state aid to distressed counties is limited to those with an assessed valuation of less than 12 million dollars. After the county has spent of its own funds in the amount of 150% of the statewide average mill rate for welfare, the state pays 75% of all additional costs.

What services are provided? On the federal level, there are services available to all citizens: categorical aids established under the Social Security Act (Old Age Assistance, Aid to Dependent Children, Aid to the Blind, Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled), the Surplus Commodity Program (it is a county decision to come in under the plan), and the Food Stamp Plan which is being used in Itasca County and will be used in St. Louis County as approved by county officials. Minnesota did not come in on the federally supported Aid to Children of the Chronically Unemployed. The Minnesota Department of Public Welfare will recommend that the 1963 Legislature approve this program. The federal funds would be available to some families now on general relief. On the state level, Indians qualify for general welfare programs as outlined above. Some special aids are directed particularly toward Indians. The state provides funds for "Indian indigent care." This money ($286,284 in

1961), appropriated by the legislature, is used to reimburse some counties with large Indian populations for some (or in the case of Becker County for all) of their general relief costs for Indians — regardless of their land and blood status. The Bureau of Indian Affairs provides for all general relief on the Red Lake Reservation, but does not reimburse other Minnesota counties for Red Lake Reservation residents who have not yet established relief residency elsewhere. The Bureau also has a contract with the state to pay for foster home care for those who are one-fourth Indian and whose parents live on tax-exempt land.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs has funds earmarked for general relief for Minnesota Indians who live on tax free lands, but the contract has been unacceptable to the state. The major problem is federal insistence upon uniform, statewide rules insuring equal treatment to Indians with state recommended welfare budget amounts given to Indians on general relief. Since many counties grant welfare at less than these amounts to all of their residents, as much as 30% less in some instances, the counties have been unwilling to agree to the contract. Other areas of disagreement involve the method of payment, state objection to the land requirement, the federal government's insistence that Red Lake Reservation be included (Beltrami objects), and hesitancy on the part of state and local officials to accept a program that could be abolished at any time leaving a tremendous burden to be carried.

Weakness in the welfare laws and problems of administration are felt by any citizen needing assistance. For the Indian, the greatest obstacles seem to be the township system of administering welfare, using less than state recommended budgets, and the residence requirements for aid. In the jurisdictional battles between governmental agencies, the one who loses is the Indian.

Education

Education has always been looked on as a primary means by which Indians can accommodate themselves to the white man's world. As early as 1802, money was provided by Congress, $15,000 per annum, "to promote civilization among the aborigines." In 1819 (under Monroe) an act was made to "employ capable persons of good moral character to instruct *them* in the mode of culture suited to their situation, and for teaching their children in reading, writing and arithmetic." A $10,000 "civilization fund" was allocated for this purpose, and this money was usually spent by the missions of various denominations.

The types of schools established in Minnesota followed the national pattern. First there were mission schools with a strong religious and academic content, then manual labor schools which offered religious, academic and practical instruction. In most of these, six hours were spent in the classroom and six at work on a farm or on shop detail. One appeal of this type of school was that the labor of the pupils helped to defray expenses. These were followed by boarding schools. The curriculum was similar to that of the manual labor school, but "to this basic pattern were added military discipline and the complete regimentation of the child's waking hours. Moreover, the schools were dedicated to the ultimate eradication of all traits of Indian culture. The location of the schools at distances far removed from the reservations from which children were selected was deliberate policy. Children were often no more than five or six years old when they arrived at these schools. If the child could be taken young enough and moved far enough away from the influences of family and tribe, the odds against his ever again becoming a part of his environment were considered remote." (Fey and McNickle, p. 110.)

In 1928, the Meriam Survey found these schools overcrowded (two children to a single bed) with inadequate sanitation, undernourished children (only 11¢ a day was allowed for food), overworked children (not learning skills but employed in production in kitchens, laundries, etc., to maintain the schools), harsh discipline (lock-up was used, corporal punishment, silence often at meals, regimented movement), the product of a "starved service." Teachers were not accredited and were low-salaried. Matrons and disciplinarians had only recently been required to have an eighth grade education, but he said they were in the main good people, considering their training. English was taught by rigorous stamping out of the native tongue. Health education was taught in unhealthy conditions. The prescription for education and vocational training as outlined by the Bureau of Indian Affairs had not been bad in itself but the overall picture was poor.

Boarding schools were no longer used in Minnesota after about 1912. They were gradually replaced by Indian day schools and finally by use of the public schools. The Bureau of Indian Affairs contributes to the support of state schools serving eligible Indians. State policy advocates integrated schools. This is being accomplished primarily through consolidation of school districts.

Against this haphazard educational background, all efforts of the State Department of Education appear to be very progressive if not completely productive.

What does the federal government provide? Financial help is available in many forms for those of reservation status through the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

1. Public Law 874 provides help with certain stipulations. A school district must have a minimum of three percent of the pupil population eligible with a numerical minimum of ten pupils. The law classifies pupils into two general categories: those whose parents live and work on federal land received $199.09 for 1960–61 (except Deer River $202.34); those whose parents live on federal land, but work on private land or vice versa, received $99.55 for 1960–61.

2. The Johnson-O'Malley Act may be used in schools whose needs are not met by Public Law 874 ($132,560 for 1960–61).

3. The Federal Scholarship Program. An amount of $18,000 is planned for 1962–63. To qualify, an applicant must be one-fourth Indian and live on tax-exempt land. No scholarship may be used for a sectarian school.

4. There are federal schools of higher education out of the state which Minnesota Indians may attend, primarily for vocational training. Thirteen Minnesota Indians graduated from Haskell last year. This quadruples any past record.

5. As of 1958, a Guidance Counselor is provided to coordinate the scholarship and higher education programs, state and federal. He is paid for federally and appointed by the state.

6. Public Law 959 (1956) provides vocational education for qualified Indians over the age of eighteen in approved vocational schools.

7. A new program of Adult Education on the reservations will be paid for with federal funds.

8. School construction for Indian schools is paid for federally by Public Law 815 or other federal means. The physical plants now are claimed to be equal to or better than any schools in the state. Under PL 815, $4,140,118 has been spent in recent construction.

What does the state provide? The state contributes to the support of all Indians attending non-reservation schools as it does for all other pupils. In schools where there are Indians who qualify for federal assistance the state enters into a contract with the federal government. The 1958 Minnesota Interim Commission on Indian Affairs reported "The first contract . . . was approved July 11, 1936, for the school year 1936–37 in the amount of $85,000. Over the years this amount has increased until now it amounts to $310,200, but the state's contribution has increased by a larger proportion. For the year 1937–38 the state contribution was $72,922.47, ten years later it was $246,509.72. By 1957–58 it had increased to $632,326.82." (p. 49) State scholarships for higher education are also available. The legislature provided $15,000 for this year. To qualify, an applicant must be one-fourth Indian, but there is no land requirement. Indian students are admitted to the University of Minnesota, Morris Branch, free of charge for tuition. The site of the Morris Branch was originally an Indian school, and the state agreed to free tuition for Indians in accepting the land from the federal government in 1909.

The Indian Affairs Commission reported to the legislature in 1961 these achievements since 1940:

1. All the Indian children of compulsory school age (7–16) are now attending school regularly. Indian pupils may attend a classified high school if they so desire and must attend school until they are 16.

2. The schools, with the exception of four one-room schools, are provided with visual education equipment and materials.

3. Adequate instructional materials such as texts and reference books are provided free.

4. An excellent noon lunch is provided free to eligible Indian pupils, with resulting improvement in the general health of the pupils.

5. The school buildings are well maintained, both inside and outside.

6. High school enrollment and attendance has improved considerably.

7. More Indians are completing high school each year. Over 100 graduated last year as compared with 8 in 1945. Two thirds of each class go on to advanced studies with scholarship help.

8. Since 1940 about twenty schools with mostly Indians enrolled have been closed and the pupils transported to nearby larger schools. As of September 1, 1960, Buck Lake will be closed and the pupils transported to Bemidji.

9. All schools are in session nine months and the school day is six hours long, except in grades one and two.

10. Each teacher holds a valid teacher's certificate issued by the State Department of Education.

11. A full-time Guidance Counselor was added to the State Department of Education administrative staff in 1958 for the purpose of working with the Indian high school pupils in an effort to improve attendance and to reduce the number of "drop-outs."

12. One school added a kindergarten in the fall of 1959.

13. All of the school buildings with the exception of the four rural schools are modern and have excellent equipment and facilities.

14. Much has been done to provide adequate space for libraries, to improve the library services and to provide the needed books and periodicals.

15. Results of standardized achievement tests indicate satisfactory progress.

Needed Improvements:

1. Better high school attendance by Indian pupils with fewer dropouts grades 9–12.

2. Increased number of Indian high school graduates.

3. Increased opportunities for the Indian high school graduates to secure higher education or vocational training.

4. Planned and supervised recreational opportunities for Indian youth and adults.

5. Improve home and school relations and responsibilities.

6. More can be done to improve the desire and emphasize the need for adult education.

7. More needs to be done to prepare Indian youth for the obligations and responsibilities of adulthood.

8. The school officials need to work more closely with all individuals,

organizations and institutions interested in the social and economic welfare of our Indian population.

9. A follow-up study of all Indian youth who have dropped out of high school or who have completed the high school course should be made and kept up-to-date.

10. Work opportunities for Indian youth on the reservation and off the reservation should be thoroughly studied. (pp. 23–25)

The main difficulty in assessing the problems of Indian education in the cities is lack of records. No school keeps an account of race, nor does the Minneapolis Department of Education have any estimate of the number of Indian pupils. An inquiry into the situation in eight Minneapolis schools revealed the following picture. Most Indian children reside in depressed areas of the city and share the problems of other children in these areas. The schools are old and inadequate in some respects, such as sanitation. Not only are Indian families living in the poorest conditions, but they are surrounded by poor and unstable neighbors. Mrs. Osgood, the special services teacher at Emerson Elementary School, reported that over half of the families of the school area receive Aid to Dependent Children and almost half of the students come from broken homes. Transience characterizes whites as well as Indians. These neighborhoods need many more special services such as social work and nursing care than are now available to them, and recreational programs are inadequate for all of the students. The depressed area grade schools of Minneapolis have only part time special services teachers who must also serve as school nurse. Alcoholism is a problem. Unemployment is very high. One steady job in a family is believed to be the strongest stabilizing influence.

The Indian family's relation to the reservation influences school attendance. Indians tend to return to the reservations during the deer and ricing seasons or when they are expecting a baby (many mothers wish to have the baby born on the reservation). Indians must live on tax free land to qualify for federal scholarships, and some Indians return to the reservation to fulfill this requirement. Some leave the city when they find themselves ineligible for welfare services. If the family is new to the city, economic concerns and adjustment to city life overwhelm the parents, and regular school attendance does not seem to them to be the paramount problem. Drop outs are higher for Indians than any other group.

On the positive side, it can be said that attendance seems to be improving. Neighborhood houses such as the Waite Neighborhood House and the Loring-Nicollet Community Centre are filling a void in recreation and counseling which is not always available through the schools. Some psychological assistance can now be obtained from the University through the Loring-Nicollet Centre. A new Youth Development Program to be conducted by the Community Health and Welfare Council of Hennepin County will study juvenile school drop-outs and youth employment. An experienced staff will work with all local agencies, schools, churches, industry, clubs and the community. The grant under which they operate is part of a national project for the control and prevention of delinquency. Youth Employment is a new organization concentrating on the employment of minority youths in North Minneapolis. One aim of this group is continued school attendance.

Some Indian students continue their studies after high school with or without help from state or federal scholarships. Since 1955 more than 100 Indian pupils have received some advanced training with state scholarship assistance.

Health

The Sioux treaty of 1837 included a clause that committed the federal government to provide a physician and medicine to the tribe for 20 years as part payment for ceded land. There were similar agreements with the Chippewa. It became federal policy to provide medical care for Indians either because of treaty obligations or as a protection for the neighboring white communities. At the time these programs were started, the federal government had complete control over Indians, the reservations were in sparsely settled areas with no medical facilities, and the state and county health systems had not been established. At first medical care for reservation Indians was paid for by treaty obligations. When no funds were provided in these agreements or when such funds expired, tribal money was used until it too was gone. After that, the expense was sustained by the federal government. This amounted to $1,196,052 in Minnesota in fiscal 1960.

Compared with other states, Minnesota was early in recognizing the health needs of the Indians. In 1911 as the result of state pressure, the U.S. Public Health Service conducted a house to house survey looking for tuberculosis and trachoma. Minnesota was the first state to use Indian public health nurses for work with Indians (in 1923) and entered into a program to train these nurses. A federal tuberculosis sanitarium was built in Minnesota in 1924. From 1929–1931, the Minnesota Department of Health conducted surveys among Indians during the rice harvesting season. In these three years, 4670 Indians were examined, and 1085 cases of tuberculosis were discovered. Since 1929 the Minnesota Legislature has recognized Indian health needs by annual appropriations for public health nurses to work with Indians.

It is difficult to compare Indian health with that of the general population. No set definition of "Indian" is used in compiling records. The Indian population base is not considered large enough to give valid comparisons. However, it can be seen that the Indian population is increasing more rapidly than the total population in Minnesota. The ratio of births to deaths for Indians is 5.44 and for the total population 2.79. Also the causes of death among Indians as reported can be related to the causes of death in the total population.

Cause of Death — Indian and Total Population — Minnesota
Four Year Averages 1958–1961

Cause	Indians Rank	Indians Ave. No./Year	Total Population Rank	Total Population Ave. No./Year
Accidents *	1	33.5	4	1,700
Diseases of the Heart	2	30.75	1	11,754
Cancer	3	11.25	2	5,094
Vascular Lesions affecting CNS	4	10.75	3	4,159
Pneumonia—all forms (excluding infections of the newborn)	5	9.5	5	1,081
Certain diseases peculiar to early infancy	6	8.5	6	1,063
Tuberculosis—all forms	7	3	13	105
Homicide	7	3	15	41
Congenital malformations (to 1 yr.)	9	2.75	9	356
General arteriosclerosis	10	2.5	7	745
Diarrhea, enteritis-colitis (to 2 yrs., excluding infections of the newborn)	11	2	16	31
Diabetes mellitus	12	1.75	8	573
Nephritis and nephrosis	13	1	12	170
Suicide	13	1	10	319

* For Indians, 48% are motor vehicle accidents; in the total population, 45% are caused by motor vehicles.

(Source: Based on four year averages taken from "Annual Vital Statistics Summary; Minnesota Residents," Minnesota Department of Health, 1958–61)

With the exception of accidents, the first six major causes of death occur in the same order for both Indians and the total population. Tuberculosis still ranks higher among Indians although there has been great progress in reducing deaths from this cause. As late as 1944–46, tuberculosis was the first cause of death among Indians in Minnesota.

Morbidity statistics are not available. In 1960 the Division of Indian Health of the U.S. Public Health Service described health problems at the White Earth Indian Hospital:

> Dysentery of the bacillary type is extremely common.
>
> Gastroenteritis is extremely common, particularly during the winter months. It is extremely uncommon to find an infant under four months of age who has not had viral gastroenteritis at least one or two times since birth.
>
> Viral upper respiratory infections and bronchiolitis are extremely common in children in this area. The high incidence of these conditions seems to be influenced by crowded housing with cross infections, extreme temperature changes, with extremely low humidity during the winter months when the wood stove is in constant use.
>
> Influenza is presently a major problem in this area . . . approximately 20 to 30% of all patients seen in the clinics during the months of December, 1959, January and February 1960.
>
> Otitis media is a problem of much concern in this area. Almost 50% of all pre-school and school age children exhibit this type of ear infection. The high rate of upper respiratory infections plus poor nutrition undoubtedly play a role in this condition.
>
> Pneumonia is fairly common, particularly during the winter months.

Scarlet fever and streptococcal sore throat is present in this area particularly during the winter months when housing conditions are quite crowded.

Infectious hepatitis occurs only infrequently with isolated sporadic cases.

Tuberculosis is extremely rare.

Diphtheria, encephalitis, meningitis, poliomyelitis, typhoid fever have not been seen during the last four years.

Accidents—almost all automobile accidents are secondary to acute alcoholism.

A comment from a similar study at Grand Portage in 1961 states, "In general this small population follows the general trends of morbidity in other Indian populations where respiratory diseases are ranked first. Gastrointestinal disease is a close second. There is no doubt that the latter category could be decreased even further and personal hygiene standards raised if the water supply were improved and made more convenient in the homes."

These reports indicate the major causes of health problems are crowded, substandard housing, poor nutrition, unsatisfactory water supplies, unsanitary conditions, poor health practices. These are associated with poor education, very low income, lack of economic opportunities, etc. Dr. Sidney Finkelstein of the Department of Indian Health said, "Since the Indian finds himself in a poor socio-economic condition in this state . . . it is apparent that attention to purely therapeutic needs will not lead to the goal and objectives of our service."

The White Earth and Grand Portage studies found that the reservation Indians live in frame houses which are "old, in poor condition, and badly in need of repairs. The majority have no basements and many have no foundations." On the average there are 1.7 persons per room at White Earth and 1.3 per room at Grand Portage. Heating is done by wood. While electricity is available to the majority of homes, only one third use it. Water is not available on the premises. At White Earth wells located at some distance are the major source; at Grand Portage surface and spring water are used. Water is not hauled or stored satisfactorily. Pit privies are used by over 90% of the residents, a few have flush toilets and some have no facilities at all. In two-thirds of the homes storage of perishable food is unsatisfactory; in one-fourth non-perishables are not properly stored.

Indian health conditions need a great deal of improvement, but this is also true of the surrounding rural general population. With county resources limited, very little effort is made to improve the health of the general population. In many respects, Indians have better health services available. Dr. Finkelstein reported, "Almost 99% of the population under 25 years of age have had complete immunization against diphtheria, tetanus and poliomyelitis at the present time. . . . An annual Mantoux program is conducted each year in all schools in this area." These services often lead to resentment on the part of the general population. It puts pressure on county officials for equal health services which the county feels it cannot afford. There is also resentment when the Indian is not charged for services he receives. When the free services from the federal government are transferred to the surrounding community, the Indian resents the hostile attitude he encounters from the community.

There is also a need for working with the Indians to improve their health conditions. Dr. Finkelstein says, "Making services available is not enough. Our beneficiaries must also be taught and counseled in making the proper use of health services." In a study done by the U.S. Public Health Service in 1956: "Factors other than income are involved in raising standards of living. On a number of reservations it was found that no strong correlation existed between income and living standard. . . . It appears reasonable to expect, therefore, that increases in income alone, unless accompanied by other influences, may have less effect in providing living standards conducive to good health than is usually assumed." Influential factors were education level, experience in living away from the reservation, and acculturation acquired in other ways.

The Public Health Service, Division of Indian Health, views as its objective raising the level of health of the Indian to that of his non-Indian neighbor. Its policy is to encourage full acceptance of Indians into state and local life and their participation in services on an equal basis with other citizens. However, it also feels that due to the Indians' extraordinary needs, their remote location and lack of convenient local facilities, it is necessary for the federal government to assume the responsibility for providing these services. In Minnesota where remoteness and inadequate local facilities are not such great problems and programs are being transferred to the state, the federal government is providing the funds. Thus, unlike welfare, the major burden of financing has never been transferred to the state and local governments.

The policy of the Division of Indian Health is to provide services as medically indicated to "persons of Indian descent belonging to the Indian community." This is defined as tribal membership and residence on tax-exempt land, but may take into account other relevant factors in keeping with Bureau of Indian Affairs' practice in the area. The interpretation of this policy varies with the locality. At the Indian hospitals, service is available to all Indians who present themselves. In contracts with the state, reimbursement is limited by policy to one-fourth blood Indians living on tax-exempt land, but apparently these provisions are not always strictly adhered to.

The federal government assumes no medical responsibility when the Indian moves away from the reservation. If services are needed before new residence is established, the financial burden rests upon the welfare board of the county of residence. (An exception to this is that Minnesota Plan funds can be used to reimburse before new residence is established.) Usually, unless an emergency exists, the county of residency asks that the Indian be returned so that free care can be obtained from the Indian hospitals.

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In the metropolitan situation the Indian is subject to all the problems of slum living. A study made in Minneapolis in 1956 points out that alcoholism, tuberculosis and venereal disease are outstanding problems with the gravest health threat the terrible housing situation. "They are living in the overcrowded rundown sections of the city . . . where rent is low and accommodations correspondingly poor. . . . Without safe hygienic and comfortable housing, there can be no satisfactory solution to the health problems (mental and physical) of the Indian in our midst." (*The Minnesota Indian in Minneapolis*, p. 24.)

In approaching the problems of Indian health, federal, state and local health services are cooperating in several ways:

1. Direct care.

The U.S. Public Health Service, Division of Indian Health, operates two Indian hospitals at Cass Lake and Redlake and provides clinic, outpatient services at these two hospitals as well as at White Earth. The doctors, nurses and other personnel are federal employees. State health services and local doctors cooperate by providing lab services, hospitalization at the University Hospital in difficult cases, consultation, etc. The direct medical services are provided free to all Indians who present themselves. No attempt is made to charge for these services. The question of asking Indians to pay according to their ability has been discussed for some time. Under Bureau administration charges were not made. Commissioner John Collier recommended that Indians should be required to pay if able, and in 1938 Congress authorized collection of fees for certain Indian services including medical care. However, this never became the practice. The current policy is that those who are "clearly able to pay" "will be encouraged to do so." But collection of charges is not required. Payment may be requested if the Indian can meet the charge "without impairing his prospects for economic independence." And "under no circumstances may charges be made for immunizations, school health examinations, prenatal clinics, child health conferences, or similar preventive services." In Minnesota, charges are not made.

2. Direct contractual care.

In Carlton, Mahnomen, Clearwater and Becker counties, the Division of Indian Health has contracts for Indian care directly with doctors, dentists and hospitals ($170,000 in 1960).

3. Community Hospital Construction.

Federal funds have been made available to use as "local funds" in figuring the community share in building hospitals in Indian areas. The total community funds determine the amount of federal participation under the Hill Burton Act. The amount the federal government contributes to local funds is based on the reasonable cost attributable to Indian health needs. (The total amount up to 1960 had been $175,000.)

4. Federal contracts with the state.

a. The Minnesota Plan. Started originally in Minnesota for the Sioux communities in 1956, this plan has now grown to include nine Minnesota counties, Goodhue, Redwood, Yellow Medicine, St. Louis, Mille Lacs, Koochiching, Cook, Pine and Aitkin. The contract with the Minnesota Department of Public Welfare for fiscal 1962 was for $165,000. This contract repays the nine counties for medical expenses for Indians meeting the welfare requirements of the county (need, residence, etc.). The program is administered by county welfare with the recipients having a complete range of medical services available and a free choice of vendor.

This program went into effect literally overnight and resulted in a great deal of confusion. The recipients had not been adequately informed about what the plan involved. For the first time free medical care was no longer an automatic right. Those who could pay were required to do so; there was not time to establish who was eligible based on need; the procedure of being certified first by county welfare personnel was entirely new. During the ensuing years, the confusion has been eliminated. The policy now is not to expand the program unless requested by the Indians. In 1960, Pine and Aitkin counties were added to the program.

Dr. E. S. Rabeau, Area Medical Officer, Division of Indian Health, commented on this program, "Evaluation of the relative effectiveness between these two arrangements (direct contractual care and the Minnesota Plan) is rather difficult. It is our impression that there is greater utilization of medical services under the contractual care basis. Indians, like non-Indians, somewhat resent the 'means test' regulation. . . . We feel that great strides have been made since the inception of the Minnesota Plan contract. The major weakness of a program of this nature is the paucity or complete lack of preventive health services and we have been exercising our efforts toward improving this aspect of the program."

b. Public health nurses. The public health nursing service is considered a major preventive education program. In some areas they conduct preventive clinics working with the schools, administering immunization shots and Mantoux tests, working with families and in homes with medical problems, etc. In financing these programs, there is close cooperation between the various levels of government. Except for Becker, Mahnomen and Clearwater, counties with large Indian populations have county public health nursing services available to all their residents.

c. Tuberculosis care. The federal government reimburses the state 100% for the care of eligible Indians. In 1960 this amounted to $175,000. The state rather than the county assumes the full cost of Indians requiring institutional care who do not qualify for federal assistance.

5. Dental care.

Indian dental health has long been neglected in Minnesota. Only recently has personnel been available. The emphasis of the program is directed primarily toward preventive care of children's teeth. The Indian Health Service has three dentists in Minnesota located at Indian Hospitals. They provide dental services and stannous fluoride topical treatment to Indian children. In other areas, these services are contracted for with private dentists. Now the Minnesota Department of Health and the Indian Health Service are planning a joint program of providing stannous fluoride treatment for both Indian and white children in the Walker area every six months along with dental health education programs in the schools and homes.

6. Homemakers service.

The Minnesota Department of Health has budgeted $6,000 for the current year to start this service in the White Earth area. The program will use Indian women, many of whom were trained nurses aides when the White Earth Hospital was in operation. They will receive additional training and then be paid to go into the home to help when medical need arises.

7. Improvement of sanitary facilities.

PL 86–121 passed in 1959 provides for federal funds for approved sanitary projects on reservations. The bill requires that the Indians participate actively in the project and operate and maintain the completed facilities. They must also set up needed regulations for the proper use and operation of the sanitation facilities. To aid in this program, two field engineers and four sanitarian aids are employed by the federal government in Minnesota. The first step has been the completion of door to door surveys of the reservations to determine needs. Projects have then been planned. At the present time, projects are under way at Grand Portage, Red Lake and White Earth, and several more are proposed.

8. Housing.

Reservation housing needs great improvement and much better upkeep and repair. This is made difficult because the Indian living on trust land usually is unable to mortgage his property to get a loan. The Indian's low income and seasonal work make mortgage repayment difficult even if loans were available. Until just recently Indians have not been eligible for government insured (FHA and VA) housing loans.

A procedure is now being worked out where the tribe can set up a Housing Authority. As security, the individual Indian must get a 50 year or longer lease for his assigned land from the tribal council. Financing can then be done locally with the FHA guaranteeing the loan, or the local housing authority can issue bonds which will be bought by the FHA providing the funds. The problem of erratic income has yet to be worked out as federal housing programs are based on monthly repayment, according to Mr. Hawkins of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. There is also the question whether the individual will be able to pay for public housing. According to Mr. Phileo Nash, only 5% of reservation Indians could afford public housing rents which are designed for the lowest income levels in urban areas.

Suggested solutions to Indian health problems include developing programs with the understanding and cooperation of the Indians, placing greater emphasis on health education programs — preventive medicine, maternal and child care, nutrition, sanitation, housing, individual good health habits, etc. — improvement of welfare procedures where they relate to health care, and improving understanding between neighboring communities and Indians.

CONCLUSION

One author has commented that Indian problems are so complex as to discourage friendly interest. As can be seen in this study, however, they are not beyond comprehension. Opinions vary as to which aspects of the problem must be attacked first. Some hold that successful economic development programs will raise the standard of living and that, when this is accomplished, other problems will vanish. Some believe that education with the goals of aiding the cultural transition, providing workers with marketable skills, strengthening the Indian's self-concept through an appreciation of his cultural heritage, instructing parents in child care and health practices, creating programs for youth development, etc., must precede all other solutions. Some argue that distress must be relieved immediately through improved health and welfare programs before a situation will exist in which any other solutions can be worked out.

A deterrent to any program now lies in jurisdictional battles between the various levels of government. It is necessary that all levels — local, state, tribal and federal governments — declare their continuing responsibility for the future of Minnesota Indians. Such a policy declaration by the state should be based on a view of the Indian citizen as an asset to be developed rather than as a burden which the rest of the nation has unfairly thrust upon us. Many argue that a state agency should be established by the legislature which would be answerable to that body; it should not depend upon volunteers; it should be empowered to bargain on the question of where federal responsibility ends and state responsibility begins; it should coordinate services and offer the assistance of experts; its task could be to remove impediments to progress. Money invested in this way now would lead to the self-sufficiency of most of this segment of our population and in the end would mean a substantial reduction in the necessary welfare costs.

But the primary decisions regarding their lives and property should be left to the Indians themselves. These would be decisions they could accept and live by, since they would be their own, and their plans could be altered and improved as their experience might dictate.

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Senator KENNEDY. I recognize the Senator from California.

STATEMENT OF HON. GEORGE MURPHY, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Senator MURPHY. I welcome this assignment to the Subcommittee on Indian Education. I first want to pay tribute to Senator Fannin whose initiative brought about the creation of this subcommittee, and the late Senator Robert Kennedy, under whose leadership the subcommittee has sparked a nationwide interest and gathered substantial evidence regarding the American Indian and the sorry condition of Indian education.

I look forward to working with the new chairman, Senator Ted Kennedy; the ranking Republican, Senator Peter Dominick; and other committee members. Also, I have been assured by Senator Fannin that, although he is no longer on the subcommittee, he does want us to understand that his interest in the activities of the subcommittee will not in any way be lessened.

There are 600,000 Indians in America today, 400,000 of whom live on or near reservations in 25 States. The others have moved into our cities and communities.

While the statistics have been put on the record before, they have been so shocking that I think that it would be useful to again emphasize them. Educational statistics show:

> Fifty percent of Indian youngsters drop out before completing high school;
>
> Among our largest tribes, the Navajos, there is a 30-percent-illiteracy rate; and
>
> The overall educational achievement of the Indian is only 5 years.

Evidence continues to grow regarding the correlation between educational achievement and earning levels. Therefore, it is not surprising that economic statistics are similarly depressing. They reveal:

> That the average Indian income is $1,500, which is 75 percent below the national average;
>
> That his unemployment rate is 40 percent, which is 10 times the national average;
>
> That the incidence of tuberculosis among Indians is seven times the national average; and
>
> That his life expectancy is considerably less than the national average.

These statistics are unfortunately true despite a doubling of appropriations for Indian programs during the last decade and the growth of a bureau that today has 16,000 employees to deal in Indian affairs. These statistics, coupled with the rapidity of the change in our technological society, make it clear that a continuance of stagnant, blundering, and inept administration cannot be tolerated.

Because the record is so replete with failures and shortcomings and because I doubt seriously whether any Federal agency could do a worse job, even if they tried, I believe the time is long past for a change. I, therefore, recommend that the education programs, and perhaps other health and welfare programs, for Indians be transferred from the Bureau of Indian Affairs to the Office of Education in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Such a transfer, accompanied by the proper recognition of an Indian affairs expert in the Office of Education, might give the program the same lift that the acquisition of Vince Lombardi and Ted Williams by the Redskins and the Senators, respectively, gave to the Washington area sports fans.

Incidentally, like both the Senators and the Redskins who have tried to find the very best managers in their fields—if the transfer should take place—so should the search for an individual who is the very best in his field and who can lead and head the attack on the educational problems of the American Indians.

In California, there are approximately 80,000 Indians, which gives California the second largest Indian population in the United States. Although I wish the statistics were not true in California, I regret that they, although better than the national average, nevertheless also reveal the depths of the Indian education problem.

For example, a 1966 report by the State advisory commission on Indian affairs found that high schools with large Indian enrollments had a dropout rate three times higher for Indians than non-Indians. Some schools reported dropout rates for Indians ranging from 30 percent to 75 percent.

The most pressing need in my State is for the restoration of Johnson-O'Malley funds. The Johnson-O'Malley program provides financial aid to States for educational programs for Indians. California's eligibility for the program was finally terminated in 1958.

Although there were various reasons for the phasing out of the Johnson-O'Malley program in California, including the feeling that California would adequately fill the gap resulting from the loss of these Federal funds and give the Indians an adequate education and the belief that the Federal Government would terminate the reservation policy nationwide, the statistics, experience, and events since the phasing out of the Johnson-O'Malley program in California show neither has occurred.

In addition, my examination of the other arguments advanced in support of the ending of the Johnson-O'Malley funds in California convinced me that they are equally erroneous. That the Johnson-O'Malley funds are vitally needed in California is generally agreed. For the State advisory commission on Indian affairs in a June 1967 report noted, the Indians in California "have become lost in the 'big picture' of education in California. * * * The solution to the above-stated problems and deficiencies encountered in the education of California Indian students can be found in a reimplementation of the Johnson-O'Malley program in California."

Since the phasing out of the Johnson-O'Malley program, the record indicates that the California Indian both educationally and economically was not only failing to hold his own with his contemporaries but is actually falling further and further behind. When the reason or rationale for a law no longer exists, the law itself should not exist either. This should also apply to the Johnson-O'Malley exclusion of California Indians.

It is estimated that since fiscal year 1953–54, the State of California and the California Indians have lost $3.5 million because of the ending of the Johnson-O'Malley program. In 1953, California's percentage of the nationwide Johnson-O'Malley funds of approximately $2.6 million was 12 percent. With the total Federal funds now reaching approximately $8 million, a 12-percent share for California would come to $960,000. While California might not actually receive this amount, it is clear that substantial sums would be forthcoming which would help meet the great educational needs that do exist.

There is no question that the Johnson-O'Malley funds could be put to tremendous use in my State for there is a great need, for example, for an assignment within the State department of education of a person to be employed as an Indian education expert. With the restoration of this program, I am confident that the State would move ahead and create such a post.

The exclusion of California from Johnson-O'Malley funds has produced some real absurdities. Some Indians from other States who, for example, are located in California receive Federal assistance, but native California Indians, who may be working alongside of the relocated Indians, will not receive such assistance.

Another absurdity of the Federal program are discrepancies in the interpretation of the requirement that the "Indian live on or near trust lands." As Mr. Elgin, Assistant Secretary of the Inter-Tribal Friendship House, Oakland, Calif., said in his January 1968 testimony before this subcommittee: "Does it take an act of Congress to get a reasonable explanation as to this apparent discrepancy?" Well, whatever it takes, I intend to get an explanation on this matter during my membership on this subcommittee.

Mr. Brown, who accompanied Mr. Elgin, pointed out a similar absurdity in connection with the Indian Federal scholarship program, and I quote from Mr. Brown's testimony:

> If I can give a personal example: I am a Creek Indian, I come from Muskogee, a town of 50,000 people, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs gives me $1,000 to go to college, and I have never lived on trust land or near trust land, to my knowledge, whereas the California Indians to qualify for any Bureau program have to live on trust land, not near it, but right on it.

To cite another absurdity, I refer to the Sherman Institute at Riverside, Calif. At the present time, students from Arizona, New Mexico, and perhaps other States are attending the school, but California Indians are not admitted to the school.

American Indians, like all Americans, recognize the importance of education. Mr. Rupert Costo, president of the American Indian Historical Society, which is located in California, pointed this out in his testimony:

> In our contact with the whites, we have always and without fail asked for one thing. We wanted education. You can examine any treaty, any negotiations with the American whites. The first condition, specifically asked for by the Indian tribes, was education. What we got was third-rate, lefthanded, meager, miserly, unqualified training, with the greatest expenditures of federal funds and the least amount of actual education for the Indian himself.

The Federal Government's performance record insofar as the American Indian is concerned should give pause to those who believe that solutions to our problems should be packaged in and dictated from Washington. The Federal Government can and must help, but however good its intentions, without local cooperation, initiative, and commitment, chances for success are slim.

So, Mr. Chairman, the challenge has been laid before us, particularly before this committee. The great importance of education is recognized by the Indians. We must see to it that this greatest expenditure of Federal funds produces the greatest amount of actual education for the Indian himself. I intend to do whatever I can to bring about a substitution of results and performances for the rhetoric and promises that have been made to the American Indian for over a century.

I thank the chairman for the privilege of putting this statement in the record at this point.

Senator **Kennedy**. Thank you very much, Senator Murphy.

Dr. Rath, we still have a very extensive group of witnesses to appear before the committee this morning and we want to make sure that the committee benefits from the helpful comments that are to be made by them. I think in trying to expedite the business here, at noon or shortly thereafter, the Senate will be having tributes for the distinguished, now deceased, Senator Bartlett of Alaska, and I know many Members will want to be over there at that time.

So we are going to ask you, if we could, to try to give your presentation in 6 or 7 minutes. If there is some additional material that you want to submit, we will try to do the best we can on it. If you have a prepared statement, we will accept it and file it. If you could briefly summarize the highlights of the program here, I know the committee will appreciate it.

STATEMENTS OF DR. ROBERT RATH AND ALPHONSE SELINGER, PROFESSIONAL STAFF OF THE NORTHWEST REGIONAL EDUCATIONAL LABORATORY, PORTLAND, OREG.

Dr. **Rath**. Very good. We will cut it from 20 to 6 as we go along.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am Bob Rath, program coordinator for the Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory. This is Dr. Selinger.

Dr. **Selinger**. I was with the Northwest Lab. I am currently with the Oregon State University.

Dr. **Rath**. We want to bring three recommendations to this committee; the first, need for increasing involvement and control by Indians of education.

Second, increasing comprehensiveness of programs and, third, increased coordination of programs within Indian communities by the people with expertise available.

Three notions, three ideas, three studies we would like to discuss with you. We will leave the printed materials that are in your hands. We will not talk, therefore, as researchers. These three items, the first is the dropout study. It was conducted in a six-State area, Washington, Oregon, Iowa, Montana and North and South Dakota.

(The material referred to can be found in the appendix.)

Cutting quickly, I would like to show you two pictures.

(Slide.) This shows the survival rates through high school in the six-State area. Let me rapidly point out the left-hand column is a reported national study done on a different basis from the study that was done by the lab.

The right-hand column is the survival rate of Indian students in the same six-State area, survival rate no matter which schools they went to, which leads me to the second point.

I would also point out that there is a problem in completing secondary schools. There is tremendous mobility in Indian students seeking to complete their education. This is one school in Madras, Oreg., the Warm Springs tribes. This traces over a 5-year period where each Indian student sought to complete his education.

They ranged to Bureau boarding schools, to the local schools, to a technical institute and so on. This is why the figures for the Indian schools in this study are probably greater than in any other dropout study. This is student-by-student tracing.

I am going to leave this study. You have copies in an abstract. Let us go to a second example which is a followup of Indian high school graduates.

Dr. **Selinger.** I will condense this very quickly. First, we became aware of the actual need for ongoing hard data concerning what was happening to Indians in school and once they got out of high school.

We also became aware in collecting the data that we could only get accurate data if we actually involved the Indian people not only in collecting the data but helping to design the study. This, we did.

The majority of people employed in the project, about 90 percent of them, were Indians.

Secondly, we found many of the young Indians were asking the question, education for what? This question was largely being asked because of what happened to the Indians once they graduated from high school.

I briefly would like to show you just a couple of illustrations of what does happen to them.

This applies to the six-State area in the northwest United States that Bob was just mentioning. If we were to take a sample of 100 American high school graduates, approximately 50 of them would drop out between grade 8 and grade 12. Only half of them would graduate from high school.

Of these 50, 15 would not enter any post-high school training program whatsoever. Thirty-five of them would enter. Of these 35, 18 drop out before they complete their post-high school training, 12 of them complete it.

Of these 12, six have taken academic post high school training, usually in teacher training.

Out of a sample of over 620 Indian high school graduates, we found absolutely none that went into the so-called learned professions such as medicine, law, engineering and so on.

Eleven of these graduated out of vocational and technical programs of varying lengths—most of these were business education, girls took these courses by and large, clerical occupation and some forms of mechanical occupations.

Taking a sample of 100 male Indian high school graduates, 67 of these, 5 or 6 years after they graduated from high school, were living on or near a reservation. Fifty-seven of them were employed. Thirty-four out of the 37, approximately 60 percent, were employed in occupations which were out of the field of training and 27 out of the 34, approximately 80 percent of these, were so employed out of the field of training because they wanted to live on or near a reservation.

I use this to illustrate the strong cultural pull that Indian life has for young Indians. It is not true that young Indians are moving away from the reservation. When they do move away from a reservation, it is usually to the city for a period of 1 year to get employment.

Then they drift back to the reservation, stay there for a year until they run out of money, then they drift back to a large city for again a year. This goes on until they reach approximately middle age, 40 years of age, when they get tired of the whole process and they tend to settle down either in the city or back on the reservation.

In the post high school student we found that more of the Indian graduates felt themselves unsuccessful than felt themselves successful.

When we asked them what high school did best for them, one-sixth of them said flatly nothing. One-fifth of them said the best thing it did was awarding a high school diploma. The next largest group stated that the school assisted them to maturity. A further question of what they would change in the high school, given the power to do so, the best of them opted for better teaching training and higher academic training.

The changes they called for reflected an awareness of the prejudice of low expectation. More often than not, the students already have built a low self-image of themselves by the time they graduate from high school because of this prejudice of low expectation. The prejudice has been reinforced because of the self-fulfilling prophecy.

Told often enough by word and action that Indian students are not expected to measure up to the achievements of the general student population, the students behave in ways calculated to fulfill the expectation of those with prejudiced attitudes.

Because of this and a general feeling of powerlessness resulting in part from governmental practices, it is no surprise then that many Indians tend to conform to a style of behavior which fulfills white expectations of the stereotype.

Indians are aware of the little status and esteem in which non-Indians hold them. Yet with the many thousands of contacts I have had with Indians, I never met an Indian who wanted to be anything except an Indian. Indians want to retain their way of life with cultural values which they feel are superior to those of the general society, but they want an adequate material standard of living in harmony with modern technological development.

A lot of Indians fear material progress. Research in change and innovation during the past couple of decades has indicated changes imposed upon a community from outside are very likely to be rejected. Forced changes from external sources may result in overt compliance but covert resistance. When change threatens the values of the people affected, resistance to the change as well as the social costs in introducing the change grow greater. Social changes are most likely to be accepted if they are introduced through the existing social structure of the people affected and involve the affected people in every aspect of initiating planning and scouting the change.

To say the Indians are not ready or lack ability to manage their resources when some tribes now successfully operate multimillion-dollar tribal enterprises is bureaucratic rigidity. What is needed is the resources of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Indian Division of Public Health Service placed at the disposal of Indians to carry out programs planned by them.

Only in this way will Indians develop a genuine feeling that they are in control of what happens to them. Important as new programs are, primacy must be given to the processes by which Indians can feel they control their own destiny and thus develop a viable identity.

Senator **Mondale.** Would you yield, Doctor?

Dr. **Selinger.** Yes.

Senator **Mondale.** This point has been central to the discussion in the last 2 days. In your opinion, is it possible to construct an adequate system of Indian education in which the Indian parents do not have a substantial voice in the control of that education?

Dr. **Selinger.** I think almost anything is possible, Senator, but certainly not desirable and all the evidence is against this. I think it is natural on the part of people to want to control their destiny, to feel that they have control over their destiny.

Senator **Bellmon.** Are you speaking of a school that is predominantlyIndian or a school that may be predominantly non-Indian?

Dr. **Selinger.** Most of the schools in the Northwest are not predominantly Indian. The Indians are in a minority. We do have an example in the Northwest of schools that are predominantly Indian that are controlled by Indians such as Taholah school in western Washington. Unfortunately, they go only to graduate but the work is negated by the fact they go to a high school in which they are a minority. I don't think it is practical to request this in a school of 700 that has maybe 10 Indian students, no.

Senator **Bellmon.** You are saying that Indians should have a voice, perhaps, not to say controlling, but some voice in planning curriculum for a school that is predominantly non-Indian.

Dr. **Selinger.** Yes, I think they ought to have a voice at least in proportion to their numbers in the school.

Senator **Bellmon.** Do you have the results of the school that you mentioned?

Dr. **Selinger.** At Taholah?

Senator **Bellmon.** Yes.

Dr. **Selinger.** I believe the subcommittee already has that information.

Senator **Mondale.** In your judgment, are the Johnson-O'Malley funds which are going to the schools you studied being used to the best possible advantage in educating the Indian children?

Dr. **Selinger.** No, I would say they are used for anything but that.

Senator **Mondale.** Have you found much evidence that the school districts, which have benefited from these funds, have had programs by which they structured advice from the Indian parents into their school systems so that these parents had something to say about how their children were educated?

Dr. **Selinger.** No, I did not find this. Quite to the contrary; I think the best illustration was two schools that I visited, both of which informed me there was very little they could do for the Indian children. I asked them: "Why do you bother bringing them into your school"? They said it gave them additional funds with which to run the school system.

Senator Mondale. Right. In other words, this is nice money to have.

Dr. Selinger. That is right.

Senator Mondale. It comes with no strings attached. They are not even required to educate the kids who justify the receipt of the money.

Dr. Selinger. This one school principal flatly stated they would give these youngsters a passing grade each year until they reached their senior year in high school and then they would give them an attendance certificate in lieu of a graduation certificate.

Senator Mondale. As a matter of fact, they would like to keep them in school in order to keep the money.

Dr. Selinger. That is correct.

Senator Murphy. I think that is probably as bad an example of intellectual dishonesty as I have ever come across. I would like the record to show that I think what is being disclosed here is even more shocking than I thought it would be when I had the privilege of joining this committee.

Senator Mondale. I thought you were referring to me for a minute. I feel better already, Senator Murphy.

Dr. Rath. Let me proceed very quickly, if I may, to a third example and this is the development of a set of reading materials for use in Alaskan village schools. I have a set of the readers here. You may look at them if you wish.

To give you just a flavor of these materials, let me point out that they are based on what is best known about cultural relevance. The text is relevant to the students as well as the illustrations. It is based upon what is best known from linguistics. It is based upon what is best known about word attack.

This series is being field tested this year for the first time in 17 Alaskan village schools.

Senator Kennedy. Besides the efforts which are being made now to sanitize these books, do you have some examples from presently used textbooks that show the derogatory remarks and references to the Indians? Have you any material like that?

Dr. Rath. I have not summarized these derogatory remarks. However, we are summarizing oral remarks and written remarks from village teachers and students about these materials.

The notion here is that in these three examples in each case it has demanded that there be cooperation between the multiple agencies attempting to service the Indian. In each case it has involved villages, for example. It has had to, in two studies, involve the tribal groups and parents. Such studies to produce knowledge upon which to base development and evaluation programs can only occur when Indian people are directly involved in the control and direction of these studies.

Senator Kennedy. What kind of readers are they using now?

Dr. Rath. They are using the Scott-Forseman series, Senator, Dick and Jane.

So let me stop at this point. I am very sorry we have been longer than you anticipated.

Dr. Selinger. I would add this one statistic. Reference was made at one time in the hearings to the vanishing American. In the followup study, we found that the average American Indian in the Northwest has 7.8 children.

When you throw in the mother, father, grandfather, dog, maybe an anthropologist, and then you consider that they have an average annual income of around $1,500 a year per family, you can see that the grinding poverty under which they live is nothing short of appalling and shocking.

Senator **Yarborough**. In that average size of family in the Northwest, do you include Alaska in that?

Dr. **Selinger**. No; this was in the six-State area.

Senator **Yarborough**. What is the average size of the Indian family in Alaska? Do you know offhand?

Dr. **Selinger**. I do not know.

Senator **Yarborough**. What about the Eskimos? Their families are not as large as those of Indians?

Dr. **Selinger**. That is what I understand. I don't have any information on it.

Dr. **Rath**. This kind of work that we are showing you is really an incremental kind of work. This is working within existing kinds of a genesis. To involve Indian people, for example, some sort of a sign-off for Johnson-O'Malley funds for its use in the school district would be a way of involving Indian parents.

Now, there is another way to approach this and I call it restructuring, rather than incremental gains within existing systems. Rough Rock is an example of a restructuring. Similar things occur in Alaskan villages, schools serving Indian villages and reservation groups.

Senator **Kennedy**. Do you have proposals on that, too, the restructuring as well as the revising?

Dr. **Rath**. We have done some work in this way; yes.

Senator **Murphy**. May I ask a question, Mr. Chairman.

Senator **Kennedy**. Yes.

Senator **Murphy**. Is that part of your remarks here today? Or could you give it to us at a later time?

Dr. **Rath**. I can give it to you at a later time; yes, Senator.

Senator **Murphy**. I visited the Indian school in Sitka. I believe there are about 800 students there, boys and girls, who are brought in from all over Alaska, from all the different tribes.

Do they have the same objection to the children being taken away from the tribal situation that they have in some of the areas within the other 49 States?

Dr. **Rath**. Senator, I have no direct knowledge of the Sitka school other than a brief visit. I do know that there is a swirling controversy around the school. I do know that there have been some interviews and studies made of them.

Senator **Murphy**. I know that you can find a controversy about practically any school whether it be Indian or otherwise. I visited the school awhile ago. The atmosphere of the school seemed to be very good. There seemed to be a nice feeling about them. Yesterday, we had testimony that indicated that the taking of these children far away from home, from the tribal base, was disturbing. I was wondering if in the development of that great area up there that we might not be presently examining ways and means to do away with this condition.

Instead of having one school in Sitka, there should be others that are placed closer to the tribal home base.

Dr. Rath. There are several opportunities under consideration in Alaska, the notion of regional schools for high school rather than the larger boarding school. There is also what they call a boarding home program where high school students are placed in a home, foster home, if you will, for a short period of time.

So there are a number of alternatives under consideration.

Senator Murphy. You have the same hope that some of us have for Rough Rock as an experimental school about which a great deal of progress has been made.

Dr. Rath. Yes, sir; with considerably more development work.

Senator Murphy. Thank you.

Dr. Rath. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Kennedy. As I understand, in your research, you came across one school in the State of Washington where you followed all the eighth-graders through, and found out there were no dropouts at all.

Dr. Rath. Correct.

Senator Kennedy. Then you have studied other schools which show there has been a 100-percent dropout. Is there anything you can say in addition to what you have already commented on this morning, to explain those variances?

Dr. Rath. In our research, we did not really go to the next step. It raises some very interesting questions. The one place where we had 100-percent graduation series is a tribal group. There is another community where the dropout rate is very, very great. I would propose that, where the 100-percent graduation occurs, you have employment, you have income, you have housing; in the other community these conditions are much worse. I think this helps support the notion——

Senator Kennedy. In the place where there was 100-percent graduation, do the parents have a more active voice in the school affairs or is it about the same?

Dr. Selinger. It is about the same in these two particular schools that are at opposite ends of the reservation. I might point out that these schools have very small numbers. That still does not explain the discrepancy between the two schools. The tribes themselves were quite intrigued by this. They thought the school with the high dropout rate was just the opposite and one with the poor graduation record they thought had a fairly high dropout.

Senator Kennedy. I imagine that what you are suggesting by your other comments, besides the educational experiences and the things that have to be done to strengthen the system from that point of view, that very closely related to whether these kids would stay on in school, are the housing conditions and the job opportunities?

Dr. Selinger. Yes. I feel very strongly that too frequently educators try to make panacea out of "education answers everything." Education is only one component of living. Other things are necessary too, good mental health, but none of these is possible without a good social economic base. There is an old quotation, "When the stomach is empty and the lips are dry, the spirit is on vacation." That is a quotation—I should not mention his name in Washington—from Karl Marx, but it is true. I don't possibly see how any form of education can do very much for youngsters if there are no jobs, no housing, malnutrition and all the other evils of poverty.

Senator **Mondale**. Senator Kennedy had to step out shortly. We thank you for this very fine presentation. The tragedy of this hearing is that we really should explore your findings much more fully. We do appreciate this brief summary and we are grateful to you and to your organization.

Our next witness——

Senator **Yarborough**. I have one comment here. What you said about the attitude of the local school districts toward the Johnson-O'Malley funds, the disturbing and tragic thing about that is that we have found all the witnesses find that attitude practically nationwide, get the money and do as little as you can for it. It is not just a case of your survey. It is robbery if ever there was one.

Dr. **Selinger**. I think the situation would be changed if the Indians had control of the Johnson-O'Malley funds. If you set up an Indian group in the State to decide specifically how the Johnson-O'Malley funds be spent for these students and then set up another Indian advisory group to evaluate what has been done with the funds after they are spent, I think you would get rid of a good many of these evils.

I would strongly recommend this as an immediate step that can be taken.

Senator **Yarborough**. Thank you. I think that last recommendation reaches right at the heart of the matter.

(The documents referred to follow:)

THE NORTHWEST AMERICAN INDIAN AFTER HIGH SCHOOL [1]

(By Alphonse D. Selinger, Robert R. Rath)

Field Paper No. 29

> The Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory is a nonprofit corporation working with more than eight hundred member institutions in the Northwest United States to apply the findings of research and technological development to improve educational practice. This study is a part of the efforts of the Laboratory to develop and disseminate data and conceptualizations useful in evaluating and designing improvements in intercultural education. The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a contract with the U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs.

There is still a deep concern for the high school dropout although dropouts are decreasing as a percentage of the population. This concern is expressed because school teachers and administrators regard the extent to which students remain in attendance and graduate from school as an important index of the effectiveness of the school program. Yet an equally important and valid index of the value of school programs is what happens to the student once he does graduate from high school.

The manufacturer of goods or supplier of services is vitally concerned with what happens to the product after it leaves his plant. Indeed, huge sums of money are expended on consumer and other surveys to obtain factual knowledge concerning acceptance and utilization of products. This knowledge then is employed to improve the product or its packaging or the marketing technique. Yet, curiously, few schools evidence any concern about what happens to the high school student after he graduates, except to brag about the occasional alumnus who achieves some marked success. "Out of sight, out of mind," best characterizes the attitude of most schools toward their graduates. And yet, without hard, pertinent, reliable data on what happens to the post high school graduate, on what basis can the school really evaluate the effectiveness of its programs?

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[1] This article is a summary of a study report by Dr. Alphonse D. Selinger, *The American Indian Graduate: After High School, What?* Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, Portland, Oregon, September, 1968.

The research literature, other than the occasional study more concerned about the high school graduate who continued on to college rather than concerned with all high school graduates, is almost barren where this topic is concerned. The literature is completely barren when the subject is narrowed to what happens to a high school garduate in the post high school period if he is a member of that minority group, the American Indian. And this is a minority group whose problems and frustrations are truly legion since for the most part its members are from a land based culture with its own languages and heritage and, above all, its own distinctive set of cultural values which the culture of the white man has modified but has been unable to destroy or replace.

In 1967 the Indian population of the United States, including Eskimos, was approximately 600,000 as compared with about 552,000 in 1960. 380,000 of these people live on or near reservations and are eligible to participlate in programs of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. They occupy 284 separate Indian land units which range in size from the Navaho reservations with over 15 million acres to a California Rancheria of one acre. The largest Indian population concentration is in Arizona numbering in excess of 85,000.

The majority of Indians live in rural areas under conditions of grinding poverty. Rural poverty differs from poverty in urban inner city areas in that there are not nearly as many opportunities to "hustle." A few general figures may best illustrate the poverty of the Indian family. In 1967 the average *family* income was $1,500 per annum. The average number of children in a family in the Northwest United States was 7.8. Unemployment approximated 45 percent ranging upward to 80 percent on some reservations at certain seasons of the year. Housing on reservations was estimated to be unacceptable by any standards in 90 percent of the units with 70 percent of families hauling water one mile or more from its source to the home. Average amount of formal schooling of an Indian was five years. Dropout rates from school were estimated at 60 percent compared to the national average of 29 percent. In the Northwest United States the school dropout rate from grades eight to twelve averaged 47.7 percent and in the southwest averaged 38.7 percent.

The American Indian is isolated from American society both spatially and inwardly. Historically, this condition has arisen first as a result of the military defeat of the Indians by the white population as they pursued a policy of what appeared to be genocide in their lust for the land and natural resources of the native population. Next, the Indians were overwhelmed by the numerical and technological superiority of the Whites and herded on to enclaves designated as reservations. Even the reservations were not inviolate. The government assumed control of the resources assigned to the Indians and thus forced dependency on the government. The result was a sense of powerlessness held in common with other disadvantaged groups in American society. There is no surprise, then, in that the Indian tended to conform to a style of behavior which fulfills the white expectation and stereotype: apathetic, withdrawn, irresponsible, shy, lazy and helpless in managing his own affairs. This inferiority and incapacity are reinforced by paternalistic governmental and welfare agencies.

Formal education has done little to help resolve the problems of Indians and frequently has intensified them as reflected in the failure of psychosocial development of Indian children during the latency and early pubertal years. Teachers have ignored and not utilized knowledge of Indian child-rearing practices in formulating their instructional techniques. Indians rear their children in patterns of socialization to insure conformity of behavior with the ideals of the tribe. Child rearing is not isolated in the immediate family but is the communal responsibility of the extended kinship group. Social control of the individual is maintained in the village through the media of gossip, public ridicule and social ostracism.

The aim of the "good life" for the Indian is to achieve an individual state of equilibrium wherein the person has peace of mind, devoid of anxiety and hatred. Thus the ideal Indian is characterized by being good natured, possessed of a well developed sense of humor and a spirit of generosity.

The children experience a relatively permissive home environment. They are reared to accept sharply defined sex roles which contrast with the increasingly blurred roles in general society. During the first four years of school, Indian children achieve on a level equivalent to other students. Thereafter, their achievement declines steadily up to and frequently through the college years. The decline in achievement for other disadvantaged minorities tends to level off just before entry to senior high school.

Various explanations have been advanced to account for the decline in achievement after the fourth grade. Probably a number of factors combine to bring about the decline. There is a shift in subject matter in the fourth grade which demands a commensurate shift from the child from concrete to more abstract patterns of thought. Indian upbringing and language emphasize concrete rather than abstract thought. About this stage, the Indian child becomes more acutely aware of differences between Indians and others. The child is ridiculed at school by word and action by some teachers and pupils because he is different and does not conform to the mainstream of life in the school community. He is taught that he must accept values which conflict with what he has been taught in his home. Gradually the school, in mis-directed efforts to be kind, lowers its expectations of the Indian child.

To adjust to the demands and values of the school leads the child to alienation from his Indian home and community. To not adjust, exposes him to ridicule, prejudice and probably a life of quietly desperate poverty. The resultant frustration arising from inner conflict is reflected in excessive drinking and the cyclical rise of suicides among young Indian people. And suicide traditionally has been anathema to all Indians. The lesson educators and others have not seemed to learn very well is that similar treatment of children is not identical to equal treatment.

Briefly, teachers and others must learn to accept Indians as individuals and assist them in their growth to Indian adulthood. They need to know the cultural values and home life of Indians and become involved in Indian communities where they teach and live. They need to assist Indian children in developing high occupational goals and to teach Indian children that a major purpose of education is self-development and not just a means to a materially higher standard of living. Above all, any new programs designed to resolve problems of Indians must be designed and implemented in concert with the Indian people who will be directly affected by them.

This paper follows the training and vocational development of about 50 percent of all American Indian high school graduates of 1962 from a six-state area. It traces their employment and training patterns between 1962 and 1968. The major factors studied were the importance of environment and opportunity in the development and attainment of occupational status. What effect did the educational experience have on these graduates and to what use did they put it?

A large number of the high school graduates surveyed felt they had not been equipped by their education to meet the demands of living in the post high school world. Five years after their graduation they already felt unsuccessful and had only vague plans to effect any changes in their lives. Most felt the need for further training in order to obtain a good job which would afford them satisfaction. Many were on their way to fulfillment in their lives or careers but a larger number felt unsuccessful in their jobs or educational experiences and failed to take any pride in their accomplishments.

The schools and prevailing values of American society certainly were determinants in the roles assumed by the students in post high school life. However, value systems and modes of living inevitably must be modified to adapt to an ever changing world.

The schools are second only to the family in facilitating the personal and vocational development of young people. The schools have a heavy responsibility in enabling the students to develop their best potential. No longer is it sufficient for the schools to provide fundamentals such as communication and computational skills and training in citizenship. Schools, today, must create an educational atmosphere in which students may acquire sound principles on which to base decisions which will lead to a satisfying and contributive life. These objectives can be achieved only if students have acquired while in school, self-direction, creativity and flexibility in thinking processes. Thus their education, and especially the counseling, should have been directed to increasing maturity in decision making. There is a noticeable absence of the factors which contribute to self-direction in the educational background of most of the high school graduates surveyed in this study.

PATTERNS IN THE POST HIGH SCHOOL YEARS

The first major and general question to which this study addressed itself was that of what happened to the Indian student following graduation from high school. To facilitate the analysis of the data, the interviewed population was dichotomized into "persisters" and "non-persisters." A "persister" was defined as a student who, after graduation from high school, continued his formal education or training, whether academic, vocational or technical in nature, although not necessarily to completion. A "non-persister" was defined as a student who, after graduation from high school, became unemployed or accepted employment but did not pursue further training or continue formal education. Each of these categories was further subdivided into "male" and "female."

The total number of answers to any question did not always correspond exactly with the total number of interviewees. Many of the interviewees responded with multiple answers to some of the questions while in other instances a few of the interviewees could not or would not respond to a question.

About 70 percent of the students continued into academic or training programs following graduation from high school. The number of persisters is not startlingly high when the dropout rate in high school, almost one out of every two students, is considered. Then, only about half of the graduates who entered post high school programs completed them. Nor did they complete the programs they initially entered. The large majority completed technical-vocational rather than academic programs. Of the student sample interviewed, there was no graduates or potential graduates in the traditional "prestige" professions such as medicine, law or engineering.

Approximately six years after high school graduation, slightly less than one-half of the females and slightly more than one-half of the males were employed for pay or profit. The majority of the graduates were working in low-skill, low-skill, low-pay, low-interest, non-permanent types of jobs. Three-fifths of these young people were living on or near a reservation.

The most frequent reasons why females discontinued post high school programs were lack of interest followed by marriage; among males, lack of financial support followed by lack of interest. Economic status did not appear to be the major determinant in either entrance into or persistence in a post high school program. About one-half of those who discontinued an initially-entered program resumed in the same or a different program. They did so because they felt the need for further education either to improve themselves or to gain a good job.

Two-thirds of the males and one-third of the females accepted employment unrelated to their training. Most who accepted this type of employment did so because they wished to live on or near their home reservation. The same attitude characterized the job-holding non-persisters of whom 90 percent lived on or near a reservation. For these people, there is very limited choice of employment.

Obviously, future prospects are not too bright for the Indians who did not continue education or training beyond high school graduation. They can look forward to jobs, rapidly becoming fewer in number, which do not require any particular skills and for which, consequently, wages are low. Most of the jobs held by non-persisters lack interest for the individual. These jobs tend to be of a non-permanent nature and so the unemployment rate for the non-persisters is high. Girls, through marriage, can escape the curse of unemployment. However, the position of the non-persister females really is not bettered since they tend to marry male non-persisters and high school dropouts and so continue to eke out a low-level income existence. After high school graduation the tendency of the non-persisters is to move on or near a reservation and hold a job for approximately one year. Following this first job, the tendency is to move away from the reservation, frequently out of the state, hold a job for up to another year and then drift back to the reservation. This pattern is repeated over the years.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GRADUATE

The average number of children in the family of the high school graduate was 7.8 as compared to 2.3 children in the typical American family. There was no relationship between either position in the family or size of family and whether the male graduate proceeded into a post high school program. However, the smaller the size of the family and being the first born of the family affected the chances of the female to continue her formal education. There was little relationship between the degree of Indian blood possessed by the graduate and persistence in education.

The ability to speak an Indian language was more the mark of the female persister than of the female non-persister. No significant difference was observed between the ability of male persisters and non-persisters to speak an Indian language. Overall, the majority of the graduates did not speak an Indian language. No large differences were apparent in the degree to which an Indian language was spoken in the homes of the females. There was a markedly greater frequency of an Indian language spoken in the home of male non-persisters than in the homes of male persisters.

The amount of formal education completed by parents of the persisters was greater than for the parents of non-persisters. This was especially so among the female graduates. More mothers of persisters were gainfully employed than were mothers of non-persisters. The mothers of persisters more often than mothers of non-persisters held jobs which required training and skill. No significant differences in regard to these factors appeared among the fathers.

About one-quarter of the graduates repeated a grade and one-fifth repeated a failed subject. More non-persisters than persisters repeated a grade or subject, indicating repetition of grades or subjects is a major factor in persistence beyond high school education. Nevertheless, grade or subject failures seldom affected the desire of students to complete high school.

One-third of the graduates transferred to another school at least once during high school. The number of transfers was greater for female non-persisters than persisters, but less for male non-persisters than persisters. The data indicates female non-persisters resolved problem situations by moving to a different setting. Male non-persisters remained in a setting and adopted a posture of passive resistance in order to resolve their problems.

The favorite activity in high school was social activity for the females and athletics for the males. A greater percentage of persisters than non-persisters participated in school activities. Though not conclusively proved, it appears participation in school activity was an inducement for the student to remain in school.

THE IMPACT OF HIGH SCHOOL EXPERIENCE AND CAREERS

Many of the graduates were dissatisfied with their present career status. Two-fifths of them indicated they wished to change their job. The major reason for doing so was to obtain a job which would be of more interest. Similarly, the majority of these young people would follow a different course of action if they could relive their post high school days. Most of them felt the need for further education. One-fourth would pursue a different educational or training program.

The prime source of encouragement to continue formal education was the parents. Teachers ranked next as a source. Encouragement from the peer group was negligible. Fewer non-persisters than persisters viewed the encouragement received as realistic. Of course, fewer of the non-persisters responded positively to such encouragement.

Three-fourths of the graduates acknowledged receiving some information on available post high school educational opportunities. Less than one-third of them viewed the information supplied as adequate. Even fewer of the graduates received, or perceived as adequate, information on post high school employment opportunities. Information they did receive came from teachers, relocation officers and potential employers rather than counselors. Obviously, greater efforts have to be made and better methods utilized to bring students to an awareness of opportunities available to them. More and better counselors are needed who can collaborate with parents, teachers and administrators in assisting students to self-discovery. However, such conditions hardly can exist until the counselors and other educators are brought to a self-awareness and an unbiased understanding of the students with whom they work.

A large minority of the graduates felt there was "nothing" which the schools they attended did best for them. Of those who thought the schools did something for them, the largest group indicated it was awarding a graduation diploma. The [illegible] largest group responded that the school assisted them to maturity. Ideally, [illegible] course, this should have been the response of all of the graduates. The most important changes the graduates would seek in the schools they attended were better trained teachers and higher academic standards. The changes they called for reflected an awareness of the prejudice of "low expectation."

More often than not the students already have built a low self-image of themselves by the time they graduate from high school because of this prejudice of "low expectation." The prejudice has been reinforced because of the "self-fulfilling prophecy." Told often enough by word and action that Indian students are not expected to measure up to the achievements of the general student population, the students behave in ways calculated to fulfill the expectation of those with prejudiced attitudes. This prejudice was expressed in a conversation with a public school principal, uncommon only in that the view was so directly expressed. The principal declared it really was useless trying to do anything for Indian students. As long as the Indian children were quiet and did as they were told in the classroom and school, they could expect social promotions. Eventually they would receive a school attendance certificate in lieu of a high school diploma. Even those people who intellectually subscribe to the idea of basic equality of human beings and therefore, in general, that potential abilities also are equal, often betray by their actions an inability to accept emotionally the premise of equality which they have accepted intellectually.

A large majority of the graduates thought their Indian fellow-students did not graduate from high school because of lack of encouragement from home, lack of desire on the part of the student and lack of encouragement from the school. The second reason is dependent largely on the first and third.

Peer group association in school, for the largest group of graduates, involved association with other Indians. The next largest peer group involved association in mixed Indian-non-Indian groups. The majority of the students claimed peer group association did not affect either their achievement in classes or plans to continue education beyond high school level. When the peer group did affect the decisions of an individual, such effect usually was positive and beneficial.

A minority of about one-fifth of the graduates admitted they ever had experienced prejudice directed against them. They all readily were able to relate experiences of friends and relatives who were victims of prejudice. Curiously, the respondents seemed to feel if they admitted experiencing prejudice, they were admitting inferiority to other people. Such are the results of a young lifetime, not necessarily of overt prejudice, but of prejudice framed on a sterotype.

One-third of the graduates defined "success" in terms of personal happiness. The remainder, reflecting the struggle for survival, defined success in terms of holding a good job and/or possessing a good education. More females than males thought of themselves as successful. This is normal [illegible] females equate success with a satisfactory marriage. However, males, the providers, equate success with secure, well-paying jobs which also afford them personal satisfaction.

More of the graduates thought of themselves as unsuccessful than characterized themselves as successful.

COMMENT AND SUGGESTIONS

This study has sought and found some answers to the question of what happens to American Indian students after they graduate from high school. Undoubtedly, parallel studies concerning the general school population would produce many of the same findings although varying quantitatively. Such studies are necessary, not only because the data are important in evaluating the work of schools, but also because of the need for comparable data. Recommendations for improvement of education are inherent in the presentation of the data and it would be redundant to detail them here.

As in most research, this study has raised as many or more questions as it has answered. Hopefully, leads have been offered for further research, such as on mental health problems of Indian students and learning processes of early childhood. In any event, the study has demonstrated the collection of data in the area covered is feasible even when it is necessary to probe into the past to collect the data. Little difficulty should be encountered in devising an ongoing data-collection system.

Such a data-collection system would require close cooperation among the organizations interested in education of American Indians. The obvious first step would be to involve tribes, school districts, State Departments of Education and the Bureau of Indian Affairs in outlining the objectives, detailing the data which should be collected and designing the data-collection system.

However, collection of data is not an end in itself. The data serves as a factual base which is necessary in formulating decisions and programs. In the past, a piecemeal approach to formulating and implementing programs too often has failed. The programs, though usually well thought out, have neglected to take into account the totality of Indian life. Hence, the programs have been similar to attempting to staunch a gaping wound by the application of a bandaid. Thus, no matter what the results of fact gathering and analysis are, the ultimate remedial steps are going to require congruent efforts in which health (including mental health), education and socioeconomic development are meshed and dovetailed. If they are not coordinated in a multi-pronged attack and each continues to go its own way, little or no advance will be made in arriving at solutions to problems.

The organizations seeking to launch multi-pronged assaults on problems, in attempting to fulfill their responsibilities, need to engage in a great deal of self-evaluation. Experimentation has as one of its major purposes the improvement of the established patterns of doing things so they are relevant to all those in need of it. Simultaneous evaluation will be necessary to make sure the experimentation is an improvement.

Men have banded together into societies so they may do those things which improve the quality of life and which they are unable to do as individuals. Too often, though, society interprets its mission as pressuring all individuals to conform to a common mold. Society attempts to kill or eliminate those ways of life which are not part and parcel of the mainstream. In a pluralistic, democratic nation, society should be supportive of the individual. It should facilitate and enhance individual development by making available as many viable alternatives for the individual as possible. In short, a major purpose of the societal life should be to make man more free.

The objectives of the federal government have more often than not been in conflict with the goals of the Indian people. Programs frequently have been imposed upon them without prior consultation and almost always without direct involvement in the initiation, planning or execution of the programs. The effect has been to contribute to a feeling of alienation among Indian people. In common with other poverty groups in the nation, Indians have shared a feeling of helplessness which stems from the belief that they cannot control their own destiny.

Indians are aware their communities and people are held in low esteem by the general society. They wish to remain Indian but do not want the low-status equivalent. They want to retain a way of life with values Indians consider superior to those of the general society but also want to take advantage of the modern technological advances and attain a reasonable material standard of living.

Many Indians fear material progress and evidence they are beginning to control their own affairs. They claim that when a tribe approaches autonomy and a reasonable standard of living, those governing in our society pressure Indians to join the mainstream of society. Soon the tribe finds itself a victim of "termination" and has lost all that it sweated and sacrificed to regain and build.

Research in change and innovation during the past couple of decades has indicated changes imposed upon a community from outside are very likely to be rejected. Forced changes from external sources may result in overt compliance but covert resistance. When change threatens the values of the people affected, resistance to the change as well as the social costs in introducing the change grow greater. Social changes are most likely to be accepted if they are introduced through the existing social structure of the people affected and involve the affected people in every aspect of initiating, planning and executing the change.

To ignore these finds of research is not wise or productive of effective solutions to problems. The temper of our times as such that an increasingly rapid transfer of power over their resources and decision making is mandatory and necessary for Indians. To say Indians are not ready or lack ability to manage their resources when some tribes now successfully operate multi-million dollar tribal enterprises, is bureaucratic rigidity.

The resources of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Indian Division of the Public Health Service and other governmental agencies should be put at the disposal of Indians to carry out programs initiated and planned by them. Only in this way will Indians develop a genuine feeling they are in control of what happens to them. Important as new programs are, primacy must be given to the processes by which Indians can feel they control their own destiny and thus develop a viable identity. If such courses of action are not followed, the errors of bygone years will be compounded, programs will continue to fail to bring about any lasting, significant change and no progress will have been made in alleviating the distress of the Indian populations.

THE AMERICAN INDIAN HIGH SCHOOL DROPOUT: THE MAGNITUDE OF THE PROBLEM[1]

(By Alphonse D. Selinger, Robert R. Rath)

Field Paper No. 30

> The Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory is a nonprofit corporation working with more than eight hundred member institutions in the Northwest United States to apply the findings of research and technological development to improve educational practice. This study is a part of the efforts of the Laboratory to develop and disseminate data and conceptualizations useful in evaluating and designing improvements in intercultural education. The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a contract with the U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Repeated inquiries are made about the number of American Indian students who progress or drop out of school from grade 8 through grade 12. The response of the Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory to the dearth of information which triggered the inquiries was to launch a study to collect recent, hard data on the education of Indian youth. This study was financed through a contract with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and depended upon the cooperation of several hundred people, including superintendents, principals and teachers, personnel (with agencies and area offices) of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, tribal office officials and employees, staff members of State Departments of Education, and the parents and relatives of many of the pupils.

The purpose of this study was to provide some data and information for organizations and agencies, which may lead to the development of experimental programs, and to more rational decisions about the education for Indian students, and to additional indepth studies.

Two specific objectives were:

1. To provide a statistical report of progress and dropouts of Indian students in the States of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, and North and South Dakota from grade 8 in 1962 through June, 1967.
2. To develop and demonstrate a feasible system for data collection on a continuing basis.

Procedures

A stratified random sample of 50 percent of the eligible schools in each state was drawn for the study. Eligible schools were determined by the following criteria:

1. *State and Area*: Schools and tribal groups had to be in those portions of the states of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, North and South Dakota which were included in the Aberdeen, Billings, and Portland area jurisdiction for the Bureau of Indian Affairs.
2. *Tribal Units:* Tribal units were determined by state as derived from the 1962–63 census of tribes. Tribal units of less than 200 population were deleted. An Indian was defined as an individual who possessed a blood quantum of one-fourth, or more.
3. *Schools:* Schools with concentrations of Indian students from tribal groups were identified through State Departments of Education, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and public and private school authorities. Schools with less than ten Indian students enrolled in grade 8 in 1962–63 were to be deleted. Because schools over-estimated totals of Indian students, usually because they identified pupils with less than one-fourth degree of Indian blood as Indians, six schools are included in the sample with less than ten Indian students registered in grade 8 as of November 1, 1962.

Forty schools or 56.3 percent, were drawn as the samples of a total of 71 schools which qualified under these criteria.

The target population, all Indian students in the 1962–63 grade 8 classes of the selected schools, were identified by name. Thereafter the progress of each student was traced through school to June, 1967 or dropout regardless of which school site was attended. The work of tracing the progress of the students was carried out by field workers, usually employees of the schools where the initial identification of the students was made. The data was then checked by the project staff of the Portland office. School students were guaranteed anonymity through the use of numerical coding as soon as the basic data had been collected.

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[1] This article is a summary of a study report with the same title written by Dr. Alphonse D. Selinger published by the Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, 710 S.W. Second Avenue, Portland, Oregon 97204.

The term "dropout" is used in this study to designate a pupil who has been in membership during the regular school term and who withdrew from membership before graduating from secondary school or before completing an equivalent program of studies. Such an individual is considered a dropout whether the dropout occurs during or between regular school terms, whether the dropout occurs before or after the compulsory school attendance age has been reached, and if the minimum required amount of school work necessary for graduation has not been completed except by reason of death.

The data collected about each student included promotion/graduation/dropout, attendance and grades in addition to identification information.

Selected supporting data

There was no intent in this study to draw inferences from or to interpret the data reported. The following information from recent studies, far from exhaustive, is presented in order to provide a framework for the data of the study and a base for comparison. The reader is cautioned that the factors which are characteristic of the dropout are extremely complex. *In the absence of most of these factors from this study, casual inferences regarding the cause of dropouts are unwarranted.* The statistical data of this study is useful *only* in assessing the magnitude of the problem of the Indian high school dropout in the northwest United States.

Apker, in his survey, estimates that less than 40 percent of Indian High School entrants graduate as compared to 60 percent of all American students. Spilka and Bryde state that on a national level in the 1963 school year dropouts averaged 23 percent of the school population as compared with a dropout rate for Indian students of about 60 percent.

The State Department of Instruction in a study of the South Dakota secondary school (grades 9–12) dropout population in 1963–64 showed that 59 percent of Indian dropouts occur in the ninth grade compared with 20 percent for non-Indians.

An as yet unpublished study compared eighth grade students on the Pine Ridge Reservation who subsequently dropped from school with those who remained. It was found that 57 percent of dropouts are boys compared with 48 percent in the school population; 67 percent of dropouts are from country districts as compared to 50 percent from country districts in the total school population; dropouts tended to be older at entrance to ninth grade (64 percent were 16 years of age or over) compared to those who remained (81 percent were 15 years of age or under); dropouts achieved a mean score on the 28th percentile in the Iowa test of educational achievement as compared to a mean score on the 42nd percentile for those remaining.

Findings

One major objective of the study was to document the problem of the American Indian high school dropout. In the original report, the emphasis of reporting was to present tables and figures for each school. No attempt was made to interpret the findings.

Comparison of dropout rates between schools or tribes was purposefully omitted from the original report. Such comparisons are invidious because of the varying numbers of pupils in the schools and particularly because of the wide differences in the educational objectives pursued by the schools as a result of the composition of their student bodies.

Four presentations were made for each sample school, as shown in the examples below:

A figure which indicates the annual flow of students to different schools (Figure 1).

A table indicating progressive dropout rates by sex (Table 1).

A table indicating annual attendance percentages for dropouts and persisters (Table 2):

A table indicating grade averages for dropouts and persisters (Table 3).

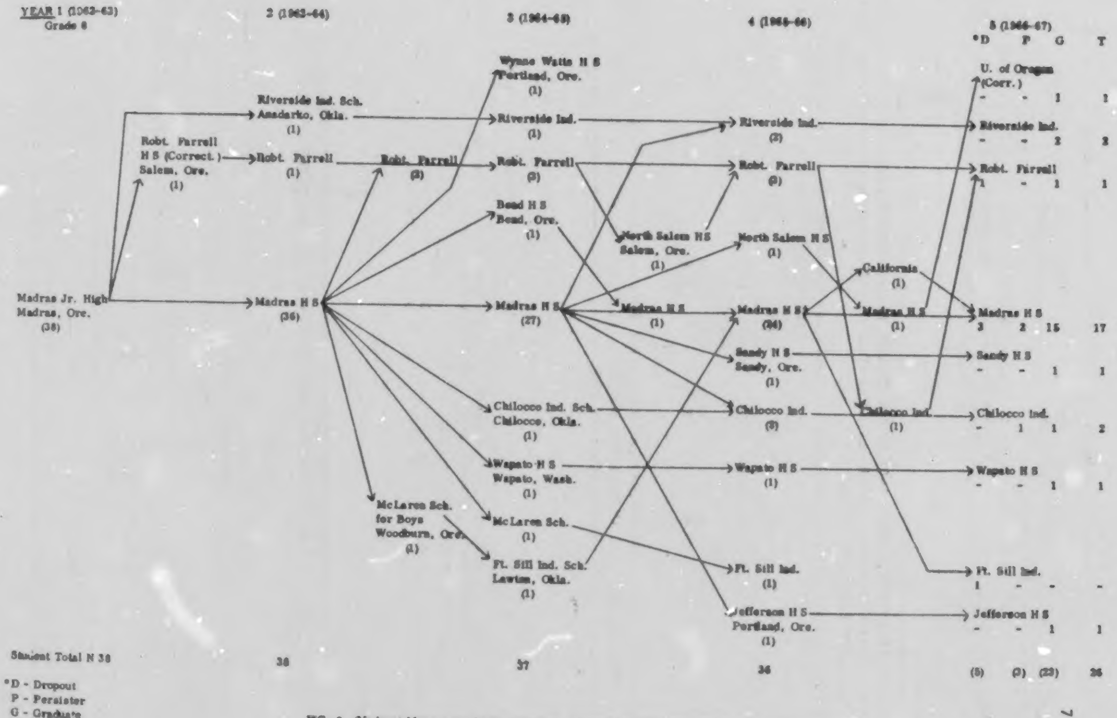
YEAR 1 (1962-63)
Grade 8
2 (1963-64)
3 (1964-65)
4 (1965-66)
5 (1966-67)
*D P G T
Madras Jr. High
Madras, Ore.
(38)
Robt. Farrell
H S (Correct.)
Salem, Ore.
(1)
Riverside Ind. Sch.
Anadarko, Okla.
(1)
Robt. Farrell
(1)
Madras H S
(36)
McLaren Sch.
for Boys
Woodburn, Ore.
(1)
Robt. Farrell
(2)
Wynne Watts H S
Portland, Ore.
(1)
Riverside Ind.
(1)
Robt. Farrell
(3)
Bend H S
Bend, Ore.
(1)
Madras H S
(27)
Chilocco Ind. Sch.
Chilocco, Okla.
(1)
Wapato H S
Wapato, Wash.
(1)
McLaren Sch.
(1)
Ft. Sill Ind. Sch.
Lawton, Okla.
(1)
North Salem H S
Salem, Ore.
(1)
Madras H S
(1)
Riverside Ind.
(2)
Robt. Farrell
(2)
North Salem H S
(1)
Madras H S
(24)
Sandy H S
Sandy, Ore.
(1)
Chilocco Ind.
(3)
Wapato H S
(1)
Ft. Sill Ind.
(1)
Jefferson H S
Portland, Ore.
(1)
California
(1)
Madras H S
(1)
Chilocco Ind.
(1)
U. of Oregon
(Corr.)
- - 1 1
Riverside Ind.
- - 2 2
Robt. Farrell
1 - 1 1
Madras H S
3 2 15 17
Sandy H S
- - 1 1
Chilocco Ind.
- 1 1 2
Wapato H S
- - 1 1
Ft. Sill Ind.
1 - - -
Jefferson H S
- - 1 1
Student Total N 38
38
37
36
(5) (2) (23) 26
*D - Dropout
P - Persister
G - Graduate
+ - 1 Deceased

FIG. 2 (Madras) Movement of Indian Students Through Schools, Nov. 1962 - June 1967

FIGURE 1

TABLE 1.—PROGRESSIVE DROPOUT RATE BY PERCENTAGES TO JUNE 1967, FROM A TARGET POPULATION OF AMERICAN INDIAN STUDENTS ENROLLED IN MADRAS JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL, OREGON, IN GRADE 8, NOVEMBER 1962

Sex	Total number	1962-63, grade 8		1963-64		1964-65		1965-66		1966-67		Total	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percen	Number	Percent
Male	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5.6	2	11.8	3	16.7
Female	20	0	0	1	5.0	1	5.3	[1]3	16.7	3	21.4	8	42.1
Total	38	0	0	1	2.6	1	2.7	4	11.1	5	16.1	11	29.7

[1] 1 deceased.

TABLE 2.—AVERAGE ANNUAL ATTENDANCE BY PERCENTAGES TO JUNE 1967, OF DROPOUTS AND PERSISTERS FROM A TARGET POPULATION OF 38 AMERICAN INDIAN STUDENTS ENROLLED IN MADRAS JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL, OREGON, IN GRADE 8, NOVEMBER 1962

	Year—									
	1962-63, grade 8		1963-64		1964-65		1965-66		1966-67	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Dropout	0	0.0	1	90.0	1	77.0	4	73.8	3	78.3
Persister	37	90.8	33	92.7	33	92.6	32	90.9	25	88.8

TABLE 3.—AVERAGE ANNUAL GRADES TRANSLATED TO LETTER GRADINGS TO JUNE 1967, FROM A TARGET POPULATION OF 38 AMERICAN INDIAN STUDENTS, DROPOUTS AND PERSISTERS, ENROLLED IN MADRAS JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL, OREGON, IN GRADE 8, NOVEMBER 1962

	Year—									
	1962-63 Grade 8		1963-64		1964-65		1965-66		1966-67	
	Number	Average grade	Number	Average grade	Number	Average grade	Number	Average grade	Number	Average grade
Dropout	0	(1)	0	(1)	1	D+	2	D+	2	C+
Persister	35	C−	36	C−	35	D+	31	C−	25	C−

(1) Not available.

These modes of presentation were selected to show the magnitude of the problem for a functional unit—a school—as well as demonstrating feasibility for that locality.

Several points can be drawn from these school by school tabulations:

1. There is tremendous mobility of Indian students to a variety of schools in seeking to complete a secondary education.
2. The common educational indices of attendance and grade averages are poor indicators for Indian students persisting in school. Further, the quality of this data was probably not comparable, was inconsistent and often missing.

Comparative graduation rates between the "normal" population and the sample of American Indian students are difficult to obtain. One such comparison is presented in Table 4. It is recognized that the base of comparison is different, but the Indian percentages would be lower if computed on the same basis because: (1) the Indian percent includes persisters as well as graduates, and (2) the Indian percent is based on a five-year rather than a four-year period. Clearly, dropout rates are of considerably greater magnitude than for the "normal" population.

TABLE 4.—COMPARATIVE RATES, PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOL AND INDIAN STUDENTS

	Public high school (1965–66)[1] graduation (percent)	Indian sample (1966–67)[2] persisters (percent)
Oregon	83.5	70.7
Washington	85.7	61.5
Idaho	79.9	65.5
Montana	83.6	48.3
North Dakota	84.0	48.5
South Dakota	85.6	42.2
National average	77.3	47.4

[1] 1965–66 graduates as 9 percent of grade 9 in 1962, as reported in Sherrell E. Varner, "School Dropouts," research summary, Washington, D.C., Research Division, National Education Association, 1967, p. 8.

[2] Students traced from grade 8 in 1962 to 1967.

The annual dropout percentages of American Indian secondary students in the sample schools are presented by state in Table 5. Patterns of dropouts clearly vary between and among the states, both in terms of the total dropout, and the annual components of the total.

TABLE 5.—ANNUAL DROPOUTS OF INDIAN STUDENTS IN SAMPLE SCHOOLS BY STATE

State		School year—					Total
		1962–63	1963–64	1964–65	1965–66	1966–67	
Oregon:							
Number	42	0	1	1	5	6	12
Percent		0	2.4	2.4	12.5	14.7	29.3
Washington:							
Number	91	2	8	15	7	3	35
Percent		2.2	9.0	18.5	10.6	5.1	38.5
Idaho:							
Number	33	0	5	1	1	4	11
Percent		0	15.6	3.7	3.9	16.4	34.4
Montana:							
Number	259	27	15	30	20	16	108
Percent		10.4	6.5	18.8	10.7	9.6	41.7
North Dakota:							
Number	99	8	11	11	13	8	51
Percent		8.1	12.1	13.8	18.8	14.3	51.5
South Dakota:							
Number	316	63	33	33	29	24	182
Percent		19.9	13.0	15.1	15.6	15.3	57.8
Total:							
Number	840	100	73	91	75	60	399
Percent		11.9	9.9	13.7	13.1	12.1	47.7

The dropout rate for Indian female students in each of the six states, with the exception of North Dakota, is considerably higher than for Indian male students, as found in Table 6.

TABLE 6.—DROPOUT RATES OF INDIAN MALES AND FEMALES IN SAMPLE SCHOOLS, 1962–67

State	Male			Female			Total		
	Dropout	Number	Percent	Dropout	Number	Percent	Dropout	Number	Percent
Oregon	3	19	15.8	9	23	40.9	12	42	29.3
Washington	16	46	34.8	19	45	42.2	35	91	38.5
Idaho	4	16	25.0	7	17	41.2	11	33	33.3
Montana	49	132	37.1	59	127	45.6	108	259	41.7
North Dakota	23	41	56.[illegible]	28	58	48.3	51	99	51.5
South Dakota	77	149	51.7	105	167	63.3	182	316	57.8
Total	172	403	42.6	227	437	51.9	399	840	47.7

CONCLUSION

This study has differed from other dropout studies in that the students registered in the same grade on a specific date who constituted the target population were each identified by name. The progress through school of each student was then traced to high school graduation or another specific date almost five years later unless death or dropout from school occurred prior to that time. The data of the study have been presented in a series of figures and tables without any attempt to interpret findings. Thus the study, while documenting the magnitude of the problem of the American Indian high school dropout, also has demonstrated the feasibility of collecting hard data in this area.

The need to collect on an ongoing basis specific up-to-date data on the progress of pupils, as well as on graduates and follow-up of graduates for at least a year after high school graduation, is of great importance. Even where some attempts have been made by individual schools or school systems to collect such data, efforts have been hampered by a lack of uniformity in the methodology of collecting information and in recording it. School personnel become very frustrated trying to find out what happens to a transfer student when the receiving school does not cooperate in acknowledging the transfer or in transferring student records.

The initiative in setting up a data collection bank and regularized system of transferring student records needs to be taken by an agency which could also serve as the coordinator of such efforts. The State Departments of Education are almost ideally suited to undertaking such a task. In addition to access to computer facilities, Departments probably have the greatest contact with the many organizations engaged in the educational enterprise.

The continuing collection of such data and information would certainly necessitate the cooperative efforts of school districts, State Departments of Education, the area offices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In addition, the tribal group must be involved in the following of students. It became apparent that the tribal group was the unique source of information when significant numbers of students transferred to secondary schools in other states and areas.

This study has clearly shown that there is a serious and complex problem of dropouts of American Indian high school students. It has also demonstrated a feasible way whereby such data and information could be accumulated on a continuing basis for use in developing experimental programs, for assistance in making more rational decisions about Indian education, and points to problems about which additional studies are needed.

Senator KENNEDY. Dr. Van Dusen.

Senator MONDALE. I would like to make one observation, if I might. This is the third regional educational laboratory which has testified. It surprises me that so much of the pioneering study about what can be done is coming out of institutions that have been only recently created and are outside of the basic ongoing structure of Indian education as we have known it.

The same, I think, can be said of the department of education in Minnesota about which you have just heard. I think this says something about the need to invigorate the institutions which have traditionally dealt with Indian education.

Senator KENNEDY. Dr. Van Dusen, we welcome you here before the subcommittee. We appreciate your appearance here. Please proceed.

STATEMENT OF DR. JEAN VAN DUSEN, PEDIATRICIAN, TUBA CITY PUBLIC HEALTH HOSPITAL, TUBA CITY, ARIZ.

Dr. VAN DUSEN. My testimony is based upon my personal observations as a physician on the Navajo Indian Reservation. The opinions expressed are my own, and they may or may not agree with those of others in the Public Health Service or my superiors.

For many years, I have been concerned with the health and welfare of the Navajo and Hopi children served by the hospital at Tuba City, Ariz. I believe that some of the medical problems existing have a definite effect upon the future educational opportunity and performances of the children. One of my major concerns is that of malnutrition.

Until very recently, we could only guess at the extent of the problem. Ongoing attempts to improve our records and reporting methods should give more satisfactory information in the future. I can report on some of the information yet to be published that was obtained this summer.

Mr. John Secondi, a medical student, was supported by the University of Vanderbilt Medical School and the Congress of American Indians. With the assistance of Dr. James Carter, we were able to review the problem of protein-calorie malnutrition as seen in our hospital.

We reviewed the records of all admissions under 5 years of age for the past 5 years. There were 5,430 records reviewed. Of these, 116 of the children had a diagnosis of malnutrition.

There were also 27 cases of marasmus and 17 cases of Kwashiorkor. The mortality was 48 percent for marasmus and 13 percent for Kwashiorkor. As a physician I am very loath to admit my failure in helping; this is a very, very horrible extent of malnutrition.

One of the things in the clinic that should be done is to get a social and medical diagnosis of malnutrition that is acceptable to us all. In the Senate yesterday I heard about starvation. I don't know what starvation is but I think what they mean are these 48 percent marasmus that died and the 13 percent of Kwashiorkor that died. To me I think that maybe would be starvation.

All of the cases of marasmus were under 8 months of age, the mean was 3 months of age. The cases of Kwashiorkor were from 5 months to 30 months of age with a mean of 14 months of age.

These two disease entities are admittedly the most severe forms of protein-calorie malnutrition. The high fatality rate indicates the severity of the medical problem.

Of even more importance is the evidence being accumulated recently, that such episodes of severe malnutrition has an effect upon the future learning potential of the children. As yet we do not know what degree of malnutrition causes what degree of damage to the brain.

Another facet of our study this summer, was to gather the heights and weights of children on the Navajo Reservation preschool program. These children ranged from age 3 to 7 years of age. Records from 948 children over the entire reservation were utilized.

When compared with the standard Boston Curves, 30 percent of the boys and 29 percent of the girls fell below the 3 percent line in height.

As regards to weight, 8 percent of the boys, and 9 percent of the girls fell below the 3 percent line. This would indicate that early in life malnutrition existed sufficiently to disturb growth and produce stunting of height.

Subsequently, many of the children gained weight but could not overcome the stunting. These are the children who are apt to enter school with biological disadvantages in regards to ability to learn.

The apparent types of damage are particularly in those difficult to measure abilities of hand-eye, ear-eye, hand-ear coordination.

Senator KENNEDY. Of the deficiencies you mentioned—I don't know whether you get at it later in your testimony—the relationship between malnutrition and mental retardation has been demonstrated time and time again. So not only do you have the physical kind of defects, there really is a very definite effect on brain development?

Dr. Van Dusen. Yes.

Senator Kennedy. Let me ask, as we go through the figures so that the record shows this, about the curve and the weight comparisons. Do you relate these to other children or other Indian groups?

Will opponents say that these are hereditary traits of the Indian group?

Could you respond to that for the record?

Dr. Van Dusen. This is the argument that has been put out for many, many years. Recent studies done in other countries, notably Guatemala, Haiti, and South Africa, I believe it is, have shown that the advantaged child in these countries follow the Boston Curve.

The disadvantaged children in these countries don't follow the Boston Curve.

Senator Kennedy. Would that be true of Indians? I don't know whether that would be true in regard to, say, Spanish-speaking people.

Dr. Van Dusen. Oh, yes.

Senator Kennedy. If you have someone up in Boston and San Antonio, one is from Spanish-speaking parents and the other is from Irish——

Dr. Van Dusen. Race has its effect on the stature. That is one of the arguments, but we are finding out that this is not so. Interestingly enough, in my 14 years I have watched quite a few children grow up. For many years we never thought a Hopi could possibly be 6-foot tall. I now have quite a few youngsters that I am going on tiptoe to look into their ears or have to make them sit down. There are 6-foot Hopis. There have always been a few 6-foot Navajos but the Hopis are particularly striking because they never got to be 6-foot tall.

Height potential is not dependent upon race. There are individual groups of the pygmies and the giants but apparently this is not a racial characteristic.

Senator Kennedy. On these problems—I apologize for interrupting—of nutrition deficiency that you talk about, there are a number of Members who are both on this committee, Senator Mondale, and others, and on Senator McGovern's nutrition committee. I think we ought to certainly communicate to them your testimony.

As you probably know, as a result of the action of the Senate, we have the active support of the Members of the Senate in really coming to grips with the problems of malnutrition. Certainly you are identifying an area of great distress. I would like, with your permission, for us to notify Senator McGovern and the members of his committee and have them look into this extremely distressing testimony.

Dr. Van Dusen. My technical paper is about to be published. I will be glad to send the paper to you. It should be in the next month or so.

Senator Kennedy. I wish you would. Those parts of it that are relevant will be included in the record at this point.

REPORT OF NUTRITION STUDY ON NAVAJO RESERVATION

In the spring and summer of 1967, reports of "hunger and starvation" in the U.S. appeared in the news. Congressional committees, private foundations, and concerned individuals called attention to the problem. In the fall of 1967, Congress added an Amendment to the Partnership for Health Amendments of 1967, calling for the Secretary of DHEW to conduct a nutrition survey to determine the magnitude and location of hunger and starvation in the U.S.

The Nutrition Program (formerly the ICNND) had been involved with 33 nutrition surveys overseas, and was designated by the Secretary's Office to carry out the study. An advisory committee, composed of representatives from agencies in DHEW, and also the Office of Economic Opportunity and the USDA developed the general survey protocol including the sample selection. It was assumed that if (hunger and starvation) malnutrition existed in the U.S., it would occur in the populations living in poverty or near poverty. Also certain groups which were known to have more health problems, the migrant workers, aged, preschool children in urban ghettoes, and families in Appalachia. The survey areas selected were states which were known to have sizable numbers of poor families and concentrations of the special groups. In addition, some regional representation was sought, though no attempt was made to include states from every area of the country.

Thus, the National Nutrition Survey was designed so that the first phase would place priority on low income areas. A random selection was made from Bureau of Census enumeration districts where the largest percentage of families were living in poverty. The universe from which the sample was drawn represented twenty-five percent of the state's population and the lowest income quartile based on 1960 census data. This resulted in a selection of approximately one hundred enumeration districts per state with twenty households selected from each enumeration district. This would then yield six to eight thousand individuals from two thousand households per state. The estimated sample size for the ten states will include approximately seventy thousand individuals.

The basic protocol for the study is that developed by the ICNND with slight modifications as required for the U.S. population, and the sampling procedure used.

The National Nutrition Survey design incorporates:

1. Clinical assessment, including a physical history and examination, various anthropometric measurements such as height, weight, and subcutaneous fat, and bone X-ray measurements.
2. Biochemical measurements of the levels of various substances in blood and urine.
3. Dietary assessment of nutrient intake and usual patterns of consumption.
4. Dental examinations.
5. Related data such as socio-economic status, food sources, educational status, etc.

Clinical

The purpose of the clinical assessment component of a nutrition survey is to detect physical signs and symptoms of deviation from health due to malnutrition and includes:

(1) A medical history and physical examination. In general, the physical examination evaluates long-term nutritional history as was explained earlier. The medical history, which is designed to obtain prevalent disease patterns such as infections or parasitic infestations which influence absorption and metabolism of nutrients independent of dietary intake, is useful in assessing interrelationships of nutritional status and disease.

(2) Anthropometric studies are incorporated in the clinical assessment of a nutrition survey to help determine the effect of nutrition on physical growth and development.

(3) Bone X-ray measurements afford quantification of developmental status, regardless of body build, which complicates comparisons of different populations. Bone changes are also seen in nutritional deficiency conditions such as rickets, osteomalacia, infantile scurvy, fluorosis and protein-calorie malnutrition.

Biochemical measurements

Biochemical measurements of the levels of various substances in body tissues and fluids reflect current or recent nutritional status. Depletion of body stores of nutrients is the first step in the development of nutritional deficiency disease. As the deficiency progresses, functional impairment occurs, and finally the physical changes characteristic of a clinically manifest deficiency disease appear. Biochemical measurements, therefore, allow an identification of risk populations as well as populations with frank malnutrition.

Dental examination

The dental examination includes an evaluation of dental health and the condition of the soft (periodontal) tissues of the mouth. While all dental findings cannot be claimed to result from inadequate nutrition, obvious relationship to dietary intake exists. For example, the presence of caries may be associated with a low intake of fluoride, and spongy bleeding gums indicate vitamin C deficiency. Poor dental health is defined by increased decayed-missing-filled (D.M.F.) rates. Inability to bite and chew leads to a selection of soft and readily swallowed foods which frequently are deficient in some of the essential nutrients and can lead eventually to overt malnutrition. The second major cause of inadequate dentation among the aged, periodontal disease, while due primarily to poor oral hygiene and inadequate dental care can be aggravated by nutritionally determined caries and diseases of the gums.

Dietary

Dietary intake data is an essential part of any complete nutrition study, needed to provide information on levels of nutrient intake, sources of nutrients, food habits, preparation practices and attitudes. These dietary data provide information needed for complete interpretation of the clinical and biochemical results. This information is basic to planning dietary changes and modifying or initiating new programs that have an influence on food habits and intake. The solution to problems uncovered by clinical and biochemical assessments depends upon knowledge of the eating habits and food availability within the area along with a sound program of food technology.

Other related factors

A variety of non-nutritional factors affect food choices and intake. A nutritional status study must include data collection of these items for a complete assessment of possible causes underlying malnutrition and to provide a basis for future planning. Examples of some of the related factors are:

(1) Welfare programs
(2) Food distribution programs
(3) General food availability
(4) Health and educational facilities
(5) Socio-economic and ethnic characteristics

During the development of the nutrition survey, a pilot study on the Navajo Reservation was proposed. The purpose was to obtain information on how one could best carry out a nutrition survey on the reservation. The USDA expressed some interest in the study, and agreed to support a small study in one area of the reservation, Lower Greasewood, Arizona. The Greasewood Chapter area is over 50 square miles, and is located approximately sixty miles southwest of the PHS Hospital at Fort Defiance, Arizona.

A BIA boarding school is located at the Chapter center in Lower Greasewood. About 313 families were listed on the census roles, but a number of these no longer live in the area. The total census population is 1230 persons, with 100 children at boarding schools some distance from Greasewood, and over 300 living out of the area on a semi-permanent basis. The total population in the area is 815, and all were considered part of the sample. This included all children of families in the area who were attending the boarding school at Lower Greasewood.

A modified survey protocol was used, but included the major components of the national study with the exception of the dietary. Trained nutritionists were not available to carry out the family and individual food intake study. A very limited questionnaire on food sources, food expenditures, water, cooking facilities and food storage was completed for each family. A few twenty-four hour recalls on selected individuals were completed.

A comprehensive report of the survey in Lower Greasewood is being prepared by Dr. Keith Reisinger, from the University of Pittsburgh. Dr. Reisinger served as director of the study. However, the characteristics of the population and a few comparisons with data from the preliminary report of the state survey will serve to illustrate the results of the Navajo study.

Characteristics of families

The information on the initial 126 family units studied has been evaluated in part. Slightly over one-half, 65 families, were receiving commodity foods. The purchase of food was mainly on credit or a combination of credit and cash. Only 39 families indicated that all food was purchased with cash. While the local trading posts were a major food resource, many families traveled to a nearby town to purchase food. A supermarket was opened a few weeks prior to the study at Window Rock, Arizona, and a number of families has purchased food there at the time of the survey.

Except for about fifty families living the Lower Greasewood school and clinic, the families were living in hogans and one and two room buildings dispersed over approximately 400 square miles. Of the first 126 homes, only 28 had electricity. Twenty-five of these homes had water in the home, but ten of these did not use the water for drinking, as it was salty. The remainder had to obtain their water supply some distance from their homes.

A cursory review of diet histories indicated that the number of different food items included in the Navajo diet was limited. Probably the most frequently recurring items in the diet were mutton stew and fry bread.

Anemia

Anemia appeared to be less of a problem in the sample studied at Lower Greasewood than that in the NNS. Using the standards which have been established for the evaluation of the biochemical data from the National Nutrition Survey only fifteen percent of the population had unacceptable hematocrit levels. The data calculated from the states thus far indicate that from twenty (20) to thirty (30) percent of the population fall into the unacceptable group. (Table 1)

A preliminary review of a portion of the Navajo data by age groups suggests that the problem occurs most often in the adult population. Only about ten percent of children under 12 years of age were in the unacceptable group (deficient plus low category) while in the adults group over thirty percent were in this group. (Table 2)

Additional studies have been carried out on other serum constituents related to normal hemoglobin development. The iron level in the serum, and the transferrin saturation were in the unacceptable range for twenty-one and thirty-five percent of the population respectively. Unacceptable levels of serum iron were present most often in females over 12 years of age, but were present in significant numbers of persons in all age groups. (Tab. 3)

Red cell folacin levels were in the acceptable range for ninety-eight percent of the population, indicating adequate intake of this nutrient.

Growth retardation

In the sample we have studied in the National Nutrition Survey, children between 1 and 3 years of age fall below the average height of children in the USA. Three times the expected number of children fell below the 16th percentile of Iowa growth standard. Preliminary evaluations of wristbone X-ray data suggest that some 3 to 4 percent of the children are retarded in bone growth. The Navajo data was even more striking with over 75% of the children below the 50th percentile and over 70 percent through age 10 below the 25th percentile. This may, of course, reflect a genetic potential for smaller size. (Tables 4 & 5) However, the bone growth data indicated marked retardation during the first five years of life, with growth retardation in the females more pronounced than in males. Preliminary evaluation suggests that there is catching up of physical growth in the period of 6 years to 14 years.

Vitamin C (ascorbic acid)

Preliminary data on the Navajo population studied indicates that about 7% of the group had low serum vitamin C levels. This is less than present in the population studied in the state surveys. Information presently available does not indicate that any one age group has a higher prevalence of low vitamin C serum levels.

Other nutrients

Serum vitamin A levels were in the normal range for most of the population. This was also true for urinary excretion riboflavin and thiamine. The serum protein and albumin values have not been completed.

Clinical signs

In most nutritional surveys few frank clinical signs of deficiency disease are expected. A very few changes were seen in the Navajo population studied.

A number of the subjects were found to be suffering from infection, and in some older persons chronic diseases were present. As the survey was carried out in an Indian Health Clinic, it was a simple matter to refer these cases to the physician in charge of the clinic.

While preliminary information suggests that the Navajo population at Lower Greasewood is not malnourished, a number of nutritional problems are present. Of most concern is the large number of small-for-age children. This suggests that general undernutrition or excessive disease during the first few years of life. It is probable that the picture presented is actually a combination of these two factors.

When the complete information is available on the dietary, it may be possible to obtain an indication of some of the reasons for the poorer growth in children, as well as the unacceptable serum levels for certain nutrients found during the study.

TABLE 1.—SUMMARY OF HEMATOCRIT DATA: NUTRITION SURVEYS (ALL GROUPS STUDIED)

Location	Number studied	Percent unacceptable
Alaska	100	22
Arizona	545	15
Kentucky	502	24
Louisiana	2,813	28
New York	631	31
Texas	2,792	24
Rio Grande	525	20

TABLE 2.—HEMATOCRIT DATA: NAVAJO INDIANS, ARIZONA

Age group	Number studied	Deficient (percent)	Low (percent)	Acceptable (percent)
Children (0 to 5 years)	27	4	7	89
Children (6 to 12 years)	84	1	8	91
Women (over 12 years)	67	3	34	63
Men (over 12 years)	36	3	28	69
All groups	214	2	20	78

TABLE 3.—SERUM IRON AND TRANSFERRIN SATURATION DATA, NAVAJO INDIANS, ARIZONA

Age group	Number studied	Data studied [1]	Percent unacceptable
0 to 5 years	23	SI	17
		TS	25
6 to 12 years	82	SI	17
		TS	38
Over 12 years, female	66	SI	29
		TS	38
Over 12 years, male	36	SI	19
		TS	25
All groups	207	SI	21
		TS	35

[1] SI, serum iron; TS, transferrin saturation.

TABLE 4.—NAVAJO, MALE, 0 TO 14 YEARS

Percentile (on Iowa growth chart)	Age (heights)									
	Less than 2		2 to 4		5 to 9		10 to 14		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Less than 3d	6	40	17	51	13	19	5	10	41	24
3d to 9.9th	1	7	6	18	15	22	13	25	35	21
10th to 24.9th	2	13	2	6	20	29	9	18	33	20
25th to 49.9th	2	13	2	6	13	19	13	25	30	18
50th to 74.9th	0		1	3	6	9	4	8	11	7
75th to 89.9th	2	13	1	3	1	1	2	4	6	4
90th to 96.9th	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	1	0
97th and greater	2	13	3	9	1	1	5	10	11	7
Total	15		33		69		51		168	
Percent below 50th percentile		73		61		89		78		83

TABLE 5.—NAVAJO, FEMALE 0 TO 14 YEARS

Percentile (on Iowa growth chart)	Age (heights)									
	Less than 2		2 to 4		5 to 9		10 to 14		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Less than 3d	3	20	9	43	10	14	8	15	30	19
3d to 9.9th	3	20	6	29	17	24	13	24	39	24
10th to 24.9th	0	0	1	5	17	24	11	20	29	18
25th to 49.9th	4	27	5	24	11	16	14	26	34	21
50th to 74.9th	2	13	0	0	11	16	5	9	18	11
75th to 89.9th	0	0	0	0	4	6	2	4	6	4
90th to 96.9th	2	13	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	1
97th and greater	1	7	0	0	1	1	1	0	3	2
Total	15		21		71		54		161	
Percent below 50th Percentile		67		100		77		85		82

Senator **Yarborough**. Senator Kennedy, I am a member of that subcommittee. We have had testimony this month from nutritionists and medical doctors and psychiatrists, psychologists, that 90 percent of the development of the child's brain takes place by the time they are 4 years of age.

Undernourishment and malnutrition before that age leaves permanent mental retardation.

Dr. **Van Dusen**. Those testimonies are far more valuable than mine. I am a pediatrician. I am a practicing physician. I just take care of kids. But I know in my heart that their research is right because I have seen this over my entire medical life.

Would you like to see some pictures that I have of patients? These are amateur photographs. I apologize, I hesitated to bring them.

(Slides.)

Dr. **Van Dusen**. This is a favorite one of my colleagues because this woman is very typical with a malnourished child. She has lost her breast milk and she has come in and she says—we said the baby is not growing right. It is getting skinny. She says, "What do I do? I don't have breast milk." We said, "You will have to feed him an evaporated milk formula."

She says, "How can I get it?" Then the social thing comes in.

Senator **Yarborough**. What tribe is that?

Dr. **Van Dusen**. Navajo. This is taken in the clinic.

Senator **Kennedy**. The social workers have not been coming in for all those kids that were starving? Where were they? What is the problem there?

Dr. **Van Dusen**. No jobs, no money, maybe living on surplus commodities which are inadequate.

Senator **Kennedy**. Were there church agencies? Who was trying to help the community?

Dr. **Van Dusen**. The Federal Government under your Agriculture Department. This is a Kwashiorkor on the day of admission.

Senator **Mondale**. How long would that child have been without help before she was brought in here?

Dr. **Van Dusen**. As near as I can figure out from the histories of the children I have taken care of, if you put a child who is already undernourished, who is beginning to have growth failure, if you take away all his milk or his other normal source of protein it takes about 6 weeks of almost total absence of protein to produce Kwashiorkor.

To me the best way of talking about marasmus and Kwashiorkor would be that this is the decompensated state of malnutrition, especially with Kwashiorkor.

You have to have a child that is not growing well. He is already in trouble. Then if you cut out his protein, boom, the bottom falls out.

When you get a child like this, just feeding him food is not going to do a darn thing, he won't be able to use that food.

You have to go on to special formulas because he is intolerant of certain types of fat, intolerant of certain types of sugar and it is just plain difficult to get these children to accept food. They have a tremendous diarrhea and what-have-you.

Senator **Mondale**. Why wasn't that child brought in sooner?

Dr. **Van Dusen**. This is one of the most difficult things to have to answer. When a mother brings in a child, she very seldom says he is starving or he is hungry or he is getting thin or he is not doing well.

What they bring him in is for the pneumonia or the diarrhea, mostly the diarrhea. The diarrhea in these cases is most often not an infectious diarrhea but what we call a malabsorption diarrhea. They have got to the state where they cannot use food and it goes squirting out.

This becomes a problem because the diarrhea produces more malnutrition and malnutrition causes more diarrhea. Then they get in a state where they are most susceptible to infection and you really get into a mess.

I have seen children with severe pneumonia on postmortem who had had X-rays taken the day before or the day of death and there would be very little pneumonia showing on the X-ray.

On postmortem there would be tremendous amounts of pneumonia. If you do a white blood count on these children, although the white count illustrates very tremendously with this type of infection, they will have a perfectly normal white count.

If you take the temperature of these children, most children with pneumonia will have a fever, but these kids will have no fever, may have below normal temperature. In fact, one of the pictures I have of this little girl she has a hot water bottle next to her. The reason was that we were trying to keep her temperature up somewhere near normal. They can have very low temperature and be desperately sick.

This little girl did survive. Here is another picture of her with the hot water bottle. The dirt on her skin here and here is not dirt. It is flaky dermatitis. The skin is dry skin that flakes off. Actually, she was almost raw at the arms.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Is that almost raw from malnutrition?

Dr. VAN DUSEN. This is because the skin becomes infected and flakes off. I had one child with Kwashiorkor; the first time I saw her, the first few seconds I saw her, I thought she had burned totally. It was just dermatitis as one of the manifestations of Kwashiorkor.

This is she a month later—a month. I figured out one time the hospital cost at our place, which is very low, and Congress is getting their money's worth out of the care we give them, it was $20 per day at that time.

It cost me about $600 a pound to rejuvenate these children. Now it is running around $600 to $700 a pound if you want to put it in rather funny terms.

This was 2½ months later and our little friend is beginning to learn to walk. She was over 2½ years old at the time that was taken.

This is just before she is going out. And the smile is pretty important because this is a different child. She has a chance but her brain may still be damaged.

Senator MONDALE. In your opinion, is it likely that she suffered permanent stunting of the brain?

Dr. VAN DUSEN. Oh, yes.

Senator MONDALE. That is permanent?

Dr. VAN DUSEN. As near as I can tell. The school teachers inevitably send them back to me about 6 or 7 years later and want to know why this child is not doing well.

This is another boy who came in just about the same time as this little girl did. He was not near as bad as she was but he had lesions at the corners of his mouth, possibly an isolated vitamin D deficiency. He also shows the skinniness.

His skinniness is not quite as marked as you would anticipate because he is also quite short.

In other words, this takes months for it to start showing on Kwashiorkor because he is also slightly stunted.

Pediatricians have a little funny sense of humor. We were trying to make up an early romance with these two children. Unfortunately, the little boy is dead because a 1½ ton truck backed up over him about 3 months after he left the hospital. So our attempts were not very successful.

This is a group of little children. Again, our sense of humor. Some of these were malnutrition. They look like 1- and 2-month children but some of these children are 6 and 8 months old, but they are getting better.

I don't know if that helps you. I realize that these are not as good pictures as you would like but they are the only pictures I have. I don't like to take pictures of unpretty things and mothers and fathers don't like me to take their pictures.

These are not for publication but I thought it might be helpful to you to see a little bit.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Dr. Van Dusen, there is an article in the New York Times today, "Hunger in America."

In the main, it discusses your work. This is on page 29 of the New York Times. This picture in the upper right is of a Navajo family. Here is an ad on the same page on all these high-rise hotels, "There are more than 100 hotels within sight of Waikiki Beach, which one is best for you?" This is in affluent America today on the same page of the paper.

Dr. VAN DUSEN. I know what you mean.

The CHAIRMAN. I ask that this whole article from the New York Times be printed in the record.

(The document referred to follows:)

[From the New York Times]

HUNGER IN AMERICA: MEXICANS AND INDIANS ITS STOICAL VICTIMS

(By Homer Bigart)

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Senator MONDALE. I noticed the other day when the Kennedy Airport was locked in with snow that all of the ingenuity of mankind was immediately brought to bear to feed those people who were probably overweight. We had helicopters, we had appeals to national emergency, telegrams to every politician in the country.

It was a scandal; there were 2,000 people out there without enough to eat. We fed them all in an awful hurry. It was thought to be intolerable that upper- and middle-class Americans should miss a meal. Alongside of that we have an established, undeniable fact that there are not 2,000 but millions of Americans stunted in body and mind, afflicted through malnutrition with all the other costs which flow from that, both human and economic.

I think it is a devastating criticism of the value system of this country that we can respond so quickly in the one instance and seem so paralyzed with respect to the other.

I just do not understand it.

Dr. VAN DUSEN. We had a little snowstorm, too, a year ago, if you will remember. It took us a week to convince anybody we were in trouble. I know I had the experience of going up in the helicopters when they finally did come around. It was quite an experience.

But those people did surprisingly well. They were short of food but they are always short of food so it didn't make much difference.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Did they lose many of their cattle?

Dr. VAN DUSEN. Oh, yes.

Senator YARBOROUGH. How many would you say?

Dr. VAN DUSEN. I dont' know but some people were just wiped out.

Senator YARBOROUGH. They were more impoverished than ever as a result of that blizzard.

Dr. VAN DUSEN. For a while they were living high off the land because as the sheep would die they would butcher them and hang them up in the freezing weather. Those who could get to the sheep lived high off the land for a while but, of course, after a while that was gone.

Senator YARBOROUGH. They were living off their capital fast.

Dr. VAN DUSEN. It was the only thing they could do.

I did have some ideas about—this was the most important part I thought about the medical thing but I did have some ideas about the boarding schools that I would like to mention.

Senator MONDALE. We will include your full testimony as though read. You can pick up the parts that you think should be emphasized.

Dr. VAN DUSEN. At the present time, I don't see any possibility to get rid of the boarding schools for the Hopi and Navajo children but there is something which we have to do imemdiately and that is, I am particularly concerned about the care and supervision of the children during their out-of-class time.

The major problem in my mind is that there is just not enough personnel in the guidance departments of the schools. With the existing numbers of personnel, it is totally impossible for them to even live up to the name of guidance personnel, regardless of their possible qualifications.

It would be much more justified to call them custodial personnel. I am constantly aware of their frustrations as individuals and as a group. One cannot spend time being motherly, or encouraging, or advisory when one has charge of the physical needs of 50 to 150 children. I find that in some cases it is 200 children.

Most parents consider five to six a real challenge. Given sufficient numbers of people to give 24 hours guidance to these boarding school children, I believe in-service training programs can train these people to do a creditable job.

As it is, the schools I know about use the personnel in split shifts, which I understand is illegal, and reduced coverage at night in order to get as much coverage during the off-school waking hours as possible.

Specially trained personnel have to spend valuable time just keeping things going rather than working at those jobs they are most capable of doing.

Television, hobby supplies, Girl and Boy Scout materials, recreational supplies should be planned for and not considered an expendable part of the budget or dependent upon the scrounging abilities or charity of someone.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Doctor, I have three conflicting engagements, but I stayed here because of the interest in this subject.

I want to supplement what Senator Mondale of Minnesota said. This subcommittee was created out of this Labor and Public Welfare Committee because of the general interest of this committee, the specific interest of Robert Kennedy, and others. He was chairman of it.

At the same time, out of this committee, our subcommittee headed by Senator Robert F. Kennedy, has grown the Special Committee on Malnutrition on Hunger headed by Senator McGovern on which Senator Mondale and I and a number of others, four from this committee alone, serve.

So, from the hunger studies, the study of Indians, and these have come out of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee through special subcommittee and investigating committees, we are hoping to alert America to this problem, of malnutrition both among Indians, and generally throughout the land.

I believe America is about ready to reach a consensus that the people are ready to end hunger in America. We know that we are spending about $3 billion a month on the war in Vietnam, $36 billion a year.

Just before he went out of office, Secretary of Agriculture Freeman estimated they were spending a little over a billion dollars on the food packages now and on the food stamps and on the breakfast and lunches for children in the school lunch program.

He estimated that for $1 billion more we could have enough food to end malnutrition. Now, other estimates are higher, but nobody puts it over $3 billion. The highest estimate that we had was that for $3 billion more the Federal Government could end hunger and malnutrition—both are not synonymous as you know as a doctor—end malnutrition in America.

To me it is a small price to pay for the price of 1 month of the war in Vietnam. I am proud of the fact I serve on this committee, and this year have the honor to be chairman. And out of this committee has come the studies that awakened America to this problem.

I want to express my appreciation to the news media, the press, and the broadcasting. I think the press has been more alert to this than the broadcast media, helping to educate Americans, from what I know from what I have heard in my own State, to help alert America to this problem and to the great need that we have in this field.

I want to thank you for the contribution you are making here to the education of America as to this problem. I regret that I have to leave.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. The chairman did not comment, but one of the reasons the committee is doing this kind of work is because he believes in it.

We are indeed fortunate to have Senator Yarborough as our chairman.

Dr. VAN DUSEN. I will stop there unless you have any more questions.

Senator MONDALE. One thing I would suggest. I have a copy of your study entitled "Protein-Calorie Malnutrition Among Navajo and Hopi Children," scheduled to be published in the American Journal of Nutrition.

We might read for the record the summary of that survey:

> **The hospital charts of children admitted with malnutrition to the USPHS Indian Hospital in Tuba City, Arizona, were reviewed for the five-year period of 1963–67, inclusive.**
>
> **There were 616 children with a diagnosis of malnutrition. 587 had heights and weights below the norms for this chronological ages. Fifteen had Kwashiorkor and 29 had marasmus.**
>
> **Total serum protein and serum albumin were reduced in the cases of Kwashiorkor.**
>
> **The occurrence of these calorie and protein deficiency diseases constitutes a major public health problem on the western half of the Navajo Reservation.**
>
> **The heights and weights of Head Start children gathered from all over the reservation show severe growth retardation.**
>
> **This is probably the end result of chronic caloric and protein malnutrition acting in synergism with repeated bacterial and viral infections causing repeated episodes of gastroenterities and respiratory infections, and contributing to increased infant mortality.**

I would suggest that this study be included in the hearing record in its entirety, if you have no objection.

(The material referred to can be found in the appendix.)

Thank you very much, Doctor. I truly regret that we do not have more time.

The most impressive witness in my opinion that we have had thus far before the Nutrition Committee, was a pediatrician, Dr. Lowe. I think thus far he has been the most effective witness we have had, not because the others are not terribly important but because this is showing through the eyes of the medical doctor the profound human cost of this neglect in an area that can be corrected

Education is so general, everybody is still guessing. Nobody can argue, it is either Kwashiorkor or it is not. One case of Kwashiorkor in this country is a damnable disgrace.

As I understand it, the whole Shaffer study in all these other areas has turned up as much Kwashiorkor as you have in your one clinic in the western half of the Navajo Reservation.

Dr. VAN DUSEN. That is correct.

I had contact with a man in Denver who was interested in nutrition. Last year, to their shocking surprise, they found three cases in Denver which have not been published yet.

I do have the largest series in the United States.

Senator MONDALE. What did the Department of Agriculture do when you told them about this?

Dr. VAN DUSEN. You heard about it in the newspapers, sir. I didn't hear about it directly. I am too far down the totem pole.

Senator MONDALE. Do they have food stamps there?

Dr. VAN DUSEN. No, we have just commodities. As a result of all the publicity, last November surplus commodities were increased. Then in the last month there has been a new program to supplement feeding for preschool children and infants and nursing mothers, and pregnant women.

Senator MONDALE. Do you now have an Outreach program that goes to these families where there is malnutrition?

Dr. VAN DUSEN. No.

Senator MONDALE. It is still a case of someone presenting them, maybe too late, to a doctor and then you might go out and do something about it.

Dr. VAN DUSEN. We have done our best in the past but it has been extremely difficult and unproductive.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much.

(The statement referred to follows:)

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DR. JEAN VAN DUSEN, PEDIATRICIAN, TUBA CITY PUBLIC HEALTH HOSPITAL, TUBA CITY, ARIZ.

I am honored to respond to your request to appear before you. I hope that my testimony is of assistance in your deliberations.

My testimony is based upon my personal observations as a physician on the Navajo Indian Reservation. The opinions expressed are my own, and they may or may not agree with those of others in the Public Health Service or my superiors.

For many years, I have been concerned with the health and welfare of the Navajo and Hopi children served by the Hospital at Tuba City, Arizona. I believe that some of the medical problems existing have a definite effect upon the future educational opportunity and performances of the children. One of my major concerns is that of malnutrition. Until very recently, we could only guess at the extent of the problem. Ongoing attempts to improve our records and reporting methods should give more satisfactory information in the future. I can report on some of the information yet to be published, that was obtained this summer. Mr. John Secondi, a medical student, was supported by the University of Vanderbilt Medical School and the Congress of American Indians. With the assistance of Dr. James Carter, we were able to review the problem of protein-calorie malnutrition as seen in our hospital. We reviewed the records of all admissions under five years of age for the past five years. There were 5,430 records reviewed. Of these, 116 of the children had a diagnosis of malnutrition. There were also 27 cases of marasmus and 17 cases of Kwashiorkor. The mortality was 48% for marasmus and 13% for Kwashiorkor. All of the cases of marasmus were under eight months of age, the mean was 3 months of age. The cases of Kwashiorkor were from 5 months to 30 months of age with a mean of 14 months of age. These two disease entities are admittedly the most severe forms of protein-calorie malnutrition. The high fatality rate indicates the severity of the medical problem.

Of even more importance is the evidence being accumulated recently, that such episodes of severe malnutrition has an effect upon the future learning potential of the children. As yet we do not know what degree of malnutrition causes what degree of damage to the brain. Another facet of our study this summer, was to gather the heights and weights of children on the Navajo Reservation Preschool program. These children ranged from age 3 to 7 years of age. Records from 948 children over the entire reservation were utilized. When compared with the standard Boston Curves, 30 percent of the boys and 29 percent of the girls fell below the 3% line in height. As regards to weight, 8 percent of the boys and 9% of the girls fell below the 3% line. This would indicate that early in life malnutrition existed sufficiently to disturb growth and produce stunting of height. Subsequently, many of the children gained weight but could not overcome the stunting. These are the children who are apt to enter school with biological disadvantages in regards to ability to learn. The apparent types of damage are particularly in those difficult to measure abilities of hand-eye, ear-eye, hand-ear coordination. These are the basic tools needed in order to learn language, reading and writing. I am sure that others far more capable than I am will be testifying before you about these special problems of learning.

The past programs of school lunches and surplus commodities have been of definite help to the Navajo and Hopi people. However, very little of these programs are directed to the needs of those most at risk, the infant and the young preschool child. A child who is breast fed is protected from the problem of early malnutrition as long as the breast milk remains available. The tragedy is that undernourished mothers do not produce sufficient breast milk, and closely spaced pregnancies either push an infant off available breast milk in favor of a newer baby, or, in time, the mother ceases to produce even a little milk. Artificial feeding of infants is satisfactory, if one has the cash income to buy milk in sufficient quantities, and if the milk can be stored in a sanitary way until used. Milk, either breast or some form of cows milk, is the basis of the infant's and young child's diet. It is the cheapest and most available form of both calories and protein. Additions to the diet of cereals, fruits, vegetables, and meats are necessary to produce a balanced diet. Milk is the backbone of the infant diet. I am told that at one time Navajo goats produced milk that was used to good advantage by the people. There are still numbers of goats around but I have heard of only 2–3 occasions in the past 14 years of my patients being able to depend upon such a supply. I am sure that you have recent figures of family income of the people. Those in the lower levels of income cannot afford even the cheapest evaporated milk. Dried skim milk is not an adequate feeding for the infant because of the reduced caloric value. Recently I understand that supplies of evaporated milk have been added to the surplus commodities being distributed. The allotment is two large cans per child per month. Consumer education and adult education is needed on the Chapter House level to assist parents in adjusting to the new cash economy.

The unemployment on the reservation is most discouraging. Recent articles in Arizona Republic disclosed that previous methods of reporting unemployment in Arizona has hidden the true figures for Indians. I know this to be true for the families that I work with. This hits the children in two important ways. First, it deprives the families of the means of providing the necessities of life. Secondly, it prevents the child from seeing the future possibilities of productive work in his own life pattern. I dared to dream of being a doctor as a child, but I had the opportunity to choose from many other professions and jobs. I never felt that there might not be work available for me or a future husband. Most Navajo children do not have the opportunity of knowing family or friends who work in any variety of jobs. There are not many kinds of jobs available. Getting a job would appear to be more a matter of luck than due to ability or training.

There are a few other medical problems I would like to discuss that affect the school child. Although much improvement has been made through the efforts of Public Health Service, Navajo Tribe and the Schools in the discovery of visual defects, prescribing of glasses, fitting of glasses and care of glasses, there are still many children who should have glasses who do not. A major health problem is still that of chronic infection of ears. There has been a great reduction in the severity of infections and the number of children involved. I consider it one of the personal achievements of my fourteen years on the reservation to have been a part of the effort to treat and prevent hearing problems. The problem is still much too great to be considered solved. As yet there is no special education using special aids for the teaching of the hard of hearing to my knowledge. In spite of increased medical attention to the problem, environmental factors of nutrition, housing, adequate clothing and sanitation continue to assure that new cases of chronic infection will appear.

The major medical problem of infectious diseases such as diarrhea, pneumonia, meningitis will contribute to the pool of children who enter school with bodies and minds damaged in various degrees. Diarrhea with severe dehydration does cause various degrees of brain damage. Recurrent pneumonia as we often see it in the young child with its high fever, contributes instances of damaged children. Attempts by the Bureau of Indian Affairs schools and Public Health Service to identify children with special learning problems, and to provide diagnostic and special education has been repeatedly instituted, and frustrated. The problems continue to be men, money and material.

I have worked with many people over the past years working for the health and education of the children. They have been capable and devoted people. They have instituted many improvements with the help of Congress and the Tribal officials and the Navajo people themselves. I would not want anyone to think that I felt that nothing has been done. Much has been done and we should be proud of the many improvements evident, especially in this year of the Centennial of the Navajo Tribal Peace Treaty. I do not think we can be completely satisfied because the job we have committed ourselves to has not been completely satisfactory.

At the present time, I do not see that it is possible to even suggest that we have only day schools for all of the Navajo or Hopi children. The widely scattered population and inadequate roads is a major deterent, let alone the problem of economically building and staffing small, widely scattered schools. We will continue to depend in part on boarding schools for the educational needs of the children. We must do something quickly about the quality of those schools. I am particularly concerned about the care and supervision of the children during their out-of-class time. The major problem in my mind is that there is just not enough personnel in the guidance departments of the schools. With the existing numbers of personnel, it is totally impossible for them to even live up to the name of Guidance Personnel, regardless of their possible qualifications. It would be much more justified to call them custodial personnel. I am constantly aware of their frustrations as individuals and as a group. One cannot spend time being motherly, or encouraging, or advisory when one has charge of the physical needs of 50–150 children. Most parents consider 5–6 a real challenge. Given sufficient numbers of people to give 24 hours guidance to these boarding school children, I believe in-service training programs can train these people to do a creditable job. As it is, the schools I know about use their personnel in split shifts, and reduced coverage at night in order to get as much coverage during the off-school waking hours as possible. Specially-trained personnel have to spend valuable time just keeping things going rather than working at those jobs they are most capable of doing. Television, hobby supplies, Girl and Boy Scout materials, recreational supplies should be planned for and not considered an expendable part of the budget or dependent upon the scrouging abilities or charity of someone.

The curriculum of the schools is the subject of much discussion. I believe that I am in a position only to comment in general terms. What the parents seem to want is exactly the same as any other American parent. They want their children given adequate preparation to be able to work at available jobs, and to live as intelligent adults and parents. A certain proportion can be expected to go on to college or technical schools if they have adequate preparation. The Navajo Tribe has given priority in their budget for scholarships. Some people are disappointed in the overall performance of the children in schools of higher learning. I believe that potential college and technically trainable children should be searched for and identified early in their scholastic careers. They should then be exposed to possible interests that would assist then in deciding on their futures. This cannot wait for a career day in the senior year of high school. I believe that the attempts to identify children with learning difficulties should be continued and special classes instituted, if for no other reason than to permit those children with more potential to receive more time and effort from the regular classroom teacher. The research projects being done in the field of teaching English as a second language should be continued and information learned implemented as fast as possible in all the schools.

The efforts to teach special Navajo or Indian history and culture should be increased. Incidentally, I understand that one of the major psychiatric problems of the young Indian adult is his sense of alienation or confusion as to his identity. The sense of tribal identity is a most important emotional factor in preserving the emotional stability of these children. One of the great assets of Indians, as I know them, is the ability to adopt aspects of other cultures and utilize them in their own special ways. The Navajo has this characteristic to a great degree. If you show him it works, he will take it over as his own. Weaving, silversmithing, sheep raising, farming have all been learned from different cultures, and today we all consider these arts as purely Navajo.

We have a group of people identified as Indians in our country today that have not contributed as much as they could have, and have not benefited as much as they should have, as Americans. Their differences from the predominate culture is both their asset and their damnation. America needs them as productive, intelligent and imaginative citizens. We must give their children those tools of healthy bodies and minds in the same degree that we insist on for other Americans.

(Due to mechanical limitation, the four charts supplied were not reproducible.)

Senator MONDALE. Our next witness, and we are most grateful he has waited this long to testify, is Vincent Price, and with him are Lloyd New and Alvin Josephy, Commissioners, Arts and Crafts Board, Department of the Interior.

Thank you so much for waiting.

STATEMENT OF VINCENT PRICE, CHAIRMAN OF THE INDIAN ARTS AND CRAFTS BOARD, ACCOMPANIED BY: LLOYD NEW AND ALVIN M. JOSEPHY, JR., COMMISSIONERS, INDIAN ARTS AND CRAFTS BOARD, DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Mr. PRICE. Senator Mondale, Mr. Chairman, and members of this subcommittee, it is indeed gratifying to be received this morning as Chairman of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board. My colleagues and I welcome this invitation to appear before you.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to make a few brief comments regarding the Indian Arts and Crafts Board and its specific interest in Indian education.

My colleagues, Commissioner Lloyd New and Commissioner Alvin M. Josephy will assist me and will comment on their special fields of interest and activity.

Commissioner New is a Cherokee Indian who has served on this Board for 8 years and he is the director of the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe, N. Mex.

Commissioner Josephy is an editor for the American Heritage Publishing Co., is a noted Indian historian and author of several definitive studies of the American Indian.

The Indian Arts and Crafts Board was established by an act of Congress in 1935. The Secretary of the Interior appoints five Commissioners who serve for 4-year terms without pay.

The mandate this Board has from Congress is to promote the development of Indian arts and crafts through authorized functions which allow the Board to approach development in a conceptual manner, stimulating new ideas, and giving guidance and counsel to educational and cultural programs.

As a part of our functions, we administer three museums of American Indian culture.

Historically, this Board has been deeply interested in education. In 1960, it was this Board that recommended the establishment of the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe, N. Mex., which was established the following year by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

This Board assumed the responsibility of serving as advisers to the Institute at the request of the Bureau and the Secretary of the Interior.

This past year, as a result of meetings with the native peoples in Alaska, officials at the University of Alaska and other educators in the State school system, and observing and discussing the Bureau of Indian Affairs schools with their top officials, this Board recommended the establishment of a Cultural Institute for the State of Alaska.

With your permission, I would like to submit for the record the document from this Board to the Secretary of the Interior.

Senator MONDALE. Without objection it will be included at the end of your remarks.

Mr. PRICE. Thank you.

Plans for the Cultural Institute of Alaska are currently being developed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the University of Alaska.

As a member of the Board for the past 12 years, I have felt my personal concern lay in making known to the largest possible public, not only the much-publicized plight of the Indian, nor even what is being done about it—as much as informing the public that the Indian is doing something for himself.

It was when I saw the broad possibilities in the educational philosophy of the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe that I felt I was seeing for the first time a correct solution of present Indian educational problems and a direction for the future.

That philosophy which is to help and encourage the young Indian to reidentify with his own cultural past is, to my mind, the only successful way to bring him or her proudly and lastingly back into the American family.

If he cannot take pride and draw inspiration from his own heritage, how can we expect him to accept the one we have thrust upon him and from which we have excluded him.

That this is the first major study of its kind to be made on Indian education is in itself evidence enough of our neglect of it.

In view of the historical failure of Indian education, we have at last in the Institute of American Indian Arts a going demonstration of an approach to Indian education. With your permission, I would like to ask Commissioner New to give you a more detailed account of the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much.

(The document referred to follows:)

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
INDIAN ARTS AND CRAFTS BOARD,
Washington, D.C., April 1, 1968.

MEMORANDUM

To: Secretary of the Interior.
From: Indian Arts and Crafts Board.
Subject: The Board's visit to Alaska: Report and recommendations.

I. BACKGROUND

From February 17–25, 1968, four Commissioners of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board, including Vice Chairman Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., and Commissioners Mitchell A. Wilder, Royal B. Hassrick, and Lloyd New, visited Alaska. The trip's purpose was to acquaint the Board more intimately with the educational and cultural problems of the native peoples of Alaska; with the relationship of those problems to the future development and well-being of all the people of Alaska; and with the knowledge necessary for the Board to fulfill a proper and effective role in Alaska.

The Commissioners met with numerous native and non-native leaders in Juneau, Anchorage, Nome, Fairbanks, and Sitka, examining problems, studying questions and needs, and acquiring ideas and counsel that would assist the Board in determining what it might best do to activate and encourage programs that would most effectively, within its charter and resources, meet the aims and needs of the native peoples and the State.

As a result of these meetings the Board reached certain conclusions and took some immediate actions. The findings, actions, and recommendations to the Secretary follow.

II. THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS, MARCH 6, 1968

Certain statements and sections in President Johnson's superb and inspiring message to Congress March 6, 1968, on the American Indians are so relevant to the findings of the Board in Alaska that they must be underscored as a preamble to this report.

From its findings in Alaska the Board wishes to confirm the necessity in the future of supporting the President's goal of ensuring "that programs reflect the needs and desires" of the native peoples. The Board wishes to confirm the need, as pointed out by the President, to encourage native involvement in the educational process; to use, wherever possible, native teacher aides as well as trained teachers; to provide native children with the finest teachers, familiar with native history, culture, and language; to feature an enriched curriculum, special guidance and counseling programs, and instructional techniques and materials designed to meet the special requirements of the individual native groups; and to make the native school a vital part of the native community, helping to provide natives with whatever training is necessary to enable them to serve as school board members.

These and other parts of the President's message have a fundamental relevancy to the Board's programs everywhere in the United States. In Alaska, especially, as will be pointed out below, arts and crafts are very much a two-way street in their relation to the education of the natives. The ultimate success or failure of arts and crafts programs depend on educational concepts and methods, and the use of arts and crafts correctly can be one of the greatest tools in bold, new educational concepts suggested by the President.

In short, the Board feels the urgency of making known that its findings in Alaska confirm the need for full support of the President's proposals as summarized above.

III. CULTURAL EDUCATION

The Board found that education which gives the Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut knowledge of—and therefore pride in—their historic and cultural heritage is almost non-existent, either in BIA or in State public schools in Alaska. In the very few places where such an attempt is made, it is poorly conceived and inadequate. From the Board's point of view, the denial to Alaskian native youths of a well-defined interpretation of their heritage is alienating them from attaining the security necessary if they are to contribute to the larger society of the State in all its aspects, including the arts. The success—even the existence—of arts and crafts programs, for one example, must rest on the native's awareness of, and pride in, their own heritage.

The Board found abundant evidence that the native peoples themselves desire this cultural education for their young. It was requested repeatedly by officers and members of different camps of the Alaska Native Brotherhood at Juneau and Sitka; by Emil Notti and others of the Alaska Federation of Natives at Anchorage; by officers and members of the Fairbanks Native Association, including Howard Rock of the TUNDRA TIMES; by a spokesman for the Arctic Slope Native Association; and by the President and many members of the Village Council of the King Island Eskimos at Nome.

The Board was impressed by the intensity of the natives' feelings on this matter, and in discussions with the President and top staff members at the University of Alaska; the President of Alaska Methodist University; Representative Mildred Banfield, Chairman of the Health, Welfare and Education Committee of the State House of Representatives; other members of the State legislature; and officers of the State Council on the Arts found a recognition of the cultural deficiencies in the present educational situation, as well as a sense of what is needed and an eagerness to join in developing new concepts.

At the present time there is no program in Alaska adequately designed to bring about needed new concepts. The University of Alaska is gradually developing new textbooks for public libraries (King Island Eskimo children still use *Dick and Jane* books at the Nome public school, where the native dropout rate is high). The University is also making an effort to train teachers who will live in isolated native communities. But the program at best will have only limited financing and modest goals.

Among many non-native Alaskans the real need is obscured by debate over whether natives should be schooled by the Bureau of Indian Affairs or the State. The natives themselves differ. Some prefer BIA schools, but only because they say that the BIA provides hot lunches. Most prefer State schools because of the tendency of the BIA to set up a school complex as an enclave of modern buildings with all necessary facilities set apart from the natives' village—something like the manor of the rich or the compound of a colonial administrator. The BIA seems totally unaware of, or indifferent to, the deep resentments this breeds.

On this point, therefore, the Board would like to make two recommendations:

1. That the BIA, which funds hot lunches for children at its own schools, underwrite a similar hot lunch program for native children at State schools if it is not already doing so.

2. That the BIA examine the Board's findings of native dissatisfaction over the "enclave" nature of BIA schools in villages, and make every effort to integrate that physical plant and the educational personnel into the social entity of the native village.

The Board believes that debate over BIA-versus-State schools at this time should not be the major issue. The real question is, which system will first recognize the cultural education needs of the native children and do something about it.

The Board feels that the BIA has a responsibility to take the initiative in this matter as quickly as possible, and show the way to the State. The Board itself feels a very great responsibility to the BIA and would welcome the closest and warmest relations between the Board and the BIA. To this end, the Board proposes that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs consider utilizing the Board as a consultative group to the Assistant Commissioner, Education, on the developing of concepts, techniques, and materials for the effective integrating of cultural education in BIA schools in Alaska as well as the rest of the United States.

Such concepts could take many directions, including the use in BIA schools of specially trained graduates of the Indian Art Institute in Santa Fe.

Most importantly, however, the Board recommends for the Secretary's immediate consideration the establishment of a Cultural Institute for the State of Alaska.

Such a Cultural Institute would be an exciting and totally new concept for the education of the native peoples of Alaska. It would be an innovative institution where the native people can learn to be productive citizens, drawing on their heritage for strength, and utilizing it in developing the skills and knowledge necessary to participate fully in the contemporary world.

Because it is innovative it will require new learning techniques, a dedicated and imaginative faculty, the highest quality facilities to service and house it, and funds to accomplish the job effectively. Its development should begin as soon as possible, with full recognition that the cost will be relatively high and that it will produce measurable results only in terms of many years.

The Commissioners of this Board are confident that establishing the Cultural Institute is a valid and necessary goal and recommend that discussions with the Board be held at the highest levels of Federal, State and local government and with the Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut leadership to develop the concept for earliest implementation. As a first step, the Board would appreciate an opportunity to meet with the Secretary at an early date to discuss the proposal in greater depth.

IV. CULTURAL PRESERVATION PROGRAMS

1. Totem pole preservation

The preservation and restoration of totem poles is a major consideration today of native and non-native groups in Alaska, including the Governor's office; the Alaska State Museum; the Department of the Interior; the Department of Agriculture; the Alaska State Council on the Arts; and the Alaska Native Brotherhood. Concerted efforts, through meetings and the preparation of a proposal for funding, have resulted in an awareness of the urgent need to take action and implement a preservation and restoration program.

The Board fears, however, that implementation has gotten bogged down—and will continue to be bogged down—because of the present "Committee approach" to the problem. There appear to be already too many cooks in the kitchen, and the minutes of the committee, which is directing the project in Alaska, show little real progress or evidence of determined direction. Up to now, accomplishment appears to consist solely of agreement on the need for pre-planning funds to determine the extent of preservation and restoration that will be necessary, and to engage professional specialists to prepare a program of action. The amount of these funds, as proposed by the professional staff of the Alaska State Museum, is $36,000, but to our knowledge the committee has not yet been able to find a source even for these pre-planning funds.

The Board feels that at this stage it should recommend that the Secretary look into the situation personally with a view of getting the totem poles project on the right track as quickly as possible. The Secretary might like to consider the appointment of a personal representative of his own—preferably a man of the caliber of August Heckscher who is not in the Federal Government—to take over the leadership of the project temporarily. What appears to be needed is a small working group of only five people—a strong administrative director; a spokesman for the Alaska Native Brotherhood; an archeologist, possibly from the Smithsonian Institution; a wood preservation expert; and a U.S. Forest Service official who can act with authority. The present large standing committee should be converted into some kind of Board of Sponsors or Advisory Group.

Studies and photographs have been made and, save for minor exception, need not be made again. Most of the totem poles are on U.S. Forest Service land, and the Secretary's personal representative could provide initiative in determining exactly what assistance is needed from the Department of Agriculture in order to move quickly. A plan of action, step by step, together with budget requirements, needs to be drawn up rapidly. As soon as that is done, the plan and budget request can be presented to known sources of private funds. These sources, which apparently do exist, will not be interested until the full plan and estimated costs are available for inspection.

Finally the Board believes it mandatory that the entire totem pole preservation program be carried forward under the auspices of the Alaska Native Brotherhood.

2. Demonstration workshop, Sitka National Monument

Under an agreement with the National Park Service, the Indian Arts and Crafts Board set up and funded this demonstration workshop of native artists and craftsmen at the Sitka National Monument. The Board found many deficiencies, the most serious and fundamental one being a lack of participation by the Tlingit and Haida peoples who felt that it was not their workshop, but the Government's.

In meetings with the leadership of the Alaska Native Brotherhood and National Park Service personnel at Sitka, however, it was quickly evident that the native peoples wanted anxiously to have their artists and craftsmen work there and teach their skills and the cultural content of their heritage to younger natives.

The Board therefore took immediate steps, first to eliminate the Eskimo presence at the center (Eskimo artists had been brought down to fill empty workshop spots, but neither they nor the Indians were happy about it) and focus the workshop sharply and properly on the traditional cultures of the Tlingits and Haidas; and secondly, to prepare for the transferral of the administration and management of the workshop from the Indian Arts and Crafts Board to the Alaska Native Brotherhood.

The purposes served would be 1) to provide more coherent orientation to the visitor by relating the workshop completely to the local history and culture; 2) to provide the native people with a center of cultural activity where, under their own supervision, and to meet their needs as they see them, they can hire instructors to teach the cultural heritage of the Tlingits and Haidas and produce art and craft forms that are meaningful to them in a traditional way, thereby strengthening their cultural image and giving them an opportunity to preserve and develop that cultural image.

The native people were firm in their determination and desire to assume the responsibilities, and it was recommended by the Board that the Alaska Native Brotherhood, representing the entire Tlingit and Haida peoples, meet with the National Park Service to develop a joint proposal that would further the aims and needs of both of them. The Board agrees to transfer its program to the Indian people for their benefit when agreement on the proposal has been reached by the Alaska Native Brotherhood, the National Park Service and this Board. This action, the Board feels, is consistent with the spirit and intent of President Johnson's message of March 6.

The Board recommends, as a further step, that cultural centers, similar to the one at Sitka, be established as soon as practical in other sections of the State of Alaska, possibly at Nome, Anchorage and/or Fairbanks, for the Athapascan Indians, Aleuts, and Eskimos. The Board is prepared to discuss this proposal further with the Secretary or the National Park Service.

V. SUPPLEMENTAL INCOME FROM ARTS AND CRAFTS

On many occasions, and at great length, the Board considered the question of encouraging and assisting various ideas for individual arts and crafts programs in different places in Alaska. The Board at length acquired the firm conviction that it is unfeasible and unrealistic to anticipate that individual artisans or craftsmen in Alaska can earn more than supplemental income from the production of craft products. The Board knows of no such project anywhere that has been able to sustain itself economically without some kind of continuing subsidy, whether from the government or from a private source.

However, the supplemental cash income derived by the individual from the production and sale of a craft product is vital to the economy of the Eskimo villages where there is little or no other form of employment, and where crafts are produced in quantity and provide a substantial source of cash income for the villagers.

Up to the present time, Eskimo- and Indian-owned and operated projects, which have been conceived as wholesale or retail production and sales operations, have not been profitable. They have been—and will continue to be—dependent on subsidy to continue to exist. Such projects, however, have been conceived by outsiders. They are not supported by the native people and continue primarily because the natives go along with them although they do not have any sense of commitment, involvement, or responsibility. The projects are conceived without recognition of the communal, political, traditional, and cultural dynamics that are of vital concern to the natives.

The Board believes that a new concept is required to develop a viable project for such village craftsmen. It must take account of 1) the needs and desires of the native craft producers; 2) the erratic production that can be expected from the individuals; 3) the division of opinion that exists between the craftsmen who are older and who hold firmly to the traditional style of products and the younger craftsmen who wish an opportunity to produce contemporary products using new technical skills and equipment; 4) the political, cultural, and economic demands of the people; and 5) the degree of responsibility the people are willing and abe to accept.

As a result of their meetings with the King Island village craftspeople, the members of the Board are convinced that there is a need to develop a proposal for a project that will fill their needs—as they see it and want it. The Board proposed to the King Islanders that they develop such a plan in their own words and thoughts, drawing on the Board for whatever technical advice they need in the matter of budgets, etc. The Board will maintain a watchful, and hopeful, eye over developments. At the same time, the Board is cognizant of possibilities for other arts and crafts programs in Alaska that might be assisted by following the procedure advocated at King Island.

VI. ALASKA INDIAN ARTS, INC.

This project, directed by Mr. Carl Heinmiller in Port Chilkoot, has long attracted the attention of many people, both within Alaska and in the "lower 48". Its principal lure, however, has always been that it seemed to hold promise of something very fine if it could only be financed.

The Board examined its history very closely and met with Mr. Heinmiller and native representatives from the Port Chilkoot area. Mr. Heinmiller joined the Board in an analysis of his organization and its aims and agreed that the basic flaw has lain in his attempt to mix education, economic development, arts and crafts development, and cultural preservation, each requiring special skills, supervision, and funds. Thus, in spite of numerous grants for these various purposes in the past, he has proven unsuccessful and faces a future of continuing to rely, year after year, on subsidy from one source or another.

The Board recommended to Mr. Heinmiller that the strongest, most positive course is to encourage the development of Port Chilkoot as, simply and directly, a first class tourist attraction, funded by the State and the travel industry. The Board recommends that the Secretary consider endorsing this source as the only practical one for the future of the Heinmiller project. If the Secretary is appealed to again on behalf of Mr. Heinmiller, the Board would be glad to spell out in detail the reasons why it believes the Port Chilkoot project cannot successfully develop or become self-sustaining in any other way.

STATEMENT OF LLOYD H. NEW, DIRECTOR, INSTITUTE OF AMERICAN INDIAN ARTS, SANTA FE, N. MEX.

Mr. New. Senator Mondale, I have two versions here, one that includes some comment about my theory about what is going wrong through the years. The other is simply to take up the Institute of American Indian Arts.

Senator Mondale. Why don't we put your statement in the record as though read in its entirety and then extemporaneously you can emphasize the points that you think are most important in one or both sets.

Mr. New. There are obviously many negative aspects to the position of the American Indian in this country today. I am assuming they are all well known to everyone here and that the purpose of these hearings is to appraise them of the hopes that something constructive can be done about them. While in my prepared testimony already in your hands I have ventured some analysis of some of the basic errors which have been made in dealing with the American Indian in the past, I will attempt in the short time at my disposal this morning, to relate some rather qualitative things going on in the school of which I am director, which holds hopes of improving the positions of the Indian in general and particularly for Indian youth.

I am Director of the BIA Installation, Santa Fe, N. Mex., called the Institute of American Indian Arts, which has an authorized enrollment of 400 young Indian students, ranging from the ages of 15 to 22.

The school offers an accredited high school program with emphasis on the arts and a post-high vocational program as preparation for college, technical college and employment in arts related vocations.

While we do have some students that come from well-balanced situations at home, most of our students have suffered the consequences of cultural conflict and economic deprivation, all too common for the Indian today.

Before going into details of what transpires at the school, let us first take a look at the student body profile. More than not, they are beset by misunderstandings regarding race, color and their general place in today's world. They are sorrily stung by discriminatory experiences. They are unmotivated and often negatively directed in many ways.

A great many, all too many, reflect unusual records of disorder in their previous life, ranging from mild deliquency situations to severe conditions verging on various kinds of virtual psychosis. Some are brilliant but extremely frustrated. Seventy-five percent by test—we have a whole battery of tests—75 percent are severely handicapped in terms of normal academic achievement.

The majority have difficulty with the English language in any form—speech, writing, or in reading. We have a great many who have virtually kicked the typical school program, including quite a few who simply could not find their places in public or parochial or BIA schools.

Our group includes the revolutionists, the nonconformists, and the unacademically minded who find no satisfaction in the common goals set by typical school programs. Holding standards which are at odds with the majority, they reject and are rejected by the traditional American school systems.

Without the opportunity for special education relevant to their needs, such students are likely candidates for failure in life as well as in school, and will live only to perpetuate all the aforementioned negative aspects of contemporary Indian life.

Our goal at the Institute is to interrupt this cycle and we begin by honoring each student for what he is, recognizing his cultural ways and showing respect for them.

The underlying philosophy of the program at the Institute is that unique cultural traditions can be honored and can be used creatively as the springboard to a meaningful and productive contemporary life. We hold that cultural differences are rich wellsprings from which may be drawn any creative forces relevant to contemporary conditions——

Senator **Mondale.** Would you yield there?

One of the white man's worries, is, whether, since we are spending the money for Indian education, it is felt that we should not make it practical by giving him a skill, teaching him English, motivating him, getting him all jazzed like we are to "go out and win" and all that sort of thing and not waste time on arts and crafts and culture, and other things that might interest an Indian.

As I understand your testimony, the two are related.

Mr. **New.** Absolutely related.

Senator **Mondale.** If the child respects himself, his background, his culture, and his arts and his value system, the chances are greater that he will at the same time wish to learn those skills necessary to achieve in American society.

Can you say the reverse, that failure to teach pride could interfere with even the best of efforts to try to force the so-called white man's culture upon the Indian? It might be a destructive process?

Mr. NEW. I would like to read from the part of the paper I am not reading from.

Those who have dealt with the Indian will understand the deep-lying psychological and philosophical base of the tenacious observance of his own cultural mores as a result of the abortion of almost every attempt made to assist him.

Even now various kinds of human salvage operations, such as urban relocation, employment assistance, on-the-job training and other essential rehabilitative efforts ultimately function only as stopgap measures which temporarily help to meet his physical need while failing miserably to provide the cultural and emotional substance required to put his life in balance.

I would say that the poverty, the underemployment and growing rate of alcoholism among Indian adults, and sharply increasing suicide rate, dropouts, and delinquency all attest to the abysmal failure with the Indian majority.

We face the truth that we have never provided the American Indian with the kind of education required to promote constructive meaningful social interaction. We take care of his day-to-day needs, but you can train a man to be the very best plumber in the world and he will go to Los Angeles and end up a drunk if you have not given him some sense of self-worth and a way of facing the world as an individual.

This is what we are trying to build through the arts. It is simply a vehicle of self-realization.

Senator MONDALE. How many years have you been with this institution?

Mr. NEW. Seven.

Senator MONDALE. Have you seen this in fact occur—this development of pride and emotional and cultural orientation which enables the child to not only be more appreciative of the values which his culture brings to him and his country, but at the same time also enables him to be better fit to face the competition in American society?

Mr. NEW. In the short time we have not been able to build any great research on graduates.

Senator MONDALE. It has to be a judgment on your part. What is your judgment?

Mr. NEW. When we observe students coming in in the framework of those I have just described and put up with 2 or 3 years trying to feed them into this system, hoping it will affect them, the real difference is to see how they live after they leave here.

If they live beautifully with satisfaction, they can face almost any outside world situation and they have many opportunities to face rather sophisticated situations in our school. We have great faith that the system is working in an extremely effective way.

Senator MONDALE. What age groups do you deal with? What is the earliest that a child may enter?

Mr. NEW. Fifteen. Ninth grade through 12th grade, and 2 years of posthigh going to age 22.

Senator **Mondale**. Is this supported by BIA?

Mr. **New**. Yes.

Senator **Mondale**. Is this the only institution of its kind in the country?

Mr. **New**. Yes.

Senator **Mondale**. Can a Sioux, if he wants, come to your school?

Mr. **New**. The Sioux can come to our school. We have a national school.

Senator **Mondale**. Do you have any Sioux or Chippewa?

Mr. **New**. We have quite a few, mostly Sioux. We have a few Chippewas.

Senator **Mondale**. If you had your way, would you start your program much earlier?

Mr. **New**. I would start with the 5-year-old with this method. I think it is remarkable that we are able to take people who are as generally asunder as they seem to be when they come to us.

At that late stage we cannot overcome many of the shortcomings they have, particularly in the academic area. But we can put him together as a person and he seems to go on, as my paper will reveal here, to rather high goals.

In spite of the fact that he never has the ability to read or write——

Senator **Mondale**. Dr. Van Deusen says when a child becomes afflicted with kwashiorkor, it costs $700 a pound to restore him to health. I think it would cost 50 cents a pound at the most to avoid that.

Might there be a similar analogy, though more difficult to quantify, in the educational cultural motivation field? If you let a child suffer emotional and cultural kwashiorkor by the age of 9, 10, or 11, the cost of restoring the person to self-respect might be just as expensive.

Mr. **New**. I think it is very expensive to do the job and our school costs more than probably any other in the BIA. I think when you read the record of performance, you will see it is well justified.

Senator **Mondale**. Do you give more detail in your testimony on this?

Mr. **New**. Yes.

Senator **Mondale**. We will all observe that very closely. We have a time problem unfortunately.

Mr. **New**. Shall I continue?

We believe that, ultimately, by learning to link the best in Indian culture to contemporary life, the young Indian will be able to solve his own problems and enrich the world scene in the process.

The young Indian takes pride in speaking his own language with his peers, or when he converses with an Indian administrator, or laughs at an Indian joke. We deliberately provide opportunities for him to tell the legends and perform the dances of his tribe. Through assigned research projects and field trips, as well as by audiovisual experiences, he cannot escape a growing familiarity with and respect for the history of his ancestors and the honored place they occupied in the beginning of this country.

We have special courses in Indian history, in Indian esthetics where he sees himself and compares them to the other world people, the Egyptians built pyramids. We build pyramids.

They did sculpture. We built sculpture. They have music; we have music.

He begins to see himself for the first time in terms of equal in terms of artistic heritage.

It has been our experience that when we can successfully relate learning experiences to the student's own Indian frame of reference, we are usually able to move him on toward tackling problems which are new and strange to him, and more challenging. Once a student recognizes the validity of his own cultural existence, he is able to shake free from previous feelings of inferiority and begin to function as a healthy, participating member of society, making neither too much of his cultural difference nor attempting to deny it. Once the student has been fully exposed to Indianism, he is free to choose his own course; no one demands that he be more Indian than he wishes to be.

Students who come to us, either from public or BIA schools, are woefully poor in academic achievement, and at first it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, for them to experience any taste of success through academic subjects. In order to insure the student a successful experience of some kind we turn to the field of art, where we offer a wide array of media, including drama, music, dance, creative writing, painting, sculpture, and the crafts which include traditional Indian techniques. With few exceptions, every human being who is properly and sufficiently exposed to creative thinking is capable of doing something in one of these fields, and doing it well enough to experience the joy of doing and to feel personal satisfaction in his accomplishment.

Sooner or later, with a great deal of sensitive cooperation on the part of the faculty, a field is found in which a student can perform creditably. His first successful fabric design, ceramic bowl, sculptured object, or performance on stage may be his very first experience in the ecstasy of personal accomplishment.

His reaction is one of justifiable pride and sometimes a shade of disbelief at having produced something of worth, and he equates this with his own personal worth. For him, this is a great discovery. It is also a most potent form of motivation toward personal growth.

In all cases the Institute's primary goal is to give the student a basis for the attainment of genuine pride and self-acceptance. Without this foundation, it is doubtful that a productive aura for learning could be established.

Statistics covering the past 3 years pertaining to the students' performance at the institute are impressive. Dropouts (those who leave school and do not enroll elsewhere immediately) amount to 11.9 percent compared to a general Indian dropout figure of 38 to 60 percent, varying from area to area.

Eighty-eight and three-tenths percent of the students leaving the institute from the 12th, 13th, and 14th grades have continued in some kind of formal training program beyond the high school level: 41.6 percent of these went into vocational schools, 36 percent into universities or college-level art schools, and the balance returned to the institute for further work.

Significantly, graduating students from the 14th year program show a college entrance rate of 43 percent as opposed to only 10.3 percent from the 12th year program (indicating the possibility that

Indian students may need 14 years of secondary schooling in order to ready themselves for higher education instead of the 12 years required for less disadvantaged individuals).

Of interest is the fact that of the first group of 16 institute graduates who entered college prior to 1966, 12 have completed their college work, and two have received master's degrees. The retention rate for all who have entered college during the past 3 years is 59 percent.

In the course of its relatively short existence, the institute has caught the attention of educators and artists of national and international reputation who are often astonished at the quality and quantity of artistic production that occurs in all the art areas.

The institute has enjoyed recognition from numerous publications and periodicals in the light of its being an important breakthrough in education for the American Indian. Reports on the school have been featured in the New York Times, the New Yorker, Life magazine, Craft Horizons, Education News, Think (the house organ of IBM) and on a recent Roger Mudd CBS television news presentation.

International exhibits of student work have been featured at the Edinburgh Festival of the Arts, the Berlin Festival, and the Alaska Centennial; in Turkey, Argentina, and Chile; and in the Cultural Division of the 1968 Olympics in Mexico City. Students in the performing arts department have appeared in two major productions in Washington, D.C., and in a program of traditional dance at the Mexico City Olympics. Student work in creative writing has been published for textbook use and a full-scale novel has been published by the University of Oklahoma Press. We are presently negotiating with Doubleday & Co. on a contract for the publication of an anthology of poetry and prose.

As impressive as the results are in terms of artistic accomplishments, the real value of the program lies in the general personal growth of the student and in his discovery of latent strengths and the carryover of these into his academic efforts and social behavior.

Through the special emphasis placed upon his own cultural base, we imbue him with self-pride so that his tendency to view himself as a second-rate citizen is nullified. Out of this new position of personal security and confidence comes a new personality endowed with new and extended capabilities.

We, at the institute, are proud of our achievements to date which, in large part, were made possible through the special and, indeed, preferential support received from the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Department of the Interior. We enjoy unusual autonomy, funding, and freedom that allows for innovation, without which we could not function successfully.

Needless to say, none of our accomplishments would have been possible without the presence of a dedicated, skillful, creative minded, and innovative staff.

The cost of special education is high. The cost of effective education is even higher. At the institute our cost runs $2,600 per student. In this respect and for the sake of maintaining correct perspective, there are two factors which should be noted:

1. The cost of providing effective education for the American Indian will be far less, in the long run, than the cost of not providing it, if only in terms of the taxpayers' dollars that will be required for in-

terminable support programs of various kinds—including those which produce little in the way of constructive results.

2. The errant expectation that the American Indian by some magic power, and without reference to his own cultural base, will move into an era of productivity and self-sufficiency is likely to result in future generations of this minority group being confused and disoriented beyond anything we have yet seen in our history. Indeed, failure on the part of our dominant society to devise the means to reverse the destructive direction of present policies, will result in cultural genocide for the American Indian, an event which would surely stand hauntingly in history as a monstrous embarrassment to this Nation.

While billions of American tax dollars have been spent for the purpose of solving the Indian problem, perhaps not so much as a single million has been especially earmarked to further public recognition of the cultural wealth of the American Indian and to show him how to use these assets as a means of gaining financial independence and the dignity of self-sufficiency.

GENERAL CULTURAL SERVICE

The institute needs to be evaluated not only in terms of its potential role as an educational laboratory and pilot institute—and supported accordingly—but also in terms of its being expanded into a major cultural institution serving the overall cause of the general Indian population.

The American Indian should take his place along with the culturally great on the world scene and the institute should become a major vehicle for interpreting this culture throughout the world. In the few years of its existence, the institute has been able to gain recognition for Indian cultural accomplishments at levels new to the traditionally anonymous position of the American Indian.

Through further professional development of performing artists, poets, writers, musicians, and modern artist-craftsmen, the image of the American Indian could be given the substance of significant accomplishment, which might help to abate the popular inclination to immortalize the Indian as a scalping savage or an enchanting little basketmaker.

Gentlemen, we submit that there is a positive solution to the Indian "problem"; that the Indian is educable in the fullest sense of the word and that the implementation of a program along the lines of this presentation would result in immense benefits to the American Indian and to the Nation.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you. Thank you very much.

(The prepared statement of Mr. New follows:)

PREPARED STATEMENT OF LLOYD H. NEW, DIRECTOR, INSTITUTE OF AMERICAN INDIAN ARTS, SANTE FE, NEW MEXICO

IN PURSUIT OF INDIAN EDUCATION

THE ROLE OF THE INSTITUTE OF AMERICAN INDIAN ARTS

For almost five centuries the American Indian has been subjected to a process of relentless attrition which has slowly but surely eroded the roots of his cultural existence. His physical existence has been completely obliterated in many areas and, presently, his spiritual existence is in extreme jeopardy.

The many and varied attempts that have been made to "help" him, and particularly to 'educate" him, have been largely unsuccessful.

This lack of success is due, at least in part, to the fact that Indian education, from its beginning, was based on a policy of coercive acculturation: the premise being that the sooner the Indian was conditioned to abandon his ways and join the melting pot, the better off he would be. But he has displayed unique resistance to this idea, possibly because his psychological relationship to the land was different from that of the immigrant groups who eventually surrounded him. From the time of defeat, life in the Indian world has been colored by an underlying Anglo-focused enmity stemming from the Indian's feeling that his landrights had been unfairly usurped. Another deterrent to the success of the melting pot concept of education is that its goals lie largely outside the Indian philosophical frame of reference. The American Indian has always been devoted to a philosophy which holds that one's existence should blend into the comparatively passive rhythms of nature, as opposed to the dominant society's quest for control of nature through scientific manipulation of its elements. In the main, all direct attempts to switch the Indian population from its philisophical position have failed, much to the consternation of those who have tried.

On the surface, the Indian evidences acceptance of his diminished role with little or no overt manifestations of rancor. He cooperates submissively, accepting the goods and services that are offered to him. But, in various subtle ways, he manages to subvert the intended outcome of these overtures. No longer in a position to make war with the opposition, the Indian has adopted a general tendency to withdraw and lie quietly in the remnants of his old world, only half-heartedly picking at the offerings made to him by his would-be benefactors.

Failure on the part of those who have dealt with the Indian to understand the deep-lying psychological and philosophical bases of his tenacious observance of his own cultural mores has resulted in the abortion of almost every attempt made to assist him. Even now, various kinds of human salvage operations, such as urban relocation, employment assistance, on-the-job training, and other essential rehabilitative efforts, ultimately function only as stop-gap measures which temporarily help to meet his physical needs, while failing miserably to provide the cultural and emotional substance required to put his life in balance.

In the past, public apathy and disinterest permitted the Indian to protect his way of life, at least to some degree; but in recent times, he has been forced into the public struggle for economic survival, due to the lack of an environmental supportive of his old and cherished ways. With limited land holdings and the inevitable encroachments of the dominant society, the American Indian is hard pressed to support his viewpoint while adjusting to the exigencies of a modern world.

Poverty, poor health, unemployment, and a growing rate of alcoholism among Indian adults; a shocking prevalence of suicide, drop-outs, and delinquency among Indian youth; all attest to the abysmal failure of our dealings with the Indian minority. We face the awful truth that we have never provided the American Indian with the *kind* of education required to promote constructive and meaningful social interaction.

The result is that the American Indian suffers severe psychological trauma and, by now, we must surely have gathered sufficient proof of the fact that the cure does not lie in dosing him doubly with the same old medicine, however first rate we hold it to be or however costly it may be. Simply enough, it is the *wrong* medicine for the Indian patient.

We need to jolt ourselves out of our comfortable line of patterned thinking in order to make room for new concepts and the definition of new goals.

Our primary, long range goal should be to find and apply such measures as will heal long festering ills and provide an environment conducive to the growth of the American Indian so that, ultimately, he will contribute richly to the assembly of world cultures and take his place as an honored member of world society.

Neither the goals nor the means for achieving them are esoterically shrouded; mostly, they fall easily into the category of common sense. In order to give the American Indian solid ground on which to stand, steps must be taken which will free him from patterns of hostility, apathy, and other negative manifestations which are inherent in the paternalistic-dependency syndrome evoked by the untenable position into which he has been led. The honor attendant to his racial heritage must be renewed in his mind and he must be taught how to turn his cultural wealth into negotiable assets. He must be encouraged to retain his Indian identity and be shown how to relate it in a constructive and productive way to the modern world. The accomplishment of these acts will be as much to the benefit of the general American society as to that of the Indian population.

In fairness to the present institutional provisions made in behalf of the American Indian, it must be noted here that many of today's Indians are showing an increased inclination to independence and are managing to function with fair success both within the framework of their own culture and outside of it. It seems to be not so much a question of whether any progress is being made but, rather, a question of how wide a front is covered and whether or not this coverage will be sufficient and will occur in time to prevent continued mass casualties.

At the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe, New Mexico, we are painfully aware of the fact that we cover a very short front. But what is most important is the fact that we believe we have made significant strides in learning how to alleviate some of the problems that beset Indian people, especially the young. While it is too early to obtain statistical evidence reflecting the eventual progress of our students as they take their places in society, we are proud, indeed, of the immediate successes which can be measured in terms of the unusual number of students who seem to find personal identity at the Institute and then move on into programs of advanced education or some other form of personal development.

The underlying philosophy of the program at the Institute is that unique cultural traditions can be honored and can be used creatively as a springboard to a meaningful and productive contemporary life. We hold that cultural differences are a rich wellspring from which may be drawn new creative forces relevant to contemporary conditions and environments. We believe that, ultimately, by learning to link the best in Indian culture to contemporary life, the young Indian will be able to solve his own problems and enrich the world scene in the process.

Most of our students have suffered the consequences of cultural conflict and economic deprivation. They are beset with misunderstandings regarding race, color, and religion. They are sorely stung by discriminatory experiences. Our group includes the revolutionists, the non-conformists, and the unacademically-minded who find no satisfaction in the common goals set by typical school programs. Holding standards which are at odds with the majority, they reject and are rejected by the traditional American school system. Without the opportunity for special education relevant to their needs, such students are likely candidates for failure in life as well as in school, and will live only to perpetuate all the aforementioned negative aspects of contemporary Indian life.

Our goal at the Institute is to interrupt this cycle and we begin by honoring each student for what he is, recognizing his cultural ways and showing respect for them.

The young Indian takes pride in speaking his own language with his peers, or when he converses with an Indian administrator, or laughs at an Indian joke. We deliberately provide opportunities for him to tell the legends and perform the dances of his tribe. Through assigned research projects and field trips, as well as by audio-visual experiences, he cannot escape a growing familiarity with and respect for the history of his ancestors and the honored place they occupied in the beginning of this country.

It has been our experience that when we can successfully relate learning experiences to the student's own Indian frame of reference we are usually able to move him on toward tackling problems which are new and strange to him, and more challenging. Once a student recognizes the validity of his own cultural existence, he is able to shake free from previous feelings of inferiority and begin to function as a healthy, participating member of society, making neither too much of his cultural difference nor attempting to deny it. Once the student has been fully exposed to Indianism, he is free to choose his own course; no one demands that he be more Indian than he wishes to be.

Students who come to us, either from public or B.I.A. schools, are woefully poor in academic achievement and, at first, it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, for them to experience any taste of success through academic subjects. In order to ensure the student a successful experience of some kind, we turn to the field of art where we offer a wide array of media including drama, music, dance, creative writing, painting, sculpture, and the crafts which include traditional Indian techniques. With few exceptions, every human being who is properly and sufficiently exposed to creative thinking is capable of doing something in one of these fields and doing it well enough to experience the joy of doing and to feel personal satisfaction in his accomplishment. Sooner or later, with the great deal of senitive cooperation on the part of the faculty, a field is found in which a student can perform creditably. His first successful fabric design, ceramic bowl, sculptured object, or performance on stage may be his very first experience in the ecstasy of personal accomplishment. His reaction is one of justifiable pride and sometimes a shade of disbelief at having produced something of worth, and he equates this with his own personal worth. For him, this is a great discovery. It is, also, a most potent form of motivation toward personal growth.

In all cases, the Institute's primary goal is to give the student a basis for the attainment of genuine pride and self-acceptance. Without this foundation, it is doubtful that a productive aura for learning could be established.

Creation of the Institute was recommended in 1960 by the Indian Arts and Crafts Board of the United States Department of the Interior. Founded in 1962 by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. USDI, the school is administered by the Bureau's Division of Education. The Indian Arts and Crafts Board continues to serve as advisors for the development of the Institute.

The school offers an accredited high school program with emphasis on the arts, and a post-high vocational arts program as preparation for college, technical schools, and employment in arts-related vocations. The age range of the student body is from 15 to 22.

Statistics covering the past three years pertaining to the students' performance at the Institute are impressive. Dropouts (those who leave school and do not enroll elsewhere immediately) amount to 11.9% compared to a general Indian dropout figure of 38% to 60%, varying from area to area. 88.3% of the students leaving the Institute from the 12th, 13th and 14th grades have continued in some kind of formal training program beyond the high school level; 41.6% of these went into vocational schools, 36% into universities or college level art schools, and the balance returned to the Institute for further work. Significantly, graduating students from the 14th year program show a college entrance rate of 43% as opposed to only 10.3% from the 12th year program (indicating the possibility that Indian students may need 14 years of secondary schooling in order to ready themselves for higher education instead of the 12 years required for less disadvantaged individuals). Of interest is the fact that of the first group of 16 Institute graduates who entered college prior to 1966, 12 have completed their college work, and two have received Master's degrees. The retention rate for all who have entered college during the past three years is 59%.

In the course of its relatively short existence, the Institute has caught the attention of educators and artists of national and international reputation who are often astonished at the quality and quantity of artistic production that occurs in all the art areas.

The Institute has enjoyed recognition from numerous publications and periodicals in the light of its being an important break-through in education for the American Indian. Reports on the school have been featured in The New York Times, The New Yorker, Life Magazine, Craft Horizons, Education News, Think (the house organ of I. B. M.), and on a recent Roger Mudd CBS television news presentation.

International exhibits of student work have been featured at the Edinburgh Festival of the Arts, the Berlin Festival, and the Alaska Centennial; in Turkey, Argentina, and Chile; and in the Cultural Division of the 1968 Olympics in Mexico City. Students in the Performing Arts Department have appeared in two major productions in Washington, D.C., and in a program of traditional dance at the Mexico City Olympics. Student work in creative writing has been published for textbook use and a full-scale novel has been published by the University of Oklahoma Press. We are presently negotiating with Doubleday and Company on a contract for the publication of an anthology of poetry and prose.

As impressive as these results are in terms of artistic accomplishments, the real value of the program lies in the general personal growth of the student and in his discovery of latent strengths and the carry-over of these into his academic efforts and social behavior.

Through the special emphasis placed upon his own cultural base, we imbue him with self-pride so that his tendency to view himself as a second-rate citizen is nullified. Out of this new position of personal security and confidence, comes a new personality endued with new and extended capabilities.

We, at the Institute, are proud of our achievements to date which, in large part, were made possible through the special and, indeed, preferential support received from the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Department of the Interior. We enjoy unusual autonomy, funding, and freedom that allows for innovation, without which we could not function successfully.

Needless to say, none of our accomplishments would have been possible without the presence of a dedicated, skillful, creative-minded, and innovative staff.

The cost of special education is high; the cost of effective education is even higher. At the Institute our cost runs $2,600 per student. In this respect and for the sake of maintaining correct perspective, there are two factors which should be noted:

1. The cost of providing effective education for the American Indian will be far less, in the long run, than the cost of not providing it, if only in terms of the taxpayers' dollars that will be required for interminable support programs of various kinds—including those which produce little in the way of constructive results.

2. The errant expectation that the American Indian by some magic power, and without reference to his own cultural base, will move into an era of productivity and self-sufficiency is likely to result in future generations of this minority group being confused and disoriented beyond anything we have yet seen in our history. Indeed, failure on the part of our dominant society to devise the means to reverse the destructive direction of present policies, will result in cultural genocide for the American Indian, an event which would surely stand hauntingly in history as a monstrous embarrassment to this Nation.

While billions of American tax dollars have been spent for the purpose of solving the Indian problem, perhaps not so much as a single million has been especially earmarked to further public recognition of the cultural wealth of the American Indian and to show him how to use these assets as a means of gaining financial independence and the dignity of self-sufficiency.

General cultural service

The Institute needs to be evaluated not only in terms of its potential role as an educational laboratory and pilot institution (and supported accordingly), but also in terms of its being expanded into a maor cultural institution serving the overall cause of the general Indian population.

The American Indian should take his place along with the culturally great on the world scene and the Institute should become a major vehicle for interpreting this culture throughout the world. In the few years of its existence, the Institute has been able to gain recognition for Indian cultural accomplishments at levels new to the traditionally anonymous position of the American Indian. Through further professional development of performing artists, poets, writers, musicians, and modern artist-craftsmen, the image of the American Indian could be given the substance of significant accomplishment, which might help to abate the popular inclination to immortalize the Indian as a scalping savage or an enchanting little basketmaker.

Gentlemen, we submit that there is a positive solution to the Indian "problem"; that the Indian is educable in the fullest sense of the word; and that the implementation of a program along the lines of this presentation would result in immense benefits to the American Indian and to the Nation.

Senator Mondale. Dr. Josephy, as I understand it, you are the author of a special report to the President on Indian matters which was released yesterday. It is the view of what remains of the committee here this morning that you ought to, if you are willing to do so, make that report and your recommendations in this field as well as part of a separate testimony. This might allow us to go thoroughly into your recommendation and make such suggestions as we might have.

What I worry about here is that time is so short—we have to conclude this in about 10 minutes—that we are not going to do justice to your views. I think it would be better if you could come back and we could reschedule you. You could go into your recommendations, including your recommendations in this area in a time frame more suitable to a responsible treatment of the subject.

I think we might be able to treat the subject matter better if that is all right.

(The special report referred to can be found in the appendix.)

STATEMENT OF ALVIN M. JOSEPHY, JR., BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Dr. Josephy. Senator, if I might add one point on the testimony you have just heard. It is very peculiar to me why this example of this institute, which is unique, it is unique in the world, but certainly it is the kind of school that I think all Americans should be very proud of that you should know about, why it is not serving in close relationship with the entire BIA system. I think there are many potentials for that school.

Senator Mondale. Do you mean by that, serving in close relationship?

Dr. Josephy. I mean the methods, the techniques, the training, the points of view should be copied by other schools in the BIA system and from there on into the State systems. There is a lot being learned here.

Senator Mondale. Do you agree with the judgment we have just heard about the reliability of statistics, about the completion of high school and so forth?

Dr. Josephy. Absolutely.

Senator Mondale. Do you think that this is one of the better examples of successful quality Indian education in the country?

Dr. Josephy. So far as I know, it is the only one except Rough Rock.

Senator Mondale. Yes. We were talking about that as you were testifying. We keep talking about Rough Rock. That is the only living example.

Here is another example of a successful system about which very little has been said and yet it has been in operation and is exciting and successful. You have given us insights about the relationship between the emotional and the cultural development of an individual and his capacity in terms of meeting the competition of a really tough society.

Other insights, I think, are critical to the judgment we must make if we are going to do more good than harm. I am most grateful for-that testimony. It is amazing that so little has been heard about this before.

Dr. JOSEPHY. We have heard a lot here right in this school in this institute. We have recommended one like it for the State of Alaska, where there is a great need for such an institute. I think that the entire BIA system would gain a lot from what has been going on down there.

Senator MONDALE. Has the BIA in your opinion applied many of the techniques learned at this institution generally to their school system?

Dr. JOSEPHY. To my knowledge, no.

Senator MONDALE. Have they ever suggested this example be repeated elsewhere, for example in Alaska?

Dr. JOSEPHY. No. As a matter of fact, I think we could have moved much faster than we have in getting something in Alaska.

Senator MONDALE. To what do you attribute this general criticism? The Bureau, in all fairness, has not testified here and I assume some matters might come in different focus if they did.

To what do you attribute this general criticism of the lack of creativity? Mr. Nader said yesterday they have not even applied what they have learned at Rough Rock. Yet they have a good example there of an institution that works.

It just sticks out like a sore thumb. Yet it remains in splendid isolation.

Dr. JOSEPHY. I think, too, to some extent it is a personnel factor, but I don't scatter my shots in that direction. I think it is the structure of the BIA, itself and the way the educational system, the structure of the educational system is completely interwoven into the rest of the BIA system.

I don't know why any self-respecting educator has anything to do with the BIA the way it is set up today. I can't imagine a bigger mess, a worse organized management operation. I think this committee, the subcommittee, has had testimony, very important, very pertinent testimony on that point and I think that is a starting point for everything that has been mentioned here that I have heard today, almost any phase, any subject that comes up concerning Indian education leads you right back to whether or not the BIA as it is set up today can carry that out effectively.

I think a lot of criticism has been directed at the personnel of the BIA that is not justified and a lot of very fine dedicated people over there—they are frustrated as heck. They can't operate, they are tied up. If our business tried to operate that way, we would be out of business right away.

I don't think that anybody really has done enough examination of the internal structure of the BIA. To my knowledge, back in 1961 when the task force started to take a look at it, it shied away from it and did not go into the BIA setup.

In 1965 again there was some self-examination, but nothing really stupendous came from it. It has to be stupendous.

Senator MONDALE. I am glad to have your expression of that because it might balance the picture a little bit more. I am sure that what you say is correct.

Dr. **Josephy.** They can't move fast. They are so musclebound and tied up the way the system is run.

Senator **Mondale.** It was said that the professional educators in the national office of the BIA are not in control of the local schools; the person really in charge is the regional director who is a sort of single school board member. It is he who governs the education of all the children in the district.

I imagine not a single one of them is a professional educator.

Dr. **Josephy.** That's right. He is tied up with other problems. He does not have the time for this, or the knowledge or expertise. The Commissioner, the way the BIA is set up—the Assistant Commissioner of Education should be given line authority completely down the line, set up a system which he can rise or fall on what happens.

Then you have a person who can direct every phase of this, including the acquisition of proper cultural materials to put into the school systems, the taking of teachers from his school and feeding them into the BIA schools, and then you have the start of something that can be radiated out into the public school systems.

Senator **Mondale.** Don't you also think that to the extent possible a very fundamental issue, if not perhaps the most fundamental, is to give the Indian parents something to say about the education of the children?

Dr. **Josephy.** Absolutely.

Senator **Mondale.** If you want to talk about the ultimate insult to the pride of people, it is to say that the parents don't know enough to even be consulted about how their children should be educated. If that is what we think of them, then how are we going to be able to persuade the children that we actually have any respect for them?

Dr. **Josephy.** When you get out in the field, this is all part and parcel of the inhibition of a non-Indian to allow an Indian to decide his own fate.

It is a hangover from their children; they are irresponsible, immature, all that nonsense, but it is still carried out that way.

Senator **Mondale.** Yet the few instances of successful Indian education that we have seen are those in which the Indians themselves have had control or have had profound influence.

I point out that you have mostly Indian teachers. The Rough Rock evperiment is an Indian-controlled operation. In the late 1800's two large tribes had their own system of education and often established records of achievement that exceeded the white public school system operating side by side in some of these Southern States.

In practice, in every instance of quality education that we have seen the Indians have been in control.

Dr. **Josephy.** Senator, I think we have been going along with something criminal for too long. We can keep on going that way, but people's lives are at stake and they have been at stake. Children are being wrecked for good in what has been happening.

You and I would not allow our children in those schools. We would yank them out. The Indian people don't have the ability really to yank them out without getting in desperate trouble.

I don't see why in this country we have the school set up this way. We don't need it.

Senator Mondale. I appreciate your observation.

Mr. New. May I comment on the nature, the real down-to-earth practical nature of the problem as I see it?

At the institute we enjoy a very unique position in the Bureau of Indian Affairs. We do have direct contact with Washington. We don't go to an area. We have been able to insist on having a school psychologist. We are probably the only one in the Bureau.

Senator Mondale. We could only find one psychologist in the whole Indian education system and you must have him. The highest suicide rate in the Nation is for the Indian youth.

Mr. New. We should have two because we have 370 people and that one is not enough. We need a whole mental health team. We need a full-time psychiatrist.

The bottom percentage of the problems we work with verge on psychosis.

Senator Mondale. Have you had any suicides at your school?

Mr. New. No.

Senator Mondale. That is unique.

Mr. New. We have very few cases of any kind out of line.

The other thing is that we have fought for a reasonable—not as good as we would like to have it—relationship between guidance staff and the students they deal with.

We have gotten down to about 1 to 30. In most schools it is 1 to 100.

We have 17 art teachers on our staff where most schools do not have any art teachers on their staff. I don't know how you really can reach a youngster unless you have an expert and appealing to him through his music, through his design, through his color, because otherwise he simply has to perform reading, writing, and arithmetic and if he can't do that, what is left?

I would drop out too.

Senator Hughes. I would like to know the basis on which you select your students to the school. How do they gain entry to the school? Are they a representative group of young American Indians or are they of a special character?

Mr. New. I would imagine that they are no different across the board from any other group of students in any other Indian school. Theoretically they come to us because they are interested in art, but we also find that this is not true. I would say 30 percent of the kids come there because they are a problem on their reservation.

We get an awful lot of them from the Northwest areas, Oregon, Washington, where they are supposed to be in public schools, but they are dropouts there. We have a lot of them sent to us because they are a problem and they don't quite know what to do with them.

So it is not a select group by any means.

Senator Hughes. You made a reference earlier, and I would like to drop back to it. I hate to extend this, but I would like to inquire about it, because you made a reference to the increasing rates of alcoholism as a result—I believe you related it to cultural deprivation.

Are the rates higher in this particular category than you notice in other areas that have not had the benefit of such education as this?

Mr. New. I have no real authority for this statement other than by personal observation to notice on reservations in our area that the alcoholic rate—the alcoholic problem with adult people is a growing problem and has been picked up in some previous century report.

I am aware of the kind of skid-row culture that is being formed in the urban areas of Los Angeles, Chicago, where Indians are sent by families on training programs and the number of those after their first round with a job, because they are not happy. They have not any real basis for this kind of life, become rather severe problems in this area.

Senator Hughes. It has been my observation overall that the problem of alcoholism has no direct relationship to the social status or education status of the individual. I wondered if there might be a difference in this tendency in this particular respect.

Mr. New. I am sorry not to be able to authenticate the statement.

Senator Mondale. Thank you very much. I am sorry we don't have more time. I wish to thank all of you.

Mr. Price, we are most grateful for your testimony as a private citizen and for your helping to create broader public understanding in this critical area. I might say as one member of this Committee on Indian Education, I knew nothing about your program. You helped bring it to us.

You are in a particularly good position to see that more people learn about it. You are doing a lot of good for all of us.

Mr. Price. Thank you, sir.

Senator Mondale. One thing I might suggest. The committee ought to consider trying to visit this institution. It was suggested we go to Rough Rock. We could do both.

Mr. New. We should very much like to have you.

Senator Mondale. Dr. Nimnicht and Dr. McKinley, we are sorry to keep you waiting this long.

It is unfair, but we are the basic losers. I was reading a book the other night on early child-learning and your name popped out.

I have an awful schedule problem, so does Senator Hughes. If we could take your testimony, include it in the record as written and then have you make some extemporaneous comments. Please try to limit yourself to no more than 5 minutes—I hate to do that, but I don't know how else to handle it.

STATEMENT OF DR. GLEN NIMNICHT, STAFF MEMBER, FAR WEST LABORATORY FOR EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

Dr. Nimnicht. We have two documents that you could make part of your record. Then we could limit our comments to simply making recommendations.

Senator Mondale. All right, it is so ordered.

(The statements referred to follow:)

A Report to the Senate Subcommittee on the Stewart Boarding School

On the request of the U.S. Senate's Subcommittee on Indian Education, the Stewart Indian School was visited by Dr. Glen Nimnicht, Mr. Francis McKinley, and Mr. Stephen Bayne, all staff members of the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development. The visit lasted for two days, during which time interviews were held with administrators, teachers and students, and observations were made of the physical plan.

Stewart Indian School is located on the outskirts of Carson City, Nevada—on the same grounds as the Nevada Agency of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and close to the State Penal Institution. The school has an enrollment of 600 boarding students, and theoretically is in existence to provide them with a standard academic and vocational secondary curriculum. The reality, however, is quite different.

STUDENTS

The students at Stewart, first of all, are not standard high school students. Eighty percent of the students, ranging in age between 12 and 20, are social referrals from reservation schools in Arizona and Nevada. This means that these children had problems at home (broken homes, alcoholic parents) or at school (discipline, academic failure) which could not be handled locally. They were, therefore, sent to Stewart. The students themselves say they were sent to Stewart rather than to some other boarding school because it is so isolated that they cannot run away—or go home too frequently.

The remaining 20 percent of the students come from the Hopi and Papago reservations where there is no local high school available.

Within both of these major student groupings, there are some who are at Stewart because it has become a family tradition.

For all of these students, the Stewart experience falls far short of an educational challenge. They perceive the school as an easy place, where they can do far less than was required of them in the reservation schools and still get by nicely. They are resigned to the "fact" that they have limited potential as Indians, and thus accept the school's easy low standards as right for them.

Their basic problem is that they come to Stewart with academic problems requiring intensive remedial work. Instead of this they get a watered-down, "easy" curriculum. The mathematics department provides a good example. The first course for "high school" students teaches addition and subtraction. The second-level course deals with all four basic operations plus fractions. The next course is concerned with proportions for simple algebra, while the top course is finally algebra.

The relationship between the academic problems of the students when they arrive at Stewart, and their academic experience at Stewart is apparent on examination of California Achievement Test (CAT) scores obtained by Stewart enrollees. Test scores for the present twelfth-grade class at Stewart show an average achievement in English language skills at the ninth-grade level (9.2 exactly) with a variation from fifth-grade level to twelfth-grade level. The latter score was obtained by only one student of the 106 who took the test. Only 12 students of the Class of 1967 went on to college or junior college—8% of the graduating class.

Total test grades for the CAT given during the school year 1968–69 revealed the following:

Stewart:	*CAT*
6th grade	5.2
7th grade	5.8
8th grade	7.1
9th grade	7.0
10th grade	7.5
11th grade	8.3
12th grade	8.4

Thus, the entering sixth graders at Stewart are academically retarded by about one year, and the graduating seniors are retarded *by well over three years*. By these criteria, the school has not achieved any remedial function, and, in fact, seems to have exacerbated the difficulties the Indian children had before they arrived at Stewart.

Follow-up data on Stewart graduates are entirely inadequate, as the school records list only the *placement* of most graduating Seniors. There are no data on the success of Stewart graduates in post-graduate schools, or in employment.

The dropout rate for 1967–68 was 4%, or 21 students, of whom 7 simply went home and never returned, 8 were withdrawn by parents, 3 were expelled as behavior problems and were ordered back to Arizona by their parole boards after involvement in burglary.

Staff

There are presently 40 teachers at Stewart. One has no degree of any kind, 7 have high school diplomas, 22 have bachelor's degrees, and 10 (25%) of the faculty hold master's degrees. One-quarter of the faculty are long-term BIA employees with an average of 22 years of service. The average age of the teachers is 43, and 5 are over 60.

The principal of Stewart has no authority in the selection of teachers for the school. Instead, he is dependent on an Area Office selection from a limited service registry. Thus there is no possibility for choosing teachers with special backgrounds for enrichment programs, nor safeguards against incompetents. As an example of what can happen with this arrangement, Stewart now has a teacher who has difficulty speaking or understanding English, and who was never told a thing about Stewart.

Most of the teachers at Stewart are teaching six classes of 30 children each school day. Both the Stewart staff and the investigators feel that under these conditions teachers cannot even begin to deal with the special problems of Indian students.

There are eight people on the Stewart guidance staff, of whom three have master's degrees. Three are over 60, while the rest are under 35. Counseling and guidance functions are thoroughly confused with each other, and all members of the staff advise students as to their best possibilities for future schooling and employment, help settle disputes between students and teachers, and counel students on personal problems. Psychological assistance to students is limited to discussions with guidance personnel, who hold office "open house" for two hours every day, and to a series of films on life problems. The guidance building includes a number of rooms which are available for free creative activities, such as painting, drawing, and wood carving.

The guidance staff complains that the effectiveness of their program is greatly inhibited by the dormitory staff, which is ignorant of the "psychological" approach of the guidance staff toward student problems, and rather insists on strict, punitive discipline.

There are presently 23 dormitory aides at Stewart, giving an aide/student ratio of 1/26. The aides have all acquired high school diplomas, and average 42 years old, with three over 60, of whom two are over 70.

THE PROGRAM

The academic curriculum, hardly mentioned by the administrators to whom we spoke, and given secondary consideration to the vocational program, has already been described as a watered-down version of the usual high school curriculum.

All vocational programs, except for house and sign painting, are nonterminal. Initially, students are rotated from one vocational specialty to another (drafting, carpentry, welding, sheet metal and machine shop, electricity and electronics, painting and farm work for the boys) until the junior year, after which they spend one half day of each school day in one vocation—either wood shop, metal shop, painting, or farm work. The boys who do best are encouraged to take painting or carpentry, while the "low" achievers are placed in general farm work and heavy equipment operation. The girls may choose from only two fields—general and home service (domestic work) or "hospital ward attendant" training, which the girls considered a degrading farce—a euphemism (they say) for more domestic work.

The residential program features the following "Leisure activity" time for Stewart students is from 6 to 8 p.m., Monday through Saturday. Board games and recreational equipment (ping-pong, etc.) are available in the dormitories during this time.

Extracurricular clubs include band, 4-H, student newspaper, yearbook, athletic teams, and various home economics clubs and activities.

The student council operates a campus store available to each dormitory one night each week. Visits to Carson City are made by bus groups of students each Saturday afternoon for a charge of 40¢. Dances and parties are scheduled throughout the year.

Students say that their contacts with white people on the trips to Carson City are minimal, and usually nonexistent.

IMPRESSIONS AND COMMENTS

In addition to the collection of the above data, we built up a general subjective impression of Stewart Indian School. Stated succinctly, we feel Stewart is a tragedy. Historically an isolated school for problem children, it is now the school to which Indian children from the Southwest are sent as the only alternative to dropping out of education entirely. At Stewart these children are passed from one vocational department to another, never receiving sufficient training to prepare them for jobs, and never receiving the remedial programs necessary to cope with their deficiencies in reading and writing English. They graduate from the school with a high school diploma and a ninth-grade education, and expect to compete with other Indians as well as non-Indians in post-graduate vocational schools and the job market. With them at Stewart are Hopi, Pima, and Papago children who have no secondary school near their reservations, and so are sent to Stewart arbitrarily as one among a number of other federal boarding schools. They too receive the most minimal of educational experiences.

The teachers at Stewart know their task is hopeless. They accept the "low potential" of their students, and expect to prepare them for the lowest of occupations. They are indifferent, uncreative, and defeated. The guidance staff's attempts to ameliorate the school's archaic social rules, but must fight dormitory aides who were educated at Stewart and who believe in and enforce strict discipline and puritanism. The principal believes in trying new approaches and remedial programs, but must work with teachers whom he has not chosen, and a completely inadequate budget. The students must obey rigid social rules characteristic of reform schools, while living under the lie that they are actually receiving a high school education. They have almost no contact with the world outside the barbed-wire boundaries of the campus, and cannot even return to their homes for Christmas. That they remain vibrantly alive human beings at Stewart is neither an excuse for the school's existance nor a negation of the tragedy. They remain children confused and threatened by White America, deprived of an adequate education, and subjected to inhumane rules restricting every aspect of their lives.

One of the major problems at Stewart is that no one seems to have identified the fact that Stewart is a specialized school dealing almost exclusively with problem children who are low achievers. Eighty percent of the students are assigned to Stewart for this reason and yet the school is operated as though this wasn't true.

1. The academic cost per child was between $550 and $600 in the 1967–68 school year and the budget was decreased for 1968–69. A remedial program would cost twice as much.
2. The teachers meet classes of 15 to 30 children five or six periods a day.
3. The teachers are not selected for their special knowledge or skill in dealing with Indian children, or problem children or to do remedial work. They are not even informed about the special problems they will face prior to accepting a position in the school.
4. The myth that the students are obtaining a high school education is maintained. "When a child comes here in the eighth grade but is doing fifth-grade work we can't place him in the fifth grade. The child and the parents would think something is wrong with the school so we keep them in the grade they are in and promote them each year until they graduate." There was some indication from interviews that the students are not completely misled, but they also seemed to want to believe this myth.

It seems fair to say that until someone gets a grip on reality Stewart will remain a tragedy. The Bureau of Indian Affairs needs to recognize the special character of the school it has created. If it did, several changes would follow:

1. The Indian children who are not problems would not be assigned to Stewart.
2. The financial support for the school would be drastically raised.
3. The staff—principal, teachers, guidance counselors and dormitory supervisors—would be carefully selected for their skill and training to operate and teach in a remedial school for children with serious social and psychological problems. Thus most of the present staff would be transferred.
4. An intensive inservice-training program to help the staff understand the children they are teaching would be an integral part of the school.
5. The school would have to be recognized as a non-graded school using modern equipment, curriculum and teaching methods. There is no evidence that the ma-

jority of these children are mentally retarded, therefore there is no reason why the majority of them can not learn simple arithmetic if some intelligence is used in teaching it.

If the BIA would take these steps and follow-up to evaluate the results, we would recommend that Stewart should continue to exist at least for the next 10 years. The sad truth is that there is a need for such a school and that need will continue until the BIA and public schools on the reservations are drastically improved to eliminate many of the problems that Stewart inherits, and be able to cope with the remaining ones at least as effectively as a boarding school, which is a poor alternative at the best.

Recommendations to a Senate Investigating Committee on the Education of American Indians

Based upon our experience in Indian affairs, our interest in the education of American Indians, and the findings in the studies conducted by us under the auspices of the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development during the past 18 months, we have made a recommendation to this Committee. This recommendation proposes to transfer the responsibility for educating American Indians from the BIA to a Federal Commission with a mandate to turn over control of Indian education to the Indian people within a period of five years.

We have stated that the basic problem of educating Indian children cannot be divorced from the total set of relationships between white people and the American Indians.

1. Attitudes of White people toward American Indians are paternalistic and demeaning. The results are a loss of self-respect and self-confidence among Indian people, development of apathy and a sense of alienation, and deprivation of an opportunity to develop the abilities to control their own affairs.

2. There is no specialized body of knowledge and practices that can be called "Indian education." It is a white man's educational system that has been imposed upon Indians with little or no regard for their culture or values. The only thing special about "Indian education" is its failure to educate Indian children.

3. The failure of educating Indians is not restricted to the BIA. All schools that have Indian enrollment have not done an adequate job. This statement is not an indictment of the schools since the schools are only a part of the whole system of relationships between Indians and white people.

The relationships referred to are:

1. Congressional action or a lack of Congressional action.
2. Attitudes of local white people who live on or near Indian reservations.
3. Lack of knowledge about Indians by Americans in general.
4. Administration of BIA, and its position in a department whose policies are not often compatible with the social action required to deal effectively with Indian affairs.

Let us focus briefly on the state of Indian education at present. There is no evidence that Indian children who live on reservations are deprived in the same way as children from the city slums. Data indicate that in many instances Indian children test and achieve at the average of the population in the early grades. It is at the fifth grade or later that their achievement disintegrates. Thus it appears that the failure with education does not lie with the Indian child.

In discussing the goals and purposes of education we can consider some criteria measuring success of schools as follows:

1. Educating children to some minimum level of competence. The average American education level is at the twelfth grade.
2. Preparing children to be productive in the total society.
3. Achieving some degree of success such as independence, obtaining employment, job success, a reasonable standard of living, etc.
4. Perpetuating the values and culture of the people served.
5. Providing a good climate of motivating students to learn.

In view of the above criteria educating Indians has been a failure.

1. The average of education of American Indians is about the eighth grade. Those who are in school are often up to three grades below the grade in which they are enrolled.
2. There is a high rate of dropouts among Indian children.

3. There is a very high rate of unemployment among Indians ranging from 35 to 100 percent. This compared to the American unemployment rate of some 4 percent.

4. American Indians have the lowest rate of income of any minority group.

5. Indian criminality is seven times that of the national average.

6. There is a high rate of alcoholism and suicide among American Indians.

7. Curricula of schools educating Indians contain very little if anything about Indian history, values and culture.

8. Schools are fostering the dependent status of Indians by not involving them in the educative process.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Let us first discuss BIA schools. If education of Indians is to improve, the relationship as it exists now between white people and Indians must change. This change must give more responsibility to the American Indians to enable them to make their own decisons regarding their place in the American society. It must not be a change from one of dependency to one of partnership with the Federal Government, but one in which the Indians are definitely in the driver's seat regarding their future destiny, with the Federal Government playing its role of serving its citizens.

Some thought has already been given to this change. The President of the United States about a year ago announced a policy of giving more responsibility to local Indian school boards. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs has begun to implement this policy by not only setting up procedures for giving more responsibility to Indians for the education of their children, but also for Indian groups to contract with states and private organizations to conduct many of the activities performed by the BIA in the past. The Rough Rock Demonstration School on the Navajo Reservation and the Blackwater School on the Gila Indian Reservation are two former BIA schools which have been turned over to local Indian groups for operation. The president of the National Congress of American Indians has recently presented a position paper recommending that the entire BIA be placed under the jurisdiction of a Federal Commission.

There are other alternatives to creating a Federal Commission:

1. Restructure the BIA so that services are improved for Indians.

2. Transfer responsibility for education to some other established agency such as HEW.

3. Transfer BIA schools to public schools.

However, the particular problems involved in Indian Education are not amenable to solution via these alternatives. If Indians are to have more responsibility for schools and if they are to be given recognition as being capable of doing the job, there are *three problems to be solved:*

1. The attitudes of officials who deal directly or indirectly with Indians in the higher echelons of government must be changed. The BIA is established within the Department of the Interior whose interests lie mainly with resources, and deals primarily with special interests such as the oil and mineral industries, grazing lands, outdoor recreation, reclamation, etc. Requests made by the BIA for local programs promoting Indian reservation development and seeking to reinforce Indian culture receive unfavorable attention from those who feel that the only solution to the Indian situation is to do away with Indian reservations and absorb the Indians into the American melting pot, the American mainstream, etc. One has only to examine the yearly BIA budget requests and what it eventually gets in appropriations to see that activities aimed at getting Indians away from the reservations, such as the relocation programs, receive ample funding while those which would promote Indian development on his home grounds receive inadequate or no funding. Attitudes of officials involved in the higher echelons of government are not going to be changed fast enough to permit the kinds of changes envisioned for the improvement of Indian education. For example, the Department of the Interior is not geared for the kinds of changes that are necessary because its chief interests do not lie with social programs. The HEW would be a much better place to put Indian education if it were to be located in an established agency.

2. The attitudes of BIA officials in the field must be changed or they must be replaced. An analysis of this second problem leads to these conclusions:

A. The personnel in the field cannot be changed fast enough to solve the problem in the near future.

B. The transfer of the educational program from the BIA to the Office of Education or to some other federal agency would not help. The personnel in the field would transfer if the program were transferred, so the basic problem would remain.

C. One alternative is to change the personnel by transferring the schools to the control of local school boards dominated by whites. This does not seem promising. The attitudes of the local whites in general are the same as those of the BIA.

D. Another alternative is to change the reward system in BIA. Instead of rewarding BIA officials in the field for good reporting and tight administration, their promotions and transfers should be based upon their success in effectively involving Indian people in the decision-making process; in turning some responsibilities over to Indians; encouraging experimentation and innovations in education; in reducing the numbers of whites holding responsible positions and increasing the number of Indians; in encouraging new developments on the reservation that require Indians to take the initiative; and in helping tribal councils to become more effective and democratic. These criteria should apply to all aspects of the BIA's operation.

3. The third problem is the Indian peoples' inability to assume responsibilities for such undertakings as operating a school. The reasons for this are:

A. Inexperience.

B. The social structure of Indian communities which have a strong kinship orientation.

C. Tribal power structures which are modeled on government bureaucracy, providing the Indian people with little or no experience in the democratic process.

In spite of the above limitations Indians have demonstrated that given the opportunity they can do an excellent job. The Rough Rock Demonstration is a good example. Operation of Head Start schools is another. Indians also have demonstrated the ability to manage their own affairs. The vast number of Community Action programs under the Office of Economic Opportunity, successfully conducted by Indians, can be cited as another example.

Turning the BIA schools to the Indians would provide still another opportunity for experience and provide means for training many Indian people, including teachers, administrators, social workers, and parents.

In summary our recommendations are:

1. Alter relationships of the white power structure and the Indians in all aspects of reservation life.
2. Start training Indian educators to work with their people in developing schools under local control.
3. Introduce the latest methods used in involving parents.
4. Introduce curriculum reforms and train able teachers.

We mention again some of the limitations.

1. Changing the reward system in the BIA will be difficult. It is one thing for Congress to state a policy and something else to see the bureaucracy carry out that policy.
2. The Indian people are not always in agreement with the approaches used by the BIA in program development, but they are also not in agreement with transferring the responsibility of educating Indians to another government agency.
3. The process of implementing any changes and innovations in the present school system will be too slow.

In view of the above we propose a program that has more promise of solving the problems sooner. The general plan is to create a Federal Commission which would assume control of Indian education with a mandate to turn control over to the Indian people within five years. This Commission would cease to exist after that time.

The responsibility of the Commission would be:

1. Train Indian educators to administer the schools.
2. Provide school boards with consultant assistance in setting up and operating local school systems.
3. Provide money for the training of teachers.
4. Provide money for the revision of curriculum.
5. Define policy relating to the operation of boarding schools.

Where it is feasible and desirable the schools could become part of a local school district but most of them would have to remain federally supported.

The Commission would take over the responsibility of administering federal funds allocated to public school districts such as the Johnson-O'Malley funds and would insure that Indians would participate in expenditure decisions.

Mr. NIMNICHT. I do want to make one comment before we start on the report. I can't help but report on the Indian School at Stewart, because it reinforces what you heard yesterday and it is in sharp contrast with what you have today. There they have vocational training. For the boys they have three programs; one is painting—house painting and sign painting. The other is farmwork; the third one is machine operation.

Senator MONDALE. Where is Stewart School?

Mr. NIMNICHT. It is at Carson City, Nev. A select group of boys get to take house painting. They spend half their time during junior and senior years practicing their skill, but they don't have a usable skill at the time they leave the school. They have to go on to additional training.

The other boys essentially do farm work and operate farm machinery. This is called vocational training.

Senator MONDALE. Is there any demand for rural farm machinery operators today?

Mr. NIMNICHT. There may be some, but this does not seem to be the issue. They operate a farm at the school. This is the way they get the farm operated.

Senator MONDALE. Do they use the products of the farm to feed the kids and so on?

Mr. NIMNICHT. That is part of it. And they don't follow up with their children, so they really don't know whether they have any place to go or not.

For the girls they have two vocations. One is called general services and translated in another terminology, that is to train household domestics. The second one is nurse's aide.

We submit that if you are concerned about the Indian concept of themselves, these are not adequate vocational programs. We could go on to document far more on that score, but two other comments—teachers are hired for that school without any knowledge that 80 percent of the children that come there are a problem.

I know only one person who has been on the staff for 4 months. I asked what kind of orientation he had received. He had received none. He had not been told anything about working at the BIA school or this school in general.

When I mentioned that 80 percent of the kids were problems, he was surprised and thanked me for the knowledge. This school so closely parallels what you had from Mr. Petrofesso this morning that the parallels are obvious.

We are addressing ourselves specifically to the question you have raised consistently. We honestly do not believe you can do anything to improve education unless some major effort is made to alter the relationship between the white power structure and the whites in general and the Indian people.

The Indian people must be involved.

Senator MONDALE. It is your testimony that you cannot conceive of a scheme that will work unless we do that?

Mr. NIMNICHT. That is where we are going.

Mr. McKinley will make recommendations on what we think should happen.

STATEMENT OF FRANCIS McKINLEY, STAFF MEMBER, FAR WEST LABORATORY FOR EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

Mr. McKINLEY. I also would like to add in addition to the two statements that we have presented to you that we are working on reports that we have been doing for the last couple of years of several Indian reservations. It includes a case study of the Ponca Tribe in Ponca City, Okla. This centers around the relationships with the white community mainly and the other concerns the Lonan School on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota where the local school board attempted to take over the Lonan School from the Bureau of Indian Affairs and did not succeed.

We have a case study on that. We will send it to you.

Senator MONDALE. Will you do that, please?

We would like to see it. Is that the case where they wanted control, but it was not able to be worked out?

Mr. McKINLEY. Yes. We have documented the problems around this. We will send it to you for your purposes.

Senator MONDALE. Fine.

Mr. McKINLEY. I am sorry that we don't have very much time because we would like to go into this more thoroughly. You have heard the problems here discussed quite a bit yesterday and today, and also previously in your testimony throughout the country.

So, we are prepared to make a recommendation here which alters the relationship as Dr. Nimnicht has said, and so this recommendation we bring to you proposes the transfer of the responsibility for educating American Indians from the Bureau of Indian Affairs to a Federal commission with a mandate to turn over the control of Indian education to the Indian people within a period of 5 years.

Now I am not going to go into all the reasons that we give because I think they have been discussed here. What are some of these relationships? Rather than take the club after the Bureau of Indian Affairs, we think it is Congress that is responsible.

The relationship consists of congressional action or lack of congressional action. I think that we say that a lot of times the Bureau is merely reflecting what they get in terms of appropriations, in terms of support.

On the other hand, any kind of improvements made are negative from Congress. Any time an Indian is prepared to make some advances, well, there is a threat of termination. This is very real to the Indian people and sometimes it inhibits them from making progress.

In fact, I suppose one of the main reasons for this kind of suggestion we are making is the fact that it moves them closer to this termination, whatever it is. Anyway, that is the problem.

I won't discuss the statistics about the dropouts.

Senator MONDALE. We will include that in the record.

Mr. McKINLEY. Right. There are other alternatives, of course, to this Federal commission that we are talking about. One is to restructure the Bureau of Indian Affairs, switch things around and get more money and more personnel and apply Santa Fe's wonderful approach to Stewart and so on, but we don't think this will be done very immediately.

It is a ponderous monstrous organization. It is going to take a long time to turn over. We don't think it will be done. We don't think it will be done by transferring the responsibility to HEW or the Office of Education.

We are just merely playing checkers, moving it from one bureau to another. I don't think it will result in a great deal of change, because we have not really got at the sense of the relationship. The other is the transfer of Bureau of Indian Affairs Schools to public schools. This has been attempted and from all the testimony that has been given, it still is not working.

The people from Minnesota say we are not very progressive in this nature. The public schools are failing just as badly as the Bureau of Indian Affairs schools.

Senator MONDALE. I don't think the suggestion was to transfer the Indian children to the public schools; but it is a criticism that exists with respect to both systems that the Indian is not part of the action.

Johnson-O'Malley funds do not carry with them any requirement that Indian parents be consulted.

Mr. MCKINLEY. Yes. This can be done, but we are saying it cannot be done. That is, it has already been attempted. So we are proposing this alternative which the commission, the composition of which I won't go into, we have had some thoughts on here, but the responsibility of the commission would be to train Indian educators to administer these schools.

It would provide school boards to consult and assist in setting up and operating local school systems. It would provide money for training of teachers, be providing money for revision of curriculum, the fine policy relating to the operating of boarding schools.

Maybe the idea of a boarding school should be that it ought to be under Indian control. An Indian board ought to operate this under some kind of contract, or maybe it could be done away with altogether. They are there because of the failure of schools at the local level.

We think that where possible, if the effect would be that the Indians are finally getting the means to be making their decisions, then it is up to them to decide what they want to do. If they want to turn them over to public schools, fine. If they want to close them out, fine.

Senator MONDALE. In the case of the Stewart School, they have three courses. One is farm labor, the other is domestic help, and the third is house painting. I assume that is a curriculum that was developed probably several years ago. How old is Stewart?

Mr. MCKINLEY. It has been there 30 or 40 years.

Senator MONDALE. If you ask the Indians attending there and their parents, whether they want to take those courses or have a different selection, is there any doubt that they would want something else?

Mr. MCKINLEY. I think as far as that school is concerned——

Senator MONDALE. How many kids who attend farm management courses would ever go into that field?

Mr. McKinley. That is not the point.

Senator Mondale. We are training them for jobs that don't exist.

Mr. McKinley. Stewart says that we train them in order that they will get out to go to academic or vocational schools.

Senator Mondale. That is why they are training them in farmwork?

Mr. McKinley. This is beside the point. In reality, they are making busywork.

Senator Mondale. That is the point I am getting to. The courses are irrelevant. I am sure the students know that.

Mr. McKinley. Sure.

Mr. Nimnicht. They try to perpetuate a method at that school that these schools are achieving at about grade level and they are getting high school education. The truth of the matter is that they enter the school 2 years behind and they graduate 4 years behind.

Senator Mondale. So they are slipping backward. Were you the one that had the figures that showed that with each succeeding year the Indian slipped in comparison with white students another half year behind?

Mr. McKinley. That is the total population. There are some new Indian children moving in there so you can say it is an actual slipping behind of a certain group of kids, because others are moving in. Some are moving out.

Senator Mondale. The only time that the Indian child is close to the achievement level expected of his class is when he enters school.

Mr. McKinley. That's right.

Senator Mondale. He slips backwards. While we are criticizing the Indian parents for not knowing what is good for the child, the last time they had anything to do with his education he was on par, and by the time we got through with him, he was 4 years behind.

Mr. McKinley. That is right.

Mr. Nimnicht. When you look at them entering kindergarten and first grade, they are not deprived in the same way.

Senator Mondale. A lot of the ghetto studies show kids entering 2 years behind when they start.

Mr. Nimnicht. My studies show the same thing on an even level.

Senator Mondale. There they enter and then slip.

Mr. McKinley. Sometimes superior.

Mr. Nimnicht. In fact, they maintain this in spite of cultural differences, in spite of language differences. They continue to achieve at about the average until about the fourth or fifth grade.

Senator Mondale. Let me ask one final question since this is a field of substantial interest to you.

Is there a single early childhood effort conducted by the BIA of any sophistication in education?

Mr. Nimnicht. The BIA is currently interested in instituting kindergarten, but the problem is that the Indian people don't want them to establish kindergarten.

Senator Mondale. There have been efforts in the OEO. I think some of them in the Western United States have resulted in programs for early childhood. Those programs which the children started at 2 or 3, had a health component, nutrition component, education and cultural component, and even mixed in an adult education component. I understand that was dropped.

Mr. NIMNICHT. No; they are still continuing it.

Senator MONDALE. How is that working out?

Mr. NIMNICHT. The ones we are having experience with are working out very well. At Pine Ridge, we are starting an experimental farm with parents.

Senator MONDALE. Where is that?

Mr. NIMNICHT. At South Dakota they use toys with their children, to play games with children. The parents are very interested and are becoming involved in education and have formed a parent group which we hope will continue.

Senator MONDALE. Is that OEO funded?

Mr. NIMNICHT. This is OEO.

Senator MONDALE. You don't know of a single adequate early childhood educational effort sponsored and paid for by the BIA?

Mr. MCKINLEY. They do have some 35 kindergartens operating throughout the system.

Senator MONDALE. Starting from age 5?

Mr. MCKINLEY. Age 5. Their original intent was to establish 70, but as usual, because of budget cuts and so forth, they were reduced to 35.

Mr. NIMNICHT. The Indian people are not interested in this because they see this is another inroad, that the white man is taking away from them. It is taking 1 more year from year to work with their child. The people supported the work on the Headstart program because it was in their hands.

Senator MONDALE. When OEO established its Headstart program, the parents felt involved and in a position of control and they supported the effort?

Mr. NIMNICHT. That's right.

Senator MONDALE. When BIA started independent kindergartens they worked from the first grade back through the existing structure about which there was suspicion. The parents thought it an intrusion.

Mr. NIMNICHT. The parents felt it took another year away from them.

Mr. MCKINLEY. They would have liked to have included it as a part of their Headstart program on which they have control.

Senator MONDALE. Wherever we go, we end up with this same testimony.

Mr. NIMNICHT. That is the reason we are making the proposal we are, because we think there has to be a real effort made immediately to move control to the Indian people. We are operating under the assumption and I think we can document it, that we can't harm the educational program for Indian children. It is so miserable now. Anything you can do is better.

Why not let the Indian people make their own mistakes. So, even if the things weren't completely tied off in 5 years, we would still see at the end of this period Indian people controlling their schools. This should initially be written in the legislation so that it could not be strung out or extended.

Senator HUGHES. I am still interested in this vocational school from the standpoint of selection. Do I recall correctly you said 80 percent of these children are problem children?

Mr. NIMNICHT. That's right; 80 percent are problem children. Twenty percent come primarily from the Hopi Reservation at Papago. These children are not problem children, but they are treated the same way as the other 80 percent.

Senator HUGHES. How are they selected to go to this school?

Mr. NIMNICHT. A variety of reasons. Someone somewhere has made a judgment that this child is a problem. It may be family background, maybe he is having trouble in school getting along. Some BIA official or welfare worker or public school official has said we would like to get him out of our school into the Indian school.

Senator HUGHES. If I understand you correctly, the purposes of this make-work education is to develop the techniques of inspiring in this young person a desire to go further in education?

Mr. NIMNICHT. They maintain that none of these programs are permanent. So, by implication, every child has to go beyond graduation from that school in order to get any kind of occupation.

Senator HUGHES. How many of them do?

Mr. NIMNICHT. There are no records to show what they do after they leave.

Senator HUGHES. At what approximate age do they leave that school?

Mr. NIMNICHT. Eighteen to 20 and sometimes 21. Out of 120 people graduating from that school this year, 10 of them were recommended by the faculty to take tests to see if they could qualify to go on to higher education.

Out of the 10, one person achieved above the 12th grade. The rest of them achieved around the ninth or 10th grade. This is the cream of the crop out of the 20. Obviously these people are not getting the kind of education that they think they are getting. They honestly have been living with a myth.

They are not totally misled. Mr. McKinley interviewed the students. They realized that the quality of education they were getting wasn't up to par. But everyone lived with the myth that somehow it is and somehow when we finish this school, we can go out and compete with the rest of the world.

Senator HUGHES. What kind of certificate do they get?

Mr. NIMNICHT. Pardon me?

Senator HUGHES. What kind of certificate do they get when they finish this school?

Mr. NIMNICHT. Diploma.

Senator HUGHES. It is just granted, but it is not acceptable on the basis of academic or any other accomplishment?

Mr. NIMNICHT. No. The staff is concerned that when the Indian people send their children there and they really are achieving the fifth grade level and they are enrolled in the seventh grade, they don't want to roll them back. They enroll them in the seventh grade.

They promote them year by year regardless of achievement. The math program seventh grade up, the first level of math is to teach addition and subtraction. That is a math program for a year.

The second one is to teach addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, and some fractions.

The fourth level program is a basic program in math to prepare a person to take a course in algebra. The top program is, of course, in algebra.

Mr. **McKinley**. Related to your question there was an item discussed yesterday about empty seats. Most of my educational experience has been with an Indian tribe, my own tribe. The reason why I got into education was originally my concern over the fact that we were not getting them out of high school and into college.

We worked at this for several years and got to a point where we thought we were making progress. Then, boom, we were told that they were shipping 75 of our students out of the public schools to a boarding school, in this case Stewart. We didn't know why this had happened.

We were beginning to wonder whether the Bureau didn't like what we were doing. They simply told us they were moving out. We lost about half of our clientele. So they ended up in a new school.

I didn't learn until later that the problem was a question of empty seats. In other words, they had vacancies they could not fill there at that time. They were reshuffling something. They just took them out of our tribe.

This relates to how they are selected.

Mr. **Nimnicht**. Sir, that school is a school for special children. Teachers are teaching six classes a day, average class size of 15 to 30. Everyone there is aware that they have problems, but they are teaching all the kids in a very conventional system, 30 kids at a time, 15 at a time, no effort to individualize the program.

They have introduced a remedial reading program for some children in a school where everyone needs a remedial program. The funding of that school is such that it would almost support a good high school for normal people. They receive about $500 to $600 for educational purposes at that school.

To carry out the kind of program they would need, they would require at least twice that amount of money and the budget was reduced from last year to this year, so they have even less money to operate on. The tragedy of the school is that you get disturbed with what the teachers are doing, with what the administrators are doing, but the whole thing impinges on this operation.

You can't get an art teacher as he talked about, because he takes him off the register. If they need a bandman—they have four electives in the whole school, after you once fit into a pattern, you get to elect four things. One is music. No one takes music now because they didn't have a band program. The man is not free to go out and get a person to teach band.

He has to take it off the register that comes through.

Senator **Mondale**. You are talking about a civil service register?

Mr. **Nimnicht**. That's right.

Senator **Mondale**. The local principal can't go out and select faculty. Someone just arrives. Is that right?

Mr. **Nimnicht**. That's right. We had two people from the University of Nevada who came down to study art as teachers. We thought they were both excellent. They both wanted to remain in the school. They gave up in despair.

Senator **Mondale**. If I uncovered a system in the Soviet Union like that, I would say that is what is the trouble with big autocratic dictatorial bureaucracies.

Mr. McKINLEY. Today someone said there was local autonomy at these schools. It is true in some instances. In another sense it is not. I think he mentioned this, that in some areas they are autonomous and in other areas they are not, but the end-result is confusion.

Nobody knows what they can do. The other related problem to this is that I think if you examine the Bureau budget and it is all included under education, you will find vocational training included in that budget.

One gets the impression that this is going to these schools that you are talking about. On closer examination, one is more relocation and employment assistance training.

What they are getting her is a product like they produce at the Stewart School, who can't read and write when they get there. If they don't drop out, they can't succeed anyway, because they are tied to very menial types of jobs.

Senator MONDALE. I am also told that when a student comes to Stewart, he is told which course he is taking. In other words, he does not elect farmwork or one of these other courses. He is told, "You are going to be taking farmwork." Is that correct?

Mr. NIMNICHT. They would say he is guided into it.

Senator MONDALE. Guided into it?

Mr. NIMNICHT. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. But he had better go.

Mr. NIMNICHT. He is not told he is guided into it, but this is based on previous achievement. They guide their best students into house painting.

Senator MONDALE. Those who are the most talented get to learn house painting?

Mr. NIMNICHT. Yes. The reason they can't get a job when they finish as house painters is that they cannot read or write to pass any kind of union standards. It is not a lack of ability to paint houses. They are pretty good at that. It is lack of other abilities that will qualify them to hold this kind of position.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much. I understand we have two other witnesses, but I simply cannot stay any longer.

We will reschedule you, if you will permit us to do so.

Mr. Parmeter, who is the head of our staff, is here. If the witnesses we have not heard will please come up, we will make other arrangements. We greatly regret it.

If they can't be made, we would like to take your testimony and include it in the record as though read and then submit questions to you in writing, which you can respond to in writing in lieu of oral testimony.

I greatly regret it, but there is nothing else I can do.

We stand in recess.

(Whereupon, at 1:30 p.m. the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene on Monday, February 24, 1969.)

INDIAN EDUCATION, 1969

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1969

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDIAN EDUCATION
OF THE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met at 9:05 a.m., pursuant to recess, in room 4232, New Senate Office Building, Senator Walter F. Mondale presiding pro tempore.

Present: Senators Kennedy (chairman of the subcommittee), Yarborough, Mondale, Hughes, and Bellmon.

Also present: Senators Gravel and Goldwater.

Committee staff members present: Robert O. Harris, staff director to full committee; Adrian L. Parmeter, subcommittee staff director; and Herschel Sahmount, minority professional staff member.

Senator MONDALE (presiding pro tempore). The hearing of the Indian Education Subcommittee will come to order. We are privileged to have this morning as our first witness, the distinguished Senator from Arizona, the Honorable Barry Goldwater.

STATEMENT OF HON. BARRY S. GOLDWATER, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF ARIZONA

Senator GOLDWATER. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate this opportunity. I will keep it as short as I can but I have had lifelong interest in the education of our Indians.

In Arizona we have 25 percent of all the tribes. They occupy 27 percent of our land and account for a little over 10,000 people. I have never felt that the education offered to the Indian has been a proper education and I will try to explain that.

I might say for the interest of your staff and yourselves the reason I sought this hearing this morning is not just because of my interest in Indian education but also stems from the fact I just finished a couple of book reviews on this subject for Western Way. One was written by Dr. Edward Parnell for the Education and Cultural Exchange which I think touches more closely on the problem than anything I have seen lately. The other book was merely a recitation of history called "Bullying the Moqui." "Moqui" was the name of the Hopi Tribe up to the turn of the century. Running throughout the doctor's book is the ancient question of what do we strive for in the education of the American Indian? What is our goal?

Is it to help the Indian retain his ancient identity and prepare him to live as a white man amongst white men or to show him how to remain forever an Indian in the historical sense, confining him to his basket weaving, pottery making, blanket weaving, and so forth? Or should it be to educate him in a way to help him slowly merge with the white or non-Indian American and accept a new culture?

I think this is really the meat of the problem, as I see it.

We have up to now been offering the Indian white man's education without the Indian really having a chance to say, "I like this" or "I don't like it."

We have an experiment out on the Navajo Reservation in the Rough Rock School District where for the first time in that tribe's history they have a school board and the school board is made up of Navajo with one or two white men on it. And they are beginning to answer this question of what do they want their children to be?

I try to picture myself as an Indian parent and try to sense what I might feel when my child was sent to school either close by or many, many miles away to a boarding school, knowing that the child would come back, yes, speaking English but also having forgotten the religion of his tribe. Whether we like it or not, these considerations are very important to an Indian way of life.

I think the day will come in the long, long future when these customs and their religions will have died, but I don't look for it to happen soon. If I were to make one suggestion to this committee, it would be to study the results of this Rough Rock experiment to see what kind of education they really do develop with a school board made up of people who have not only a real deep feeling for education, but a real understanding of how far they want it to go.

If we can ever get to the solution of the problem of how much do we really want to change this child, I think we can perform the kind of job that your committee wants to see performed in Indian education.

We find, for example, in Arizona there is a great desire on the part of the Indians to come under the State school system. Now we can't do that as much as we would like, although we do a lot of it. We can't do it because there is no tax that can be imposed upon the Indian.

I just this morning received a resolution from the State senate asking that the President and Congress give their earnest consideration to the prompt enactment of legislation requiring the Federal Government to remit a payment to the State of Arizona to take care of these students that we take care of now, but it puts a burden on the local school district.

(The resolution referred to follows:)

[State of Arizona, 29th Legislature, 1st Regular Session]

SENATE JOINT MEMORIAL 2

FEBRUARY 7, 1969

Introduced by Senators Kret, Giss, White, Holsclaw, Knoles

A JOINT MEMORIAL

Urging the Congress of the United States to Enact Legislation Requiring Indian Tribes or the Federal Government to Remit a Payment to the State of Arizona to Compensate for the Loss of Tax Revenues Through the Tax Immunity

Provided for Property and Transactions on the Indians Reservations or Alternatively to Provide for the Establishment and Financing by the Indian Tribes, the Federal Government or Coordinated Effort of Equivalent Programs of Education, Welfare and Health Services for Persons Living and Working on the Indian Reservations in Order that State Services to Such Persons May Continue.

To the President and the Congress of the United States of America:

Your memorialist respectfully represents:

Whereas, the State of Arizona provides extensive and costly programs for education, welfare and health services for a rapidly increasing population; and

Whereas, the State of Arizona has made such services available to Indians living on reservation lands within the boundaries of the State of Arizona; and

Whereas, the claim of Indians for entitlement to such services from the State of Arizona is a dubious one with no sound legal basis in light of the fact that the State of Arizona has never taken jurisdiction over the Indian reservations by affirmative acceptance of the Arizona Legislature; and

Whereas, the federal government has provided the reservation Indians with vast and valuable domains constituting more than twenty-seven per cent of the real property within the State of Arizona; and

Whereas, the privately owned and thus taxable real property holdings within the State of Arizona constitute less than sixteen per cent of the total land area in Arizona; and

Whereas, all the state residents other than reservation Indians are subjected to many types of state taxation in order to finance the increasing costs of the many necessary state government programs; and

Where, the federal government disallows the imposition by the State of Arizona of ad valorem, transaction privilege and other types of taxation on the propery or transactions within a reservation; and

Whereas, justice demands that the tax paying citizens of the State of Arizona be given the full value of their tax dollar rather than have it diluted through providing services to persons who should be provided for by the federal government.

Wherefore your memorialist, the Legislature of the State of Arizona prays:

1. That the President and Congress are requested to give their most earnest consideration to the prompt enactment of legislation requiring the Indian tribes or the federal government to remit a payment to the State of Arizona to compensate for the loss of tax revenues through the tax immunity provided for property and transactions on the Indian reservations or alternatively to provide for the establishment and financing by the Indian tribes, and the federal government of equivalent programs of education, welfare and health services for persons living and working on the Indian reservations in order that state services to such persons may cease.
2. That the Honorable Wesley Bolin, Secretary of State of the State of Arizona, transmit copies of this Memorial to the President of the United States, the President of the United States Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States and to each member of Congress of the United States.

Senator GOLDWATER. To give you some idea of what we are doing out there—and I am rather proud of what the Indians themselves have been doing and what the State has been doing and also what the Bureau of Indian Affairs has been able to do and are doing in this whole field—for example, last year we had a total of 750 Indians, mostly from Arizona, in colleges.

This year I think that figure will increase by as many as 500. In other words, they are really beginning to go to college.

Now 10 percent of our Indians who go to college graduate. This is well above the average in the State for the non-Indian students.

Senator MONDALE. Would you repeat that figure?

Senator GOLDWATER. Ten percent of the Indians who enter graduate.

Senator MONDALE. You say that is higher than the white rate?

Mr. **Goldwater.** I am told that. I am checking that figure. I just can't believe that that is true. I was given that figure twice by the superintendent of schools.

Senator **Mondale.** I have read some national figures recently on that very issue. My information is that it is a bit higher than that.

The big urge is to get them to go to college and there is a lot of work to keep them in school. If we have gotten them past the college doors, we have gone a long way.

Senator **Goldwater.** I think the 10 percent is correct. I don't think the lesser figure is correct.

Now we have one program, of course, out there supervised by the Navaho Tribe. It's a very wealthy tribe. They have a $10 million educational fund that they have established in trust for Navahos who want to go to college. Out of the 750, they have 401.

Then the next tribe would be the Hopi with 104 and they dwindle on down to one from the Maricopa Tribe. A very small tribe, which has fewer than 200 members now.

We also had last year 13 working on their master's and five in doctorate programs. Now once you get the Indian past the high school stage and get him interested in more education, which I think he will naturally acquire, if this basic education in the grammar school and early high school is controlled more by the local school board than by BIA, then you will find a remarkable student.

Our periphery Indians who have cities and schools around them generally have higher IQ's than the non-Indian students that they go to school with. The Hopi has a particularly high aptitude for electronics and are quickly grabbed up by electronics firms that we have there.

So that I won't burden you, I just ask unanimous consent that I might have inserted in the record at this point a tabulation of the Indians we have in college.

Senator **Mondale.** Without objection it is so ordered.

(The information follows:)

ARIZONA INDIANS IN COLLEGE, INCLUDING ARIZONA-UTAH BORDER

Navajo	401	Yavapai	3
Hopi	104	Havasupai	3
Apache	56	Karoka	2
Pima	36	Pomo	2
Papago	35	Ute	2
Paiute	34	Thlengit	2
Hualapai	10	Concow	2
Quechan	9	Yuma	1
Shashone	7	Chichasaw	1
Washoe	6	Pala	1
Mission	3	Osage	1
Urok	3	Maricopa	1
Mohave	3		
Cocopah	3	Total	750

Senator **Mondale.** It occurred to me that if you have information—maybe the staff ought to prepare this—indicating that the Navajo have a rather substantial fund set aside for encouraging Indian youth to go on to college then I think it might be well if the staff would prepare a summary of tribal efforts on behalf of their own members.

This information which would strengthen the record could include: How much money is available; how much is being spent; how many kinds of efforts are being undertaken; and also what improvements are made in these efforts by local government.

Senator GOLDWATER. The Navajo tribe, I will have to say, is a very wealthy tribe, not per individual but the Tribal Council has vast holdings and they have very wisely invested this in a trust, $10 million the last I heard of it, and they have wisely administered it.

They encourage their young to go to college. As a result they are getting much better government in their tribal organization and they are getting better-trained business people who are rather rapidly taking over the businesses on the reservation.

I would also submit a tabulation of some 2,700 Indians attending high schools that have Johnson-O'Malley participating funds. I will put that in at this point in the record, too.

(The information referred to follows:)

INDIAN STUDENTS ATTENDING HIGH SCHOOL, 1967-68 SCHOOL YEAR

[2,737 Indian high school students attended Johnson-O'Malley participating schools during the 1967-68 school year]

School	Grade				Total
	9th	10th	11th	12th	
Chinle No. 24	152	113	80	75	422
Ganado No. 19	79	41	50	43	218
Window Rock No. 8	113	89	95	75	374
Apache County High School District	40	26	46	29	142
Page Public No. 8	25	18	15	14	79
Tuba City	74	68	50	61	257
Williams	0	1	0	1	9
Globe	48	42	30	18	132
Young No. 5	13	17	7	7	46
Fort Thomas	21	23	39	19	102
Gila Bend	7	4	3	5	11
Mesa	42	29	34	22	120
Phoenix Union High School	11	10	7	1	23
Tolleson Union High School	7	8	5	2	22
Mohave County Union High School	3	8	1	4	11
Keams Canyon	8	2	6	6	23
Alchesay High School	54	39	30	28	152
Winslow	3	0	2	1	6
Monumental Valley	43	42	30	39	154
Continental	0	0	1	0	1
Indian Oasis	40	34	2	0	76
Sunnyside	7	3	3	10	23
Coolidge	29	20	11	17	77
Maricopa	3	4	2	0	9
Casa Grande	49	28	22	24	123
Camp Verde	2	0	1	0	3
Prescott	2	2	2	0	6
Northern Yuma County Union High School	32	42	25	17	116
Total of each grade	907	713	599	518	2,737

Senator GOLDWATER. Mr. Chairman, that is about all I have. I probably find myself more in agreement with Ralph Nader than I do with anybody else who has testified before the committee. I do think the greatest improvement that could be made would be to give the Indian himself, just as we enjoy that privilege, the right to serve on a school board and say what they think their children should be taught, what they want the end result to be.

Senator MONDALE. Your conclusion on that point is very helpful because that seems to be the basic issue: should the white man determine the goals and objectives of Indian education, or should we accept a structure in which the Indian himself makes the determination?

The chairman of our full committee is here this morning, Senator Yarborough.

Senator **Yarborough**. I regret that I wasn't here earlier, but I was attending the 7:45 a.m. breakfast to which we were all invited. I am glad to welcome you here.

I know of your long interest in the American Indians of the Southwest. You have a great reputation as a noted photographer of Indians for decades. I know of your leadership in the historical societies of Arizona. In fact, I have several books about the history of Arizona in which you have written forewords as a contribution.

I started as a young lawyer in El Paso, Tex., practicing law for 3 and a half years. That was closer to Arizona than to most of Texas.

I have read a little history of your great State. I know of your great interest for many years before you got into politics and your interest in American Indians and your study and advocacy of their cause. I am glad to help welcome you to this committee.

Senator **Goldwater**. Thank you, sir.

Senator **Mondale**. Senator Bellmon?

Senator **Bellmon**. I certainly agree that the Indian adult should have a major voice in making school policies in relation to the education of their children, but I am curious in relation to the situation we have in Oklahoma where our Indian populations are not on reservations but rather scattered widely through the white community. Do you have any suggestions as to how we go about making certain the Indian citizens have a voice?

Senator **Goldwater**. I may really feel strongly about this because my Indians are a little more retarded in their development as they relate to the non-Indian civilization than your Indians. Your Indians have been exposed to the white man longer than mine.

My people retain a very strong allegiance to their tribes. They have the feeling that when an Indian is dissatified with reservation life and they leave to go work with the white man, that he pretty much has taken his place with the white man.

Now this does not always apply, but it does apply to some extent. I don't know frankly what the answer is unless it would be something of the nature that our State Senate had introduced into it the other day, asking that the Federal Government provide moneys in lieu of taxes, because you can't tax reservation land and you can't tax Indians, to pay, say, on a 80-acre basis, for people who can be identified as Indian children who live off the reservation in Oklahoma.

I think that would probably be the only approach that you could make to it. I must say in the whole sphere of Indian affairs this gets to a problem that is going to be a very nagging one. What is an Indian, or who is an Indian?

I introduced a bill here when I was last in the Senate that required an Indian for Indian identification purposes to be more than a quarter-blood. Well, it never got very far because we have a lot of people in this country with a little bit of Indian blood and they are very proud of it and they kind of muddy up the waters when we try to solve a problem such as you have developed.

Senator **Bellmon.** I have no further questions.

Senator **Mondale.** Senator Hughes?

Senator **Hughes.** I have no questions.

Senator **Mondale.** Thank you very much, Senator Goldwater, for your contribution. Our next witness is Senator Gravel, the very distinguished Senator from Alaska, a State in which these issues are so very important.

STATEMENT OF HON. MIKE GRAVEL, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF ALASKA

Senator **Gravel.** Since this subcommittee intends to travel to Alaska villages for a firsthand look at the situation there, and for field hearings, I will confine my comments today to some specific proposals in regard to what is called the "Indian problem" and to Indian education, issues which, I submit, are inseparable.

This is an area of deep concern to me. Eskimos, Aleuts, and Indians live in nearly 200 villages scattered around Alaska's forests, tundra, and rivers. Most live in conditions of extreme poverty. It will be illuminating for this committee to be exposed to that environment, and to the native population of my State.

We are making strides toward improving life for all Alaska's natives, most significantly through education. Alaska has assumed full responsibility for the education of all the children in the State, including Alaska natives. A 1962 agreement between the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the State of Alaska set in motion a gradual transfer of BIA schools to the State. Our object is to transfer those schools to local villages and towns as soon as possible.

We are also making progress in secondary education. Through cooperative Federal-State funding, Alaska is constructing regional high schools in many communities. The BIA supplies the boarding facilities for the students. The object is to educate every Alaskan near his home, under a unified educational system.

But today, more than 2,000 Alaska natives are still shipped to high schools thousands of miles away, often to learn special skills which have no relationship to the life they intend to lead, or the place they choose to live.

We have severely objected to the segregated schools run by the BIA. Alaska native students have little or no choice about the schools they attend, the quality of education received, what is taught, or where the school is located.

Senator **Mondale.** Would you yield?

Senator **Gravel.** Yes.

Senator **Mondale.** The other day Mr. Nader testified that the BIA has a system whereby they will transfer Indian students from a school in which there are surplus students, to schools which have empty seats, before they will build a new facility. On many occasions they have taken Eskimo children and flown them up to 6,000 miles to a foreign environment in order to fill an empty seat in one of those BIA boarding schools, rather than adding adequate educational facilities in the location concerned.

Is that an accurate statement? It just seemed utterly outrageous to me that that would happen; but, apparently that is the case and your testimony implies as much here.

Can you illuminate this?

Senator **Gravel**. I think that statement is accurate. I think the wheels are in motion to alter that problem as it exists in Alaska.

We have a regional school of that nature, Mount Edgecombe in Sitka, Alaska, where there is no space available for children and it is at full capacity. The children have to be sent to a high school somewhere. So they are sent to Chemawa, to other locales, either in Oregon or in Oklahoma.

With our regional high school system, Senator, we hope to prevent Alaskan students from coming down to a foreign environment, and keep them near their homes.

Senator **Mondale**. Suppose they have seven empty seats in a school in Oklahoma and they have these Eskimo children in a surplus school situation. How do they select the students? How is it done? I can't imagine any parent voluntarily consenting to sending his child to such a distant point and into so alien an environment.

Senator **Gravel**. They have no choice. If you want to go to high school, you go where the space is available and the space is not available in Alaska.

Senator **Mondale**. So the parents are offered either the opportunity of a totally uneducated child or to send the child to a point thousands of miles away.

Senator **Gravel**. I make that point a little further on here.

Senator **Yarborough**. Since we have a pause here while the chairman of the subcommittee has arrived, I would like to ask a question or two at this point, Mr. Chairman, since I am going to be forced to leave to go to a meeting with the presidential scholars at 9:30.

I have already glanced through your statement, Senator Gravel, and I think it is terrific. I am not going to jump on ahead. I want you to give it line for line. I wish I could hear it orally as well as having read it.

How many Eskimos are there in Alaska and how many Indians?

Senator **Gravel**. We are dealing with a total population of around 50,000 of indigenous people in Alaska.

Senator **Mondale**. Indians and Eskimos?

Senator **Gravel**. Right. We have Indians in the southeastern part of Alaska, central part of Alaska, Aleuts on the Chain and Eskimos which border the coastal areas.

Senator **Mondale**. Do the Aleuts speak the same language as the Eskimo?

Senator **Gravel**. No, there are different dialects.

Senator **Mondale**. Pardon me, go ahead.

Senator **Gravel**. This 50,000 population relates to a total population of Alaska of 280,000. So you can see that it has a significant impact in the total population structure and, of course, within the total education system.

Senator **Mondale**. I just wanted to get those numbers at the start here.

Senator **Kennedy** (presiding). How rapidly did the indigenous population grow in the last 10 or 15 years?

Senator **GRAVEL**. It is growing at a fantastic rate. In the Bethel area, and in the Wade Hampton area, which is probably the poorest in the Nation, there is the highest birthrate in the entire Nation. It has the highest infant mortality rate.

So through the natural process the population is growing in an extreme manner within the indigenous people. The native population by and large is confined to the rural areas and the Caucasian population to the urban areas. However, the largest Indian or native village, per se, is within the lower income groups of the city of Anchorage or the city of Fairbanks. When you look at your "skid row" areas in the normal communities of the lower 48 States, and you look at our "skid rows," you find them populated by natives who have alcohol problems and many of the other problems that face minority groups in other parts of the Nation.

But the point I want to make is that this particular minority group is a substantial part of our total population.

If I may continue.

Senator **YARBOROUGH**. If I may ask one more question.

The Eskimo families are not as large as the Indian families, are they?

Senator **GRAVEL**. No, I don't think I would bear out that statement. I think they both have large families.

Senator **YARBOROUGH**. Eskimos also?

Senator **GRAVEL**. Yes.

Senator **YARBOROUGH**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator **GRAVEL**. I will continue.

We have no objection to schools which, because of location, are almost totally Indian in composition. The racial composition of the locality will characterize, and determine, the composition of the student body.

Our objection is to the typical BIA secondary school which requires an Eskimo from Nunapitchuk or Kivalina, in Alaska, to travel perhaps 5,000 miles to Oregon or Oklahoma, and be trained there in an Indian school with other Indians from other cultures. How would you gentlemen feel if you sent your 14-year-old daughter away in September—thousands of miles away—not to see her again until June?

Like many other American Indians, the Alaska native who suffers from this environmental dislocation finds himself in a state of cultural shock. As a result, large numbers of these students drop out, or sink into a deep personal withdrawal.

Annually, millions of dollars in public funds are spent to perpetuate such an environment, inside and outside the classroom. These public funds have been administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

I have worked with many of the administrators, educators and employees of the BIA, and I would like to note that Mr. Zellers, who is a fine and courageous man who handles the education portion of the BIA, is here today, and I do not want to make unfair allegations against those people, most of whom are very dedicated public servants.

But the Federal bureau in which they work is paternalistic. And this institutionalized paternalism has tended to create an environment which perpetuates the problem.

This is the paternalism of a bureaucracy which has failed to develop a way to share decisionmaking with the Indians, which has stifled Indian creativity, which has not properly educated the children, which has not realistically encouraged economic opportunity or well-being and which has not understood the current needs of the Indian people.

It has ignored Indian traditions. It has distorted Indian history. It has encouraged aimlessness and apathy. And the system stands convicted by the evidence vividly at hand, the Indian condition.

Over the generations our Indian policy has stripped a proud people of dignity, identity and goals. Today large numbers of our Indian people cry out to protect this false comfort of paternalism.

The most obvious illustrations are in education. It is not the intent of Congress to put a teacher who knows nothing of Indian culture into a remote classroom where he can innocently wreck havoc.

In Alaska this is still a major concern. Teachers still attempt to teach a second language, English, to Eskimos, by using totally unfamiliar objects like stoplights, umbrellas and giraffes. Eskimo children go home and ask their parents why a man in a blue suit and cap, called a "policeman", isn't at the corner of the street, just as he was in the Dick and Jane textbook. What answer does a parent have to a question like that?

This is how Eskimos learn to write a second language, and count in a new arithmetic system.

And then we wonder why they drop out of high school. Or why they rarely take jobs in areas where they have had a training course. Or why there is a serious crisis of alienation among the adults.

An Eskimo friend of mine—he is about my age—has spent the last 11years taking BIA training courses, and he has never held a job in any of the many areas in which he has been trained. Too little attention has been given to training which helps him earn a living where he lives.

There is even a greater crime committed within the Indian environment. Through the pursuit of a policy—quite acceptable to our conventional wisdom—a policy which bleeds off the most able and most promising young, a policy which removes them from the place where they could make their most significant contributions.

History shows a guided migration of the Alaska native away from the village. The crime is compounded, since many are not prepared educationally to share in the opportunities open to the rest of the Alaskan people. As a result, most drift back and forth, from the village to the city, to the village, and their talents are frustrated in the process. I point out these illustrations to indicate the magnitude and complexity of the problem.

Educational reform cannot be separated from a reform of the entire BIA. The problems of Indian identity, history, values, migration, success, cannot be solved piecemeal. These elements are inextricably bound.

What we teach in school has relevance for policy in every other sphere of Indian life—his economics, his values, his attitudes, his future. If we leave these other elements out, and concentrate solely upon a policy change in the school, he will not be successful in the classroom or out of it.

The elements of this problem are all wrapped up together. The school policy relates to the existence or reliability of a local tax base to run a school. The curriculum relates to the sources for economic mobility and the nature of available jobs. The construction of a school relates, most obviously, to the community's decision to locate up or down river.

Likewise, the reservation systems are bound up with the problems of the State with large Indian populations. And State problems in this area are involved with Federal funds from the BIA, Federal policy toward Indians, national Indian groups, and the policies of other States.

Various proposals to resolve the long-standing Alaska native land claims question will be before Congress this year. We are very hopeful that passage of a settlement bill will change the Federal policy toward the Alaska native, and change the BIA structure in my State. As a direct result, I am working on the entire question of the Government's relationship with its native peoples. And I am quite convinced that a new policy for the American Indian is desperately needed.

The key to this new policy, as I see it, is the abolition of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. I mean here a total restructuring of the system which administers the Federal obligation to the American Indian.

Although I have much Indian counsel to seek before I feel confident enough to make specific proposals, I am going to offer the criteria under which I believe such a change should take place. But before I present these criteria, I wish to offer two main arguments justifying this abolition.

First, the BIA has not failed because of a lack of concern, or because of a lack of money spent. It failed precisely because we chose the wrong vehicle to take us to reach our goal.

Fifty years ago 235,000 Indians were dependent upon the Federal Government and the annual BIA appropriation was $30 million. Today 400,000 Indians are dependent upon the Federal Government and the appropriation is more than $340 million.

After 50 years of work to eliminate dependency, and in the BIA's words "to create economic self-sufficiency," we are spending 10 times as much money on twice as many dependents.

The village school in Kasigluk, Alaska, is a good example. There the BIA has constructed a million-dollar school with a million-dollar sanitation system and the best educational equipment money can buy. But to my personal knowledge, not one student from that grade school has ever graduated from an accredited high school.

The problem doesn't have anything to do with the degree of effort, it has to do with the kind of effort. It has to do with the BIA, the institution itself. It is chartered as a wardship agency to protect the Indian, a charter out of keeping with our sense of human dignity as we recognize it today and out of touch with reality itself.

Second, the BIA does not belong in the Department of the Interior. But since it is there, it is affected by what happens in that department.

In Australia, the Government counts the Aborigines along with the kangaroos, aardvarks and mango trees, not with the human population. Here, the Indian is in the Department of the Interior, which is primarily concerned with fish, wildlife, gold, oil, lands, and forests. Such classification betrays old, established attitudes, some of which are still with us.

With these thoughts in mind, I offer the following criteria for the restructuring of the Federal effort toward the American Indian:

First, we must create a policy of shared decisionmaking, with regional control. Indians must have real influence on the management of businesses, the curriculum of schools, and the goals of the community.

Regional groups, whether they be in reservations, States, or groups of villages, should serve as the administrative arm of the Federal funding intended for Indian benefit. Policy decisions would be shared with technical experts, when and if necessary.

A few illustrations are in order. In Alaska, a statewide federation of native groups has incorporated, and is now operating, a sophisticated statewide REA project to bring electricity into the remote villages. Like any other corporation, it has hired technical assistance to help it make decisions.

A similar corporation would be created by the proposed Alaska native land claims settlement. That corporation would be owned by Alaska natives, and operated through the regional federation encompassing all of Alaska.

The Rough Rock Demonstration School on the Navajo Reservation mentioned by Senator Goldwater affords us another example. This is a school operated by Indian groups for the education and enlightenment of their own people. And this school is nationally recognized as a great success.

These illustrations are presently the exceptions to the rule, but under the new structure of the Federal effort that I foresee, these exceptions would become the rule.

The two main criteria for this new structure are, first, establishing programs for economic well-being, and, second, improving Indian education, which is the primary purpose of this subcommittee. In my view, these two elements are vitally connected and should not be separated.

Without an economic base to support, at least in part, the local schools there can be no local control. All people want control of their local schools. Under this new structure, we must provide the opportunity for viable economic organization in every American Indian region. As a direct result, the economic base will be provided for local schools. One solution will blend into another, just as historically one problem has tended to create another.

What I mean by the abolition of the BIA is not the abolition of the Federal obligation to the American Indian. What I am suggesting is a new structure for administering this obligation to the Indian people, a structure which is largely regional in character, which shares its decisionmaking with the Indians themselves, which encourages economic well-being, and which solves the educational dilemma on the reservation and in the village.

Let me make it crystal clear that I advocate the phasing out, and eventual termination, of this present bureau.

Mr. Chairman, that is my proposal briefly stated. Although this committee is concerned specifically with the problem of Indian education, I am sure you are equally concerned about the context in which that problem will be solved. I suggest that the larger problem must, and can, be solved concurrently with the educational dilemma.

I have one final comment. And it involves the right of the American Indian to be an American Indian.

To the common heritage we, as Americans, all share, certainly the

American Indian has contributed substantially. He asks now the right to live the kind of life he chooses to live, and no other kind of life. Each and every American has that right. It is characteristically American. And it is on this logic, this constitutional logic, that the Indian rests his case with the Federal Government.

In a pluralistic society, surely we are not about to require everyone to be the same. Surely there is nothing wrong with living on a reservation, or in a remote village, if that is the kind of life one wants to live. But there is something wrong when that is the only kind of life an Indian can live, when he is not free to choose.

It is our duty to provide the opportunity for that choice, that free choice. And I believe we can restructure our Federal effort and make it responsive to regional groups. And I believe the first effort we should make is to share responsible leadership with Indians.

Secondly, if we really want to free the Indian, we must lay down criteria which encourage economic well-being, self-sufficiency and mobility. Under the plan I envision this is possible, and I would hope that this committee in particular would see it as desirable.

Thank you.

Senator **KENNEDY**. Thank you very much, Senator. You bring to this testimony considerable experience and a background of concern in this area, and the committee welcomes your observations and your comments.

We know that you spent much time in thinking through this problem, and the committee benefits from the experience of your testimony. In the early part of your testimony, you commented that a 1962 agreement between the BIA and the State of Alaska set in motion a gradual transfer of schools to the State.

I am wondering if you can bring us up to date as to how many schools have been transferred, and what kind of success this transfer has resulted in, what this has meant in terms of educational experience to those who attend the schools?

Senator **GRAVEL**. Certainly the number on an annual basis is that at the end of the school year the State absorbs three or four or five BIA grade schools in the State system. The funding comes through the BIA so that the State contributes no appreciable funding.

We merely take over the operation of the schools. I think we can say that there is probably a better response in the school administration. There is probably a degree of more creativity and the problem is closer to the people at hand. I would say that this is the area of success in the State schools.

The responsiveness is the very key, because in the location of the school the decision now comes back to Washington when it is related really to a State problem. Our State, under our constitution, has taken over the responsibility for education of our children.

It is not the responsibility of the Federal Government. It is the concern of the Federal Government. I think that is the way we see it in Alaska.

Unfortunately, we have not had the economic muscle or fiber to pay all of this. So, we still use BIA funding. I would say this funding has been successful. As a continuing plan this will eliminate the BIA from any educational effort within the State of Alaska. This will take a period of time.

I would merely hope that we could hasten this process within the State of Alaska.

Senator **Kennedy**. I am trying to think through exactly what the end result would be. If you consider that program as reasonably successful, do you think we ought to continue to make progress towards the goal of transfer of these schools to the local villages, whenever possible?

Senator **Gravel**. Senator, I would say it is mandatory. I think it is successful enough. And that is our goal. We can have a structure where we take the operation of the school out of the hands of the Federal Government and place it in the hands of the State. This is a good deal closer to the place where it belongs.

On a State level, as I stated here, as soon as the communities have some economic viability, they will start paying taxes. As they pay taxes for their schools, they will run their schools.

We have a borough system in Alaska similar to the county. In the borough, when it is economically feasible, they operate the schools.

Our goal is to push the operation of the native schools into the hands of the boroughs where the natives live. The settlement of the land claims will bring wealth into the rural and native areas of the State, thereby giving them an economic underpinning with which they can pay taxes.

As soon as they are able to pay some measure of taxation, they can take over total control of their school.

Senator **Kennedy**. One of the things that you suggested is the development of regional native organizations that, as I understand, will be sort of contracting agencies, as is the case with the development of REA in remote and distant areas.

Senator **Gravel**. Right. If you look at the function of BIA, you have education, welfare and economic development. To find a vehicle to allow economic development is the point, the new element involved. I advocate regional organizations controlled by the natives themselves, which can contract with the Federal Government.

Therefore, you need not have the BIA operating anything with regard to economic development. The welfare facet of their activity can be handled by State governments as is normal; and the educational facet could also be handled by State governments. Therefore, you have no need for the BIA.

Senator **Kennedy**. In your prepared statement you say, first, we must create a policy of shared decision-making with regional controls. One of the things mentioned there is the curriculum of the schools.

The point I am trying to get at is that you have a problem now, as I understand, of the BIA turning the schools over to the control of villages and communities, which you support.

Later, you talk a bit about the development of these regional operations and organizations, one function of which is, as suggested by your testimony, to develop the curriculum of schools and other goals of the community.

I am trying to juxtapose those two positions to clarify in my own mind exactly where we come out.

Senator **Gravel**. I think they can work very well together. When you have a viable regional group, it will have spokesmen and they can present themselves to the school board meetings, be they advisory or be they actual school boards, and present curriculum suggestions which they think might relate to the economic community or to the cultural community.

Senator **Kennedy**. But they would not be receiving the funds that——

Senator **Gravel**. Not as part of the school effort, no.

Senator **Kennedy**. But they would be receiving funds as far as economic development is concerned?

Senator **Gravel**. Right.

Senator **Kennedy**. Their functioning as a regional organization would be only to the extent that the local community wants their kind of advice and judgment, information, and technical know-how. They would be able to provide this, but it will be strictly an advisory group?

Senator **Gravel**. No, Senator——

Senator **Kennedy**. As far as education goes, this is correct. That is what I am driving at.

Senator **Gravel**. I think I begin to see the problem of understanding. In our normal system it is very acceptable for you and I to go to a school board meeting and sound off and go ahead and express our views and have an effect on the policy of the school board.

This is not the case with the Indians in the community. They do not have the degree of participation that we take for granted. Therefore, they do not exercise what they feel is important in their curriculum.

Now if we set up viable economic communities, which I am advocating by the regional aspect, what I am suggesting is that through, in a sense, capillary action Indians could have a full voice in the operation of their schools, which could be administered by the State government or the regional governments in question.

Does that begin to answer?

Senator **Kennedy**. I see it more clearly now, and I understand it clearly with ı gard to economic development. We have a regional group in New England and, I am familiar with the development of legislation.

Appalachia was the first regional program. We currently have a number of different regional economic development programs which I support. I gathered from your testimony that you saw a role for this regional group in the development of education.

I was wondering how it worked, and, secondly, whether you thought it had a role so far as the distribution of funds is concerned, because in your testimony you have the creation of a policy of shared decisionmaking with regional control. Then you mention one of the areas should be the curriculum of schools.

A little later you say that "regional groups, whether they be in reservations, States, or groups, should serve as the administration arm of the Federal funding intended for Indian benefit."

Does that suggest funding as well with BIA funds?

Senator **Gravel**. If we abolish the BIA, obviously Congress has to appropriate the money someplace. This money must be given to somebody.

In the case of education it could be given to the State government, which can in turn transfer it to the local government, be it a village government or a group of villages.

If you take a regional concept, you can put it within the region which can turn around and pay the taxes for the school effort and, therefore, you have a complete identity of the people living in the community; one, paying their taxes and, two, running the schools.

The point that I suggest, which is very important, is that in order to participate in the operation of the school, you must relate it to economic terms, because if you don't, then you cannot develop the responsiveness to operate a school intelligently. So, if the regional organizations, which I suggest as a primary activity in the economic arena, can be used in a policy arena for the schools or as a vehicle to transfer the funds, then let us use it that way.

I think what I am suggesting here are the broad general criteria and I think that in the course of the year, I can assure this committee that I will be preparing legislation and seeking the sponsorship of you gentlemen because of your knowledge in this area, to do away with the BIA and restructure the entire effort along these guidelines.

Senator **Kennedy**. I have just a couple of other questions.

Do you have any information, and perhaps you could submit it later for the record, on the schools which have been transferred from the BIA to local control, and to the State of Alaska, as to whether there has been any real noticeable difference in terms of, for example, hiring native school teachers?

Has there been any effort in the changing of curriculum? Has the performance of the children itself changed to any extent?

I notice that in 1962, there were only a handful of schools of this type, and certainly, any kind of criteria in the field of education has to be done on a much longer and broader picture than we are able to have now, but I am wondering what encouragement have you found which would hopefully accelerate the program.

Senator **Gravel**. I can say for myself I find it very encouraging. The people I talked with in the educational community also find it very encouraging.

I think the leaders of education within the BIA itself have found it very encouraging since they are parties to the agreement of the transfer.

All the parties in question see it is as a benefit and I can only add as testimony to this benefit that we seek to accelerate it by leaps and bounds. I could get for the committee a more descriptive improvement, but in all fairness, I think people like Mr. Zellers share in this improvement because we sat down and worked out a plan within the context of Alaska and I, myself, authored the regional high school system in the State in 1966, and I recall sitting down evening after evening, working out the details of the program with BIA people.

These are the people that had the expertise, had the experience, and they were willing and able to transfer it to us. But the point I make in my presentation is that issue is not the individuals in the BIA. Their dedication is equal to the dedication of people in any other facet of government.

I say the structured system is paternalistic and, therefore, unsuccessful.

Senator Kennedy. Senator Mondale?

Senator Mondale. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

May I commend you, Senator Gravel, for what I think is one of the best statements we have heard before this committee. It is most useful, indeed.

I gather that your recommendations begin with the assumption that quality Indian education will only come about if, as a first principle, the Indians themselves have a dominant role in the development and control of the education of their children?

Senator Grave. That is correct, because what happens is that those few at the top of the spectrum are bled off or taken off and move into our areas, in the competitive areas, and succeed. Some succeed very well.

We have had an Indian Vice President of the United States. Mr. Keller, the head of the Phillips Petroleum Co. is a full-blooded Indian. They are equipped.

But what happens to the people who stay, who have lost the best they had within their past traditions? You are building a system where you bleed out the best and the environment always stays the same. Every time a new generation comes along, you bleed off the best.

That is what the educational system is doing right now. To make Indians a part of the system, how do we do it in our free enterprise society? Only one way—through the economic vehicles afforded by paying for education either on a Federal level, State level, or local level.

Senator Mondale. In Alaska, following the 1962 decision on the turning of control over to the State, has the State of Alaska evolved a system by which the Indians are given control or a dominant voice in the control of their education?

Senator Gravel. We have set up advisory boards. I must admit the BIA has also set up advisory school boards.

Senator Mondale. I am not talking about advice now. I am talking about control.

Senator Gravel. Control?

Senator Mondale. Yes.

Senator Gravel. In actual terms?

Senator Mondale. Yes.

Senator Gravel. I would say that there is one more facet to the plan which remains to be played out and it is the facet that I accentuate the most in this testimony which is without economic well-being, you will not see any participation.

Senator Mondale. I have been very active in economic development programs on Minnesota Indian reservations. You see the same paternalism there, as you well know, as you do in education.

All kinds of ideas for the Indian on how he should take care of himself economically are presented; but a lot of resistance is generated just as soon as he thinks up an idea that might mean competition for the white man. While I think great progress is being made and can be made far more than we have in the economic sector. I, for one, don't see any development in the next 25 years that holds any hope for such a success that would mean economic self-sufficiency for these Indian reservations, sufficient to generate the revenues they need for their own school system.

In other words, I think we are going to have to continue with such things as the Johnson-O'Malley funds and the other kinds of aid for a long time to come, if the Indian education systems are going to have the money they need. Is it your testimony that the Indian control should commence immediately, or only when they are economically self-sufficient? That is, when they are generating the revenues for their own school system.

Senator **Gravel**. What I advocate is that the Indian share responsibility or shared decisionmaking should begin immediately, not total control. I would not be quite as pessimistic as yourself in regard to the economic possibilities. Let me cite an example which we have in Alaska which is a success.

We have natives from a village who are transported to a cannery, maybe 500 or 600 miles away, at the cost of the cannery. They find it economically feasible to import their labor since it is seasonable. They come in and they work in a cannery.

If it is a fairly decent fish run, their income can rise appreciably. They go back to their village, live in the environment they choose to live, but their entire annual income is from that one sortie out into the economic arena.

This is a fairly pallatable method of existence if you choose to live that way, and it does afford a way of making a living.

Senator **Mondale**. My great-grandfather used to make his living in Norway that way. He finally gave up and came to the United States.

Senator **Gravel**. Maybe the natives will give up, but some choose not to. Some choose to live in the village.

The point I make here is that they have the right to live in the village and not on the reservation if they so choose.

Senator **Mondale**. I think the point you make about choice is a profound and essential one. Instead of the white man saying the Indian should live on the reservation or somewhere else, we ought to have a system, as you suggest, that permits the Indian to have alternatives and allows him to make up his own mind. I think that is very well stated.

One final point. What do you think of conditioning Johnson-O'Malley funds and the other kinds of Federal aids for Indian education on a requirement that the local public school district must first submit a plan for Indian involvement, and maybe even control, in the development of curriculum and other aspects of Indian education in those school districts?

As you know now, this money simply goes to the local school district for the education of Indian children within it, with no requirement whatsoever that the parents of the community from which these Indians come be consulted. Would you think some sort of condition of that kind would have merit?

Senator **Gravel**. I think it would be excellent. Also, it should be mandatory. If you move out the infra-structure of the BIA and make it direct, I think it would be mandatory in this case for the State to enjoy those funds. That is an excellent suggestion.

Senator **Kennedy**. Senator Hughes?

Senator **Hughes**. I was wondering, Senator Gravel, about two or three things.

In the last 2 or 3 years I went through some peculiar difficulties with the old order of an Amish religious sect in my own State. It is a prevalent problem across the United States in the educational structure.

How many of these particular people, whether they be Eskimo, Indians, or Aleuts, have any desire to join the economic battle of the future, and how many of them would prefer to remain a part of the basic pattern and method of living that has been their inheritance?

Senator **Gravel**. I think the article in Sunday's Washington Post about Wounded Knee makes the point very well in this regard. That is, that he wants to change. He really does. But he wants to hang on to what is his and what he thinks is beneficial about what is his.

Moving laterally into our society, if he meets with nonsuccess leaves two choices. One is to fight the problem, the other to recede back into the comfort of what he finds familiar.

Many of them recede. We see it with the Eskimos very, very graphically. That is, they are not aggressive. One of the great ingredients in our success in our free competitive society is competition. They have a more communal life. We stress competitive success.

To make adjustment, it requires success. It requires success for you and me. When they do not see the success and they have the cards stacked against them even worse than anyone else—when you add this all together and throw in a policy of paternalism, you perpetuate the environment, because immediately the paternalism will take them when they meet their first frustrations and pull them into a cocoon of security.

Senator **Hughes**. I would like to ask also, if there is any religious precept or pseudo-cultural religious precept that would incline them to a separation from the educational process?

Senator **Gravel**. No. The missionaries have been active in Alaska, which has lent itself well to missionary activity. The missionary environment or the effort has certainly contributed to the educational establishment.

Some of our fine educational institutions are missionary-run. But as far as a cultural impediment, I don't think it has any relationship.

Senator **Hughes**. You referred earlier, and I don't believe it was part of your statement here, to the high level of poverty-stricken native Alaskans in your city areas, such as Fairbanks, living in—I don't know whether you used the word "ghettos"—certainly in impoverished areas of the city. You referred to the high rate of alcoholism among the residents and to the problems that go with it. Has there been a pretty steady migration into the cities from the village areas in the last two decades, say, since World War II?

Senator **Gravel**. It has been back and forth. This is one of the interesting facets of it. They will go in and try it. If they don't succeed, they will either go into a ghetto-type situation or they will go back to what is familiar and that is their village environment.

It is a back and forth migration without any degree of success. Of course, there is always a percentage that will succeed, who will be completely acculturated and integrated and operate as the rest of us.

Senator **Hughes**. Are you advocating the same principles of education for the Indian in the ghetto areas of the city, as far as control over the educational processes is concerned, as you are for the villages located somewhere else?

Senator GRAVEL. Yes.

Senator HUGHES. How could this be done? By election to the school board?

Senator GRAVEL. I think that is the only way it can be incorporated, by being elected to the school board. In Anchorage we have had natives that have been elected to the school board.

As these organizations train and bring quality and leadership to the fore in the community, natives have normally taken their positions in the balance of the society's infrastructure.

If they are forcibly propelled into these areas, and if they are not qualified, the process will be disruptive in nature. I think if you take economics, as your first basis, it will work.

If you concentrate on school effort, and we have this concentration already, you can see the fact that the basic economics must be there. Otherwise you can say this: You train a child in a village. You give him an education preparatory for college which is sometimes irrelevant for this type of existence. It does not relate to the village or the reservation. What it does to them mentally is apparent just by looking.

Senator HUGHES. I am totally ignorant about this. I am asking to develop my own thoughts on it. Do you have the cultural educational processes in those schools for the Indian and Eskimo segment of the population?

Senator GRAVEL. Yes, natives go to school with everybody else. There is no integration problem in regard to that. There is an achievement problem with the child who by and large, comes from the native villages.

Let us say he has been to the eighth grade. He should be ready to go to the ninth grade in the urban areas. By and large, he is not qualified. He has perhaps a fifth or sixth grade achievement level. Our school systems are attempting to alleviate this problem with new curriculum, remedial reading programs, and related activities.

Senator HUGHES. Do you have any estimate in percentage of the Indian population that live in the city ghettos as compared to those in the villages in Alaska?

Senator GRAVEL. No, nothing I could give with any accuracy. I think 75 or 80 percent of the population live in the rural areas, in the villages themselves.

Senator HUGHES. Let me see if I understand. I think Senator Bellmon is going to get into some of this, because I think there is a parallel situation in Oklahoma, but I want to talk about the financing that you seem to suggest.

Am I correct that you are suggesting bypassing the State government and going to regional control even as to financing? The Federal appropriation would go to a regional committee rather than through your State General Assembly—doing this in the way of a block grant.

Senator GRAVEL. On the education side of it?

Senator HUGHES. Yes.

Senator GRAVEL. No; on the economic side of it, yes.

Senator **Hughes**. Explain the difference to me again.

Senator **Gravel**. If we want to pay for the construction of classrooms, if we want to pay for a hot lunch program, these types of things, we have a system set up already.

Our State government, our State department of education, our borough school district, these vehicles are in existence and can be used and are operable.

I presume that is the way it is in other States.

Senator **Hughes**. This is a State governmental system?

Senator **Gravel**. State governmental educational system and local governmental educational system. These systems can be used in the process.

What I advocate is regional, corporate organizations that have legal status. In the case of Alaska the corporation is funded for the public activities which they perform. With the settlement of the Native land claims it will acquire great wealth.

This corporation can move funds to local economies, thus giving native villages a taxable base from which to run their schools.

The point that I am trying to make, which we must adhere to, is that there must be an economic base to native involvement. If there is an economic base to native involvement, you can develop the proper type of responsibility in the operation of the schools.

Senator **Hughes**. I am lost somewhere down this line. If you will forgive me, I would like to go over it again, because it involves a principle that I am concerned with.

Senator **Gravel**. I think the fault is mine in not explaining it properly, Senator.

Senator **Hughes**. I doubt it.

The principle involved that concerns me is that of totally bypassing the administrative level of State government, apparently, through a Federal appropriation—yet there is regional control.

Senator **Gravel**. Not for education.

Senator **Hughes**. Not for education?

Senator **Gravel**. Not for education.

Senator **Hughes**. Strictly in the economic sense, such as what you call lunch programs?

Senator **Gravel**. Or the building of schools. The entire educational effort as operated in your State would continue through the State.

Senator **Hughes**. What about in Alaska right now, so for as involvement of the people in a school that is taken over by the State? Are they involved?

We have advisory school boards. The BIA has had advisory school boards. Is it just a token involvement or is it a real involvement?

Senator **Gravel**. I submit it is a token involvement. How do we get a real involvement ourselves? We get it by paying our taxes. If we don't pay our taxes, we don't have a real involvement.

Try to figure out a way of getting people involved without tying something to the economic system. If you want responsible activity on the part of the natives or the Indians, you have got to find an economic vehicle for it. That is the reason why I suggest that a solution to the school problem cannot be accomplished without first providing the economic props for a tax base.

When you do, when the Indian, the native, can see with his own eyes that he is paying for part of what he is getting; and he is not getting it as a dole or gift; and he can contribute the same amount to his schools which other Americans contribute; then there is something that he can identify with, and then you have responsible participation.

Until you get an economic solution, you will never have responsible participation.

Senator MONDALE. Will you yield?

Senator GRAVEL. Certainly.

Senator MONDALE. An example of that would be the housing efforts on the reservations in Minnesota which have now become a national pattern. The Indians, in effect, have had the option of public housing built for them by outsiders at public expense or what they call "mutual self-help." This is a blending of public housing with housing built by them, in many cases with Indian-supplied materials and with Indians doing the work under supervision. My information is that they much prefer to have the self-help kind of housing over the straight public housing because it gave them a role. It was their housing. They built it, and they learned skills which, incidentally, will help them in many other ways.

Senator GRAVEL. This, I think, is excellent. I think you have put your finger on it. They have to be part of it. In the meantime we want to accelerate their participation and give total control and that is a problem.

Senator MONDALE. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Senator BELLMON. Mr. Chairman, I have been very interested in Senator Gravel's comments. I think this is one of the best statements we have had.

I have been impressed by the vast difference between the situations of the Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts in Alaska and the situations that the Indians face in our own State. Particularly I was interested in the criticism on page 3 of the BIA policy of sending children from Alaska 5,000 miles away to Oklahoma to go to school.

I have visited some of these schools. I wonder why these Indian and perhaps Eskimo children are not enrolled in the public schools of Alaska? Why does the BIA want to transfer them clear to Oklahoma to go to school?

Senator GRAVEL. In one sense of the word, as you phrase it, there are no public schools in that area of Alaska. There are no schools. The only schools that are there are the BIA grammar schools. Some of them are presently being transferred to the State, which then became public schools as you and I understand them.

So, if there are *x* number of kids coming on the scene at age five, six, and seven and the parents want them to go to school, we have a law that says they have to go to school, so where do they go to school? Where there are seats available.

Senator BELLMON. Now your statement here is that there are 14-year-old children, who are going into high school?

Senator GRAVEL. Yes.

Senator BELLMON. Why are they not sent to the Alaska high school?

Senator GRAVEL. There is no place available.

Senator BELLMON. The schools are overcrowded?

Senator GRAVEL. Yes, you could say overcrowded, but a system has not been designed to absorb them. A system was designed and that was the regional high school program, which I authorized back in 1966, but I considered myself no great genius in authoring it. This is a plan which had been kicked around in Alaska for some time, was spoken of in the 1962 plan, agreed to and developed by the BIA and the State of Alaska.

Now this regional high school program, in the normal school district of the State of Alaska, will build a plant at State expense, a classroom plant. The BIA will pay for the dormitory, will bring the children from village areas into central points and educate them there as part of the State system.

Now if the area is viable economically, it will have a borough school district. So the BIA and the State will contact with the borough school district to run the school so that the children, let us say from an area the size of your State, may coagulate into one central community and that community school will be operated by that community, not by the State.

The children will go there and the cost of educating their children will be borne by the State, with funds mostly collected from the Federal Government, both for the classroom cost and for the living cost in the dormitories. But we don't have this in reality. This is just a beginning, a plan. That plan started in 1966. Until then, as a practice we sent them to your State.

Senator BELLMON. Let us go back to the school you are discussing. These would be all-Indian schools, all-Indian boarding schools?

Senator GRAVEL. Under our plan?

Senator BELLMON. Yes.

Senator GRAVEL. No, they would take whatever the population composition happens to be. If it happens to be 90–10 in favor of Indians, Aleuts, Eskimos, or Caucasians, it will reflect that. There will be no racial distinction as we see it. The school is for those who live there.

Senator BELLMON. The fact is that the schools we have in Oklahoma, operated by BIA, claim that these children who come there from not only Alaska, but Navajo Reservations, have not been able to fit in the regular curriculum. They claim that these children could not go into public school.

My question is based on this premise. If we went ahead and did away with BIA so far as education is concerned and the Indian citizens of a village ran their school system, would you feel that these children then would fit into a normal educational system?

When I say "normal," I mean high school and higher education for the dominant society as we know it. Are we setting up a situation here where these children would still not be able to ever assimilate higher levels of education?

Senator GRAVEL. No, I think we can perfect our system so that a child can come from a community of 500 population and move directly and laterally into a community of any size and go from one school to the other and have equal competence. If we can't do that, then we have failed in our society.

Senator BELLMON. Apparently the BIA has failed, because that seems to be the reason they bring the children 5,000 miles from Alaska to Oklahoma rather than taking them to Anchorage or Fairbanks or some other school.

Senator GRAVEL. All I can say, Senator, is that is what I suggest here. They have failed.

Senator BELLMON. If we turn the education system over to the Indians——

Senator GRAVEL. Just turning it over to the Indians, per se, I don't advocate that as a solution either. What I advocate is a shared responsibility, an economic underpinning which makes all of this viable.

Without this, it won't work. Of course, it is no reflection on your community that our children don't particularly like to go to Oklahoma. The theory in question is that the same choice that applies to your children applies to my children. We can send our kids to school down the street, but they can't in the village.

They can't send them to the high school down the street. They have to send them somewhere else.

Senator BELLMON. I am curious why they didn't send them to Anchorage. It seems to me if they could have fitted into the Anchorage school, they would have done it a long time ago.

Senator GRAVEL. Right. Now we have set up a plan that will fit them into Anchorage, Fairbanks, all over the State. We hope to implement this plan with funds from Federal Government, so that we can get our children out of Oklahoma and Oregon.

Senator BELLMON. You feel these children that come out of the village school will be able to go directly into the high schools in Anchorage?

Senator GRAVEL. I think so. I think that we can improve the quality of our education if this can be done; yes.

Senator BELLMON. I certainly agree with any system that will accomplish this. The problem that we have in Oklahoma is that the Indian children come out of the small school in Indian communities and they have a difficult time adjusting to the high school curriculum.

Senator GRAVEL. Could I suggest one thing, Senator, that I think will open up this whole area to a considerable improvement? This will be communication and educational TV. We have begun experiments, of course, in Samoa. I think as these experiments have perfected methods we can transfer to the rural areas, to under populated areas which do not have the broad, rich curriculum that the urban areas have. I think we will see some improvements in this regard.

Senator BELLMON. Of course, the goal of education has to be set, but it seems to me the danger of such a system as you recommend, and let me make it clear I am not defending what has been done in BIA. I think it is regrettable after so many years and the huge investment that we have made that the Indian situation has not improved more than it has—but it seems to me that we will be setting up a society that will never give a young person a chance to blend into a dominant society if he wishes to do so.

I think we should avoid this sort of trap. Let me ask another question about this idea.

What would happen in one of these Indian or Eskimo areas to the, I suppose, relatively small white population that is there. Would they be welcomed and would their children progress in a school that is run by an all-Indian school board?

Senator GRAVEL. I don't think it would bother them at all. If they choose to live there and be associated in that community, it would be natural to them.

Senator BELLMON. Now you have recommended that we abolish the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Are you thinking about taking the Bureau of Indian Affairs only out of the educational area or abolishing the agency entirely?

Senator GRAVEL. Abolishing the agency entirely. Of course, I realize there are proposals afoot to move it into the Office of the President or to move it to HEW.

I submit if this were to happen, it would be passing over the problem very lightly and closing your eyes to the solution of it all, not a Federal paternalistic system, but a system which is closer to the people in question.

Senator BELLMON. Again I want to make a point I am not trying to defend BIA, but there is a practical problem. For instance, where we have the Osage Indians, they own a large area of oil properties which has been and still is one of the most valuable oilfields in the world.

I wonder how we would keep the sharp trading white people, and I am sure you have a few in Alaska—we have an abundance of them in Oklahoma, from getting title to this property.

Do you have an idea of some agency that would take the place of BIA temporarily?

Senator GRAVEL. I would promise one thing over the years; that I will devote my efforts in this regard. But at this point I can only say if they truly own it, they should truly own it.

By your statement, the inference is that they don't own it, that they enjoy the benefits from it, but apparently somebody else operates it, the BIA.

That in my mind is classic economic paternalism. If you and I own a piece of land and somebody can euchre us out of it, then we are entitled to be euchred out of it. There is nobody that watches over us with a guiding hand and says, "You fail and you succeed."

I see no reason why the Indians of your area, if they have great wealth, can't operate in a corporate setup just like we operate, issue stock, and if somebody wants to divest themselves of the stock, so be it.

But by perpetuating a system where the economic decisionmaking is at one level and the benefits are at the other level, we have established a cocoon which will perpetuate itself from generation to generation with no possible solution, no possible solution.

There is only one way to learn and that is to go ahead and do. In our native land claims we face the same thing. We are talking of turning possibly a billion dollars of wealth over to the natives of Alaska.

It does not frighten me and I am happy that they will have it. In the settlement which will be presented and which you gentlemen will be voting on, one of the provisos is that for a 10- or 15-year period an Indian cannot divest himself of his holdings out of race.

But at a given point in time he can. We have to presuppose that maturity will occur, and that Indians should have the right to do what they want. Because if you never give them alternatives they will never be able to rise to the challenge.

We now have a system in some of our communities where land is given to Indians, natives, under a restricted deed. They can't sell their land until they get BIA permission on the deed.

I presume you have similar situations in your State. Well, some people may feel good about this, that we are protecting the Indian. I am sure there are a lot of Indians that feel this is good. But I am sure that there are a lot of Indians who do not, and who feel the basic inferiority which is implicit. It is an inferiority, because if they can't handle their land like you and I can, that means they are not equal to us.

I think that the Indians cannot accept that and I think those that do accept it—although as I stated in my testimony earlier, you will find many natives that will cry out and say, "We need the BIA and we want the BIA," because it is a very comfortable cocoon.

Senator **Bellmon**. I have to agree in principle with what you are saying, but at a practical matter, this is going to create a great deal of inequities, at least unless some method is developed that phases the BIA out over a period of time.

Senator **Gravel**. Senator, that phasing out has been in existence for 50 years.

Senator **Bellmon**. You mentioned a 15-year period before they would be able to enter into some of these transactions.

Senator **Gravel**. As far as the corporation, if we are successful in the legislation, the corporation will be set up immediately and the BIA will have no activity in the operation of the corporation.

Senator **Bellmon**. Under the terms of your new law, you say they could not dispose of the property outside of race for 15 years?

Senator **Gravel**. Yes.

Senator **Bellmon**. This is a phasing out of a sort.

Senator **Gravel**. Well, it is a protection against the possibility of a person being euchered out of it immediately. So it has to stay within the race. You assume that as they exercise the total operation of it, that they will develop the maturity and leadership to operate it.

I submit under our present system we are seeing that they are not euchered out of their interests but the Federal Government operates their total life. I submit that the chance of survival is better by letting Indians run their own affairs rather than letting the paternalistic system continue.

The indictment here is very simple.

All you have to do is look around at the growth of the problem to realize that that system does not work. To say that we have to guide them some more or work toward a phasing out is just an admission of what has been going on.

Look at it in very graphic terms. Since the BIA has operated, which of course has been before the Civil War, but let us take from antebellum days, we have seen 100 years in our great Nation, and particularly the opening of the West, and with all the great opportunity that was there, the Indian should have shared and he should no longer need paternalism.

Such has not been the case. The paternalism is 10 times larger than what it was. And the dependency, the number of people in this status of dependency, is twice as large as it was 50 years ago.

Something has not worked. If what I advocate sounds like a jolt, then I think that has to be tried, because the old policy has not worked.

Senator **Bellmon**. Thank you.

Senator **Kennedy**. Thank you very much, Senator. We appreciate your appearance here.

Senator **Gravel**. Thank you, Senator.

(The following letter was subsequently received for the record:)

U.S. SENATE,
Washington, D.C., March 3, 1969.

Hon. EDWARD M. KENNEDY,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Indian Education,
Senate Committee on Labor and Welfare,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: In response to specific questions during my testimony on February 24, 1969, I am supplementing the record with facts and figures on the general makeup of the Alaska Native community and the guidelines for the State-BIA educational plan with reference to Alaska Natives. I would hope that this material would appear immediately following my remarks in the record.

1. Of a total state population of 282,000 people, approximately 53,000 are Alaska Natives; 39,000 of which live on the remote places in westward or northern Alaska. Slightly more than 70% of the Natives live in villages.

Approximate total populations of the five major cities in Alaska follow, along with the approximate native population in those cities:

	Total population	Native population	Percent native
Anchorage	135,000	4,500	3
Fairbanks	36,000	2,600	6
Juneau	12,000	2,000	15
Ketchikan	10,855	2,700	24
Sitka	7,200	2,200	32

For comparison, four "regional centers" in westward and northern Alaska, with population figures, are presented:

	Total population	Native population	Percent native
Nome	2,450	1,534	61
Barrow	1,811	1,651	91
Bethel	[illegible]750	1,530	86
Kotzebue	[illegible],740	1,513	84

Inside the Native group, there are 52% Eskimos, 22% Tlingit and/or Haida Indians, or to a lesser degree Tsimpsian Indians, 13% Aleuts, and13%Athapascan Indians.

2. Student breakdowns are as follows; Alaska Natives only:

	Kinder	Beginners—8	9 through 12	9 through 12 outside Alaska
Public	775	8,562	2,538	0
BIA	55	5,728	796	1,089
Total	830	14,290	3,334	1,089

Of those being educated "outside Alaska," 356 are in Chillocco, Oklahoma and 733 more are in Chemawa, Oregon.

3. Transfer of day schools (K to 8 grade schools only): In 1938 the BIA transferred the first school to state control. By the time of statehood (1958), forty-nine schools were transferred to the State, and most of these needed continuous support by the State, since they are largely in small villages. Since statehood, another 13 schools have been transferred, ten in 1968 alone.

The theory behind the transfer is that the State government, which is closer to the villages, will be more responsive than the federally-operated schools. In any case, the State has assumed, under its constitution, responsibility for the education of all Alaskan children.

To my knowledge, there is no comparative record of these schools to indicate which has more Native participation, more educational success, or more adaptive curricula. This is due to the fact that the programs are recent, and the evaluations as a result would be insufficient if made.

Today, there are 6,207 Native children enrolled in 82 schools operated by the BIA, and 2,381 enrolled in 48 schools directly operated by the State. Others are enrolled in schools operated by independent school districts, private groups, or by the state under Johnson-O'Malley funding.

4. *Regional high schools*

The object of this plan is to provide boarding facilities (thru BIA funding) and educational plants (thru state funding) for the 1,089 Alaska Native high school students now being educated out of the state; for the approximately 500 prospective high school students who would attend high school if they were not turned down by the "outside schools" (or who refuse to attend those schools because they are too far away); for the unknown but large number of dropouts; and for the probable natural growth (as a result of the highest birth-rate in the nation, schools in the Alaska Native areas are heavily overburdened).

A copy of the proposed location and construction of classroom and dormitory spaces for secondary students in rural Alaska is attached for your inspection.

5. The effects of the transfer of the BIA day-schools to the State, and the effects of the transfer of the BIA day schools to the State, and the effects of the regional high school program have not been determined by extensive research. But educators in federal, state and local schools believe it to be an encouraging development. Moreover, the Native people feel very deeply about the issue, and prefer the more localized control.

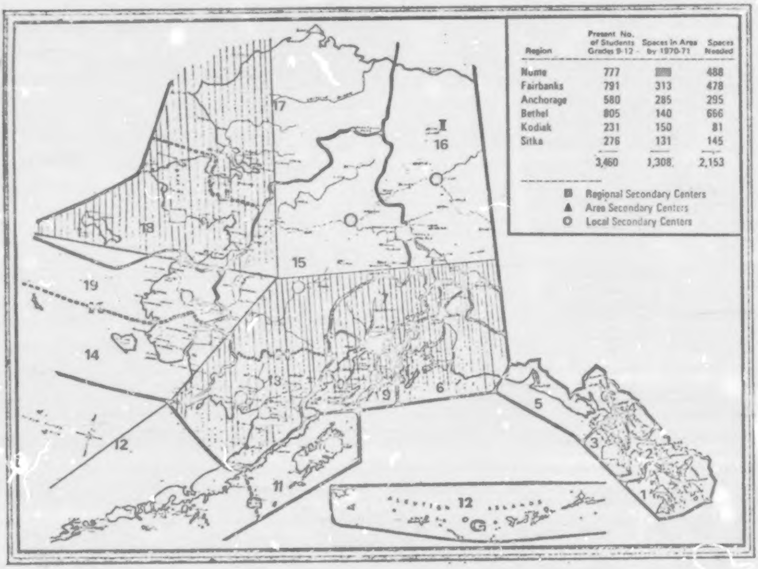
An effort is being made in the University of Alaska in coordination with the State to revise village-teaching curricula, which has been very encouraging to date.

The net result of these courses, and the consequent effects on the children, is not yet known. More time is needed to develop a useful theory.

In regard to secondary education, educators in the state believe that graduates of the state system fare better in college, or in employment, than those who graduate from BIA schools in Oregon or Oklahoma, although the general level of all Native students is still discouragingly low.

Sincerely,

Mike.
MIKE GRAVEL.



Region	Present No. of Students Grades 9-12	Spaces in Area by 1970-71	Spaces Needed
Nome	777	[illegible]	488
Fairbanks	791	313	478
Anchorage	580	285	295
Bethel	805	140	666
Kodiak	231	150	81
Sitka	276	131	145
	3,460	1,308	2,153

■ Regional Secondary Centers
▲ Area Secondary Centers
○ Local Secondary Centers

Proposed Location and Construction of Classroom and Dormitory Spaces for Secondary Students in Rural Alaska to 1973-74

	Existing Facilities [illegible]		1969-70*		1970-71*		1971-72*		1972-73*		1973-74*	
	cl. rm.	dorm	cl. rm.	dorm	cl. rm.	dorm	cl. rm.	dorm	cl. rm.	dorm	cl. rm.	dorm
State Operated	595	30										
Mt. Edgecumbe	650	650										
Point Barrow	60											
Kotzebue	60											
Nome (Beltz)	165	165										
Private	380											
District (Tuition & Bd. Home)	350											
Bethel	130											
Total	2360	845										
Kodiak			150 ✓	150								
Sitka			200 ✓	200								
Bethel			450	200								
Fairbanks			200 ✓	200								
Anchorage			175 ✓	175								
Barrow			120 ✓	-0-								
Kotzebue			80	-0-								
Dillingham			50	50								
Total			1425	975								
State Operated: Delta					100	-0-						
Fort Yukon					50	50						
Tok					50	20						
Bethel					150	150						
Fairbanks					200	200						
District (Bd. Home)					200	-0-						
Total					750	420						
Area Jr. High (to be selected)							100	100				
Area to be Designated (Anchorage or Alternate)							200	200				
Nome (Beltz)							150	150				
Bethel or St. Marys Regions							150	150				
Total							600	600				
Fairbanks or Nome Regions									100	100		
Area Jr. High (3 @ 50 ea.)									150	150		
Point Barrow									100	-0-		
State Operated									100	-0-		
Areas to be designated									150	150		
District (Bd. Home)									200	-0-		
Total									800	400		
Areas to be designated											200	200
State Operated											150	-0-
Total											350	200
Class Room Totals			3785		4535		5135		5935		5635	
Less Mt. Edgecumbe									650			
									5285			

* Appropriation Years

Senator **Kennedy**. Our next witness will be Mr. Osview.

We want to ask him if he will be kind enough to take the witness chair.

Mr. Osview, we want to welcome you.

STATEMENT OF DR. LEON OSVIEW, PROFESSOR OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION, TEMPLE UNIVERSITY

Dr. **Osview**. I was asked to look quite particularly at the organization structure for the education funding within the BIA. I will restrict my testimony to that.

However, I must say that one of the assumptions necessary to such a study, was based on reading all of the documents I could get, all of which agreed that the state of Indian education is pretty much the same as the education of other minorities within our society.

Education of minorities in the American culture today seems to be by quite unanimous agreement, I think, in a perilous condition. We failed in our city, we failed in our rural areas, and we failed with Mexican-Americans, and we failed with Indians to do all that we think we should in educating properly.

So, one of the assumptions here is that the education of Indians needs to undergo a certain amount of change in order to be improved. Quite specifically, I looked at the administrative structure for education with that principal assumption in mind.

I might say by way of summary that it seems to me that there is a frustration of leadership in the education function in BIA which is due primarily to a structure which, however useful it may be for other functions within the BIA, serves the education very poorly.

Indeed, if one were to design on purpose an organizational structure within a bureau, such as the BIA, to frustrate leadership for education, I suppose he would come with remarkable consonance to just about the kind of structure which now exists.

Technically speaking, the structure is a decentralized-centralized organization. That is to say, there are three levels below the department level and each of these levels is centralized. But decisionmaking is carried on in a centralized way in each of these levels.

It just so happens, that the principal education officer therefore turns out to be the area director, who is not an educator. There is a whole philosophy, I suppose, and several theories which one might cite and discuss in order to say specifically what is wrong with an organization in which educational decisions are, in fact, not made by educators.

It so happens that the education function within the BIA has been very fortunate presently and in its assistant commissioner. Both men are in my view at least extremely able and dedicated men, and yet the structure, it seems to me, in each case was calculated to frustrate them and continue to frustrate them.

It may be not too much to say there is a crisis of leadership in Indian education. If changes do occur in Indian education, it is unlikely to occur in the way the organization is presently structured. It seems to me this committee, if it makes up its mind that educational change is useful within the structure of BIA, will have to find some different way to organize the education function.

Indeed, I see only three reasonable alternatives. One has been suggested often, primarily by the Subcommittee on Appropriations, that the education function of BIA be transferred to HEW. I personally reject that alternative as a reasonable one, on the grounds that HEW has never demonstrated its ability to run a school system.

Senator **Mondale**. Have they ever had a chance?

Dr. **Osview**. No.

Senator **Mondale**. Then how could they demonstrate it?

Dr. **Osview**. They may be able to, Senator, but on the basis of the evidence it seems to me hard to believe that they have the expertise, the background, the information.

Senator **Mondale**. What evidence?

Dr. **Osview**. Negative evidence, lack of evidence, let us say.

Senator **Mondale**. They have never had a chance. Do they operate a single school system now?

Dr. **Osview**. Not that I know of. On the other hand, I know a fair amount about the HEW and I see no particular reason to believe that there is a competency there now. That it could be created in quite special ways, I have no doubt, which of course is the second alternative.

The second alternative would be to create, perhaps after the TVA model, a separate authority to operate Indian education. I dare say that is a perfectly feasible proposition. But it seems to me unduly dislocative as well.

I have some reason, I think, to believe that dislocative activities of this sort are perhaps unnecessary in the BIA, because whatever else may be said about the BIA, there is a great deal of expertise about Indian affairs.

It seems to me that that is worthwhile and necessary in the last analysis in any kind of an organization. It seems to me also true that the BIA has personnel who with an appropriate organization and an appropriate leadership, could do a very much better job than they are doing.

So my suggestion is really quite a conservative one. It may be somebody's optimization, I suppose, but it is deliberately, I think, a conservative suggestion which I believe has validity. Indeed, if it does not have after some years of trial, the validity I anticipated, or if it cannot be achieved, then I think the other alternatives do exist, primarily the creation of an authority, either in or outside HEW.

I would prefer outside rather than inside. But the alternative I suggest is simply to make the education function an independent activity within the BIA by which I simply mean to remove educational decisioning from the area director, who is in my view unable and ultimately incorrectly designated to be an education officer.

I could go into considerable detail about the budgetmaking function, which I think I will not unless you have questions, but the education budget turns out to be upon analysis very largely the area director's budget.

I submit to you that that is an anomaly to have an education budget submitted to the Bureau of the Budget ultimately by what is essentially a noneducation official. The concept of decentralization you see is supposed to be effective in that it permits the expression of ideas from the grassroots of an organization.

It doesn't work that way in the BIA for the education function. I state that categorically. The advantages, so-called advantages, of decentralization are not to be found in the educational function of BIA.

I submit to you that the education officer of BIA could operate, using only one other level of administration, a centralized system with decentralization principles primarily in budgetmaking, which could be much more effective and a lot closer to the public school model, which could and does in most cases work a lot better than the BIA administrative organization model works.

I was especially interested in Senator Mondale's earlier suggestion that Johnson-O'Malley funds have a condition attached which would require that Indian children have some sort of special features in their education, no matter where they go to school.

I must say I think that is a superb suggestion. If that alone could occur, many Indian children would receive a better education than they do now because I would like to point out that the crisis of leadership about which I speak is not only in the Indian schools themselves, the ones operated by BIA, but it is just about the same kind of crisis in other schools because the Bureau of Indian Affairs has no input into the educational decisions made by public school systems where Indian children go to school now.

It seems to me that one has to face a very real question as to whether or not there shall be an exercise of high quality top-level leadership from the BIA education officials in Indian education wherever it may occur. I would suggest to you that the present organization makes it difficult, almost impossible, that education officials learn how to be frustrated on all the matters that are really of some importance and that such a condition is calculated to maintain the status quo, which all sorts of testimony before this committee, I am sure, must indicate is of a condition which is quite unacceptable to American society.

Senator KENNEDY. You speak in terms of changing the administrative setup within the BIA. Even if you had an educator with regional responsibility for development of a program, unless you are going to have policy changes, it does not seem to me to make a great deal of difference.

Dr. OSVIEW. You are quite right, Senator. My point, I think, is that the policy decisions now, first of all, are very hard to trace. One has a great difficulty of finding out how policy decisions are originated and how, in fact, they are made. But certain decentralization of at least influence among Indians themselves was initiated or at least greatly increased during Dr. Marburger's term and has been continued in the present administration.

I think there is a disposition on the part of at least the leadership in the education function of BIA to do a lot more in that direction. But I think actually the whole matter of policy as far as it relates to the education function is again what I would call a matter of leadership.

Insofar as conditions now stand in the BIA, the area director is the principal policymaker of the policies that matter the most, that is, the day-to-day operation of schools, the kinds of developments that can be funded. These day-to-day policy decisions are in the hands of a person whose primary information, primary expertise is not in education and for whom I am afraid in many cases education is not a really primary consideration, even though more than half of the budget of BIA does go for education.

So, I would quite earnestly agree that policymaking and administration are, in fact, inseparable. I see them as being more or less independent. The word is a difficult one. What I mean is, in fact, separate it from the regular structure of BIA and give it a great deal more independence of policymaking and implementation.

Senator KENNEDY. You suggest that even if you had the interest and the recognized policy aim of decentralization and giving to the Indians a greater voice in developing their educational system, there is a real problem when we get down to the present administrative structure and the regional authority because by disposition and training, these administrators are not prepared for these new educational experiences?

Dr. OSVIEW. I would say, Senator, as a kind of attitude perhaps, maybe it is a philosophy, I am not sure just exactly what it is, possibly a value system, but I think there is a commonality that one sees very dramatically in most of our efforts to educate what, I think, what we euphemistically call minority groups in American society.

If I were to put it in a phrase, it would be the concept that Indian education does not need to be very good. It just needs to be good enough. Education for blacks in the cities does not need to be very good, it just needs to be good enough. Education for Mexican-Americans in the Southwest does not need to be very good; it just needs to be good enough.

That is what I see in the BIA. I see it exemplified in a great many of the decisions made by area directors, who seem to have accepted this philosophy pretty completely. I think I see a difference in point of view when I speak with Mr. Zellers or when I speak with Mr. Marburger.

I see a different point of view, but I don't see them as being in a position to make their ideas and value systems felt in that system to anything like the degree that their elevated rank in the system would presuppose would be possible.

Mr. Zellers has so-called line authority, but the line authority turns out to be mighty ineffectual when it gets down to making the everyday decisions which affect education most profoundly.

Senator MONDALE. I have one question.

Of the inadequacy of present educational efforts for the American Indian, what proportion of that is attributable to issues of administration? What proportion is attributed to underfunding?

Dr. OSVIEW. There is no question that there is underfunding, Senator Mondale. But that is true for most of the school systems in the United States.

My own background happens to be in school finance. A question like yours brings out all my natural talkativeness and I am going to try to restrain myself.

Schools have been underfunded in the United States for a very long time. Indeed, so long a time that there is a general lack of ability to spend greater amounts of money.

I think our title I and title III experience shows that you need to get ready to be able to spend money wisely. But my guess is that it is not underfunding which is the principal problem in BIA. It is a crisis in leadership.

I think it is a matter of policymaking, of administrative structure and organization. It is a matter of who gets to be in what jobs under what conditions. It is a matter of who rocks the boat and who doesn't rock the boat.

It is a matter of the reward system. It is a matter of, I think, the BIA's having opted for mediocrity, quite on purpose I really believe, although I don't believe I can prove that. But there is that very strong impression.

I really doubt that one could say the major difficulty was the lack of money.

Senator **Mondale**. What is the per capita expenditure for Indian education?

Dr. **Osview**. First of all, one needs to talk about Indian education in BIA schools and Indian education in the regular school system.

Senator **Mondale**. If you try to eliminate such things as boarding schools; what is it?

Dr. **Osview**. I don't think I can give you a precise figure. I do have it some place in my notes. It runs some place between the $450 to $550 range for BIA.

Senator **Mondale**. In your opinion, is that even remotely approaching the funding required for quality education; even if all your other recommendations were adopted?

Dr. **Osview**. Well, the Rough Rock experiment which was touted to this committee several times this morning, I suspect, which has received a great deal of publicity, doesn't that run something like $2,600 a pupil?

Senator **Mondale**. Yes. So if it is somewhere in that neighborhood—unless we also include vastly expanded per pupil funding—even with all the conceptual and administrative changes, we are so far short of the mark we will not deliver quality education?

Dr. **Osview**. This is perfectly true. I would like to add to that if you were to vastly increase the amount of funding for Indian education tomorrow and leave it to the same structure, not a whole heck of a lot would happen.

Senator **Mondale**. I have no further questions.

Senator **Bellmon**. This figure you mentioned for Rough Rock, $2,600 per capita, does that include boarding and room for the students?

Dr. **Osview**. I am not absolutely clear on the amount, because I have never seen the budget. I have simply read the literature and the literature reports a figure of something like $2,600. That may include boarding school. I really don't know.

But there are extraordinary costs in Indian education that can't be minimized. If one were to talk about the big Navajo, for example, there are extraordinary transportation costs. There is a road budget, for example, which has been treated, I was about to say, cavalierly, but I am sure that is wrong. But it has not been treated with, let us say, due seriousness, it seems to me by the Bureau of the Budget.

As a consequence a system of centralized schools in the Big Navajo becomes impossible, because without transportation, it simply is an impossible concept. So, if you talk about the cost of Indian education, it seems to me that you must necessarily be talking about expenditures of a magnitude greater than the typical public school system.

As a matter of fact, Indian education operates on a budget which is less, but I still say despite that, it would be an error to assume that just additional money would make an overwhelming difference in the quality of Indian education.

It might make a difference in the accessibility, it might make a difference in the number of children who went to school and those would be obvious again, but the quality of education experience for children in the schools would not be substantially increased, it seems to me, even if there were more money if present leadership conditions remain as they are.

Senator BELLMON. Perhaps we have it in our testimony somewhere, but I would appreciate your defining for me, if you could, what you assert to be an Indian.

Who is an Indian in your judgment?

Dr. OSVIEW. I think I would have to pass on the grounds that that is not my field of expertise. I am willing to accept anybody's definition who knows better than I.

Senator BELLMON. We are talking about Indians and I wondered if you knew whom we are considering, who is an Indian.

Dr. OSVIEW. I am not competent to answer that question, sir.

Senator KENNEDY. Thank you very much. Your testimony was very helpful.

(A report submitted by Dr. Osview follows:)

DECEMBER 6, 1968.

Mr. ADRIAN PARMETER,
Staff Director, Subcommittee on Education,
New Senate Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR ADRIAN: Enclosed is my report. I trust that it will be of use to the Subcommittee. For me, the opportunity has been engrossing. This letter expresses my thanks to you for your help, and explains my mode of operation, for whatever use that may be.

Mine is not an investigative report; that was not my task. (Actually, the printed *Hearings—Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives*, Part 2. U.S.G.P.O., 1968, contains an excellent investigative report on BIA. I read it, happily, after completing my analysis and find myself in virtually total agreement.) I have tried to do an analytical study, keeping my focus on three essential organizational elements: Administrative structure, budget process and certain related personnel factors. My method is a straightforward one, consisting of reading, interview and judgment. Whatever value my recommendations may have, they are subjective, but based on objectively gathered data. I do not pose as an "expert" on Indian education. My expertise is in educational administration, and whatever my biases are can be attributed to that background, too.

There are some insights and judgments I am relucant to write in my report to the Subcommittee, simply because I do not have enough data. I am unwilling to diminish what I am most sure about my mixing those judgments with judgments of which I am less sure. But even these less certain judgments may be of interest to you, and on a confidential basis, I offer them for what they may be worth.

1. The quality of Education personnel, Bureau, Area and Agency, is very unimpressive, except for Zellers and Jones, who are impressive. Some of what I have said in the report about reward system may explain the fact (if it is a fact), but I'd also guess that Superintendents and Area Directors are not very eager to have top-notch and aggressive Education professionals in their offices. Certainly there are ways for Superintendents and Area Directors to keep the personnel situation under their control.

2. The lateral interdependence across the second and third echelon levels in the Washington office requires a special kind of cooperation which does not really exist, apparently because the responsibilities are dysfunctionally arranged. An example will make the point: If Education is ever to get what it needs to

operate a PPB system it must, as matters are functionally arranged now, get data from Norwood's Division and formats and training programs from the Program Planning Branch. Zellers, literally, has no clout with either, and his influence, probably because he's "new" and the others are "old" Bureau hands, is not great. Actually, Zellers has to use Bennett's authority for such powers, on appeal. And that, clearly, is last resort behavior.

3. Couple the lateral powerlessness with the vertical ones (Area Director power and the limited capability of Education personnel in the Areas and Agencies) and the measure of Zeller's frustrations is truly monumental. Under present circumstances I, for example, wouldn't take his job for either love or money.

4. My major recommendations, I am most aware, are difficult of accomplishment, if they must come from Bureau initiative. My impression is that the Bureau is spongy enough to absorb almost any amount of criticism. But it is also true that my recommendations are very consciously the most reserved, the least radical, one could make, if he conscientiously confronted the facts. Indeed, one may even say, I suppose, that I have opted for sub-optimization. Actually, I think I've really done what Herb Simon refers to as "satisficing." What I've done is to reject both what is impossible and untimely—like setting up an independent commission (TVA?) to run Indian schools—on the one hand, and tinkering with a few internal arrangements so as to leave powers unaffected, on the other.

I see "independence," that is, integrity of educational authority and responsibility, as the heart of the matter. If that much can be gained it is either enough, or it is step one on the way to a more radical solution. But a radical solution in this case is radical surgery, amputation, and such cutting is both dangerous and dislocative. Besides, something usually gets discarded in amputation procedures. In this case it could be the expertise about Indians going back more than a hundred years. That's a lot to lose.

My recommendations are conservative, but I think they will be useful, if tried. The only respected argument against them is that they may not be strong enough. If so, then it's to the OR we must go. I don't know about you, but I'd try anything that had promise before I'd let the surgeon amputate anything.

MEMORANDUM

To: Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate.

From: Leon Ovsiew, professor of educational administration, Temple University.

Subject: A report of an analysis of administrative structure, budgeting practice, and certain personnel factors of the Bureau of Indian Affairs as they pertain to the education function.

Date: December 6, 1968.

SECTION I

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

The Bureau of Indian Affairs is intended to be a decentralized bureaucracy in which some executive power is centralized at each of three levels.[1] Whether or not this decentralized, but centralized, administrative structure is best for accomplishing BIA's educational functions is the specific problem to which this section of the report is addressed.

The Concept of a Decentralized Bureaucracy. There are few executive organizations, and no large-scale ones, which do not employ some form of the bureaucratic mode. Though the word "bureaucracy" has a pejorative quality, largely caused by many unnecessary sins committed in its name, it is still the only basic structural form available for large organizations. It is not, therefore, that BIA's administrative structure is a bureaucracy, centralized or decentralized, that marks it as good or bad; the question here is whether or not its version of the bureaucratic mode is the most suitable for the educational function it performs.

The particular form of decentralized bureaucracy which is the basis for BIA's organizational structure is simply this: that as many operational decisions as possible be made at the Area level rather than at the Washington level or the

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[1] The Department level is excluded from consideration because the focus of this report is the Bureau of Indian Affairs, by definition of task.

Agency level. The effect of BIA's version of decentralization is to centralize a good deal of power in the Area Director, who is a "generalist" administrator. Stating the principle does not, of course, indict the system; it does help to define the attitude of an organization toward its administration. The thesis of this report is that BIA's structure does prescribe a "power context" which has major implications. For the education function, this "power context" is critical.

The problems created for Education by the decentralized structure of centralized Areas are not wholly visible at the abstract conceptual level, even though negative judgments are often made about the principle of decentralization. Opposed to such *a priori* judgments about decentralization are the cogent arguments about the size of the BIA's geographical scope, some 55 million acres of land, and the distances and population sparsity characteristics which obtain in this vast domain. It is also true, to some degree of operational fact at least, that local and tribal differences are respected by BIA. Some kind of decentralization is manifestly necessary to deal rationally with all these complicating variables.

For Education, the problems of the system seem to be operational and behavioral ones, especially leadership and adaptive behaviors. To see why this is so, it is necessary to be clear about how the system of decentralized (Washington) and centralized (Area) bureaucracy distributes decisioning authority.

If one were to draw a simplified picture of the BIA administrative structure for Education and then show the line authority pattern through the structure, it would look like this:

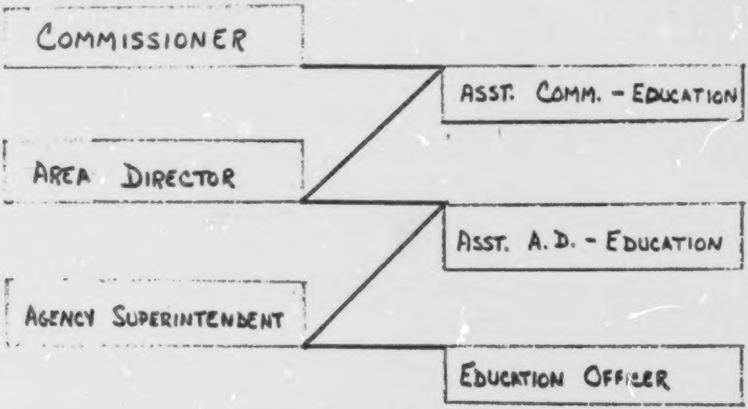

Figure 1. Skeletal Chart of Line Relationships for the Education Function, BIA.

If one follows the heavy black line, the authority pattern of BIA administrative structure describes a kind of repeated Z. The decentralization concept is apparent, and it is also apparent that the "generalist" (non-education) administrative officer is, in fact, the educational decisionmaker at each level. True, as a line officer the Assistant Commissioner "speaks for the Commissioner" as far as the Area Director is concerned. Both understand the fact, but both also understand that Education does not really operate out of Washington. Both know that in his area the Director has even more leeway of authority than appears in any manual. The whole BIA structure is decentralized, so that no one is in much doubt that it is the Area Directors who make or break the Bureau and that their real operating power is actually intended to be great enough to justify such accountability, informal though some of it may be. Certainly the power, formal and informal, of the Area Director is not total, but it is great enough to enforce an "influence pattern" from the Assistant Commissioner for things that matter most.

The authority pattern works unaided for the routine, the "business" of office. For leadership and for change in Education the method almost has to be influence rather than authority.

It is not unusual in organizations that accommodations should be made to neutralize or even overcome the formalities that don't work well in the regular structure. Influence patterns and networks are, in fact, common, because there is a will in all organizations to make things work, somehow. In the BIA structure, however, it looks as though the influence pattern were designed on purpose; rather than being an accommodation, the influence pattern is virtually ordained. Its effects, therefore, appear to be purposeful, too.

The purposeful nature of the influence pattern, viewed through the Education function, makes leadership extraordinarily difficult and efforts at change an exercise of extraordinary complexity.

If Education were the highest priority function of BIA, it might be speculated that the tight parameters of the authority pattern could be somehow overcome. But education is not BIA's highest priority, despite some verbalized recognition of its centrality and despite its large share of the BIA budget. Since it is not at the highest priority, Education must have a structural means for getting its job done, if it is to get done at some level of quality higher than status quo.

A Consideration of Possible Alternative Organizational Structure. It should be understood that two assumptions are being made in considering not only the need for alternative organizational structures for BIA but the desirable characteristic of alternatives: one is that Indian education requires considerable improvement in many ways, and the other is that education is a function important enough to require an accommodation by the BIA organizational structure, however well the present structure may suit other expectations. This report does not set out to "prove" the first of these two assumption, but the evidence for it from the reports of competent observers is too persuasive to doubt. Indeed, like the education of all disadvantaged minorities in the United States, it would be altogether remarkable if this assumption about Indian education were not self-evident as truth. The second assumption is, of course, a bias such as is held by all educators, and, happily, by millions of other people. The "proof" of this value judgment is the independence of the public school system which has at great effort been kept separate from the ordinary affairs of civil authority. Americans have always believed education to be something more and something different from just another operation of the regular municipal government. The assumption here is that this is a vital tradition which has served the nation very well.

The most obvious alternative for achieving an "independent" Education function would be to remove Indian education from BIA, and there are those who would so recommend. A case could be made, for example, for giving the function to HEW, and the exasperation of some with the condition of Indian education could lend credence to any such case. But there are at least three major arguments against this alternative:

1. HEW has never operated a school system. Its education manpower and expertise are insufficient even for its current tasks in education. It is hard to believe HEW would wish to have the burden of operating Indian schools, and harder still to believe that it would do a better job, if HEW had to work through the Z pattern to do the job. And if it did not have to work through the Z, why could not the same freedom be made possible within the Bureau?

2. BIA, whatever its shortcomings, has an enormous fund of knowledge about Indian affairs which can and should contribute to sound judgments about Indian education. The danger of losing a valuable resource is real and must be compensated for heavily, if it is to be incurred. The implied advantages of HEW operation do not promise such compensation.

3. Alternatives for quasi-independent operation of the Education function within BIA can be devised which are less radical, less dislocating to BIA and Indians alike, and far more feasible. At the very least, such an alternative should be tried first.

The primary characteristic of a viable alternative structure for the Education function is that leadership efforts should be both encouraged and rewarded. Though no one would be naive enough to believe that any structure alone can make leadership flourish, it is nevertheless true that structure can frustrate leadership. A good structure can do more: it can encourage good people with ideas to cast their fate with the organization for the rewards of accomplishment. In any event, if a structure actually hinders the exercise of leadership, it needs changing to a structure which encouraged it. No principle or organization can be more certain.

How does the present BIA structure constrain and impede the exercise of educational leadership? By the quite simple necessity of making every educational idea, every experimental hypothesis, every possible adaptive change run the gauntlet of non-educators who hold nearly complete authority over Education operations and whose short budgets and spending leeways make new educational ideas less attractive than the non-postponable non-education functions. Forced to use an influence pattern for getting whatever consideration of their change-ideas they can, Education officials must learn to lose more often than they win, and especially to lose the big ideas. It takes only a little empathy to understand the frustration this perception causes for people who know that little ideas can never hope to win the battle against the inadequacies of a school system whose whole population is as disadvantaged as that of the worst of the urban black ghettos.

There is another, more subtle point about the uses of a decentralized structure. In theory, a major advantage of decentralization is that it permits a freer exercise of political democracy. Opportunities exist when administrative decisions are made close to the point of their implementation for the people affected by them to affect the decisions. Indeed, there is a mystique about the idea; "grass roots" is almost more than a metaphor. It would be satisfying to be able to note that such an advantage inheres in the BIA administrative structure. But the route upward through the echelons seems to be no less difficult than downward for Education personnel, at least on the things that matter most. The BIA's philosophy of organization derogates the educational administrator and educational specialist in favor of decisioning by non-educator administrators. It does no more for the grass roots educator, either.

A Little History of Organization. The present Deputy Commissioner, Dr. Theodore Taylor, has provided an invaluable history of BIA's organizational change in his doctoral dissertation. (*The Regional Organization of Bureau of Indian Affairs.* Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1959.) Written out of both experience and painstaking scholarship, the volume has many useful historical insights about current BIA regional (decentralized) organization. Freely selected, abstracted and restated, some of these ideas may be summarized, as follows:

1. BIA has had a number of organizational changes throughout its history. The present format dates from 1949.
2. Organizational changes have usually reflected some change in the conceptualization of the Bureau's purposes and role.
3. A transfer of function—health activities to the Public Health Service in 1955—was supported by Interior, presumably including BIA officials.
4. Interior recognized that the logic of its arguments for transfer of a specialized function such as health would apply equally well to education and other functions, too. Timing and amount of dislocation were offsetting considerations.

The history reassures anyone who may now be persuaded to recommend a somewhat different functional structure for BIA that historical precedents for doing so exist. One note of caution which Dr. Taylor states most clearly in his Preface serves, further, to remind all those who think in absolutes that the practice is dangerous. Bearing in mind certain injunctions against direct quotation, Taylor's statement advises that area level administration may provide a chance to integrate functional programs by a generalist administrator better to meet the needs of an area, but it does not guarantee it. He urges discretion in the use of the areal administration concept.

Another publication which merits the attention of anyone who is considering how BIA's administrative structure for the Education function might be improved is the report of the Interdepartmental Committee (HEW—Interior) to the Subcommittee on the question of whether the responsibility for the education of Indian children should be transferred to Office of Education (HEW) or remain with BIA. In section VIII, *Recommendations for Improving Indian Education*, the second recommendation, of 15, reads, "As long as the Federal Government operates schools, the principal official responsible for education should be in a role comparable to that of a superintendent of a major school system, i.e. with full responsibility for the total educational enterprise, including school construction, operation and maintenance." (The Report recommends against transfer of the Education function.)

Now, the Report does not say any more in explanation or defense of this statement invoking the so-called "public school model." The omission seems strange, for the statement clearly contradicts the basic concept of BIA structure for the Education function. By definition, the contradiction makes the statement controversial. But the controversy is not pursued. It seems to be an opportunity lost, for the "public school model" is by no means as entirely of a piece or so wholly applicable to either Federal process or Indian education as it may seem to be. Still, the Report seems to be on the right track in highlighting the dissimilarity between BIA structure for Education and the American public school way of accomplishing the societal function of operating schools.

A New Structure for BIA Education. It is my deeply considered judgment that the present BIA decentralized-centralized administrative structure makes dramatic improvement in Education fundamentally impossible, by reason of a purposeful diminution of educational priority. The structure enforces, I believe, a secondary role for the Assistant Commissioner for Education in favor of a primary one for the Area Director. There are plenty of verbalized assurances that the Assistant Commissioner is a "line officer," and that "he speaks for the Commissioner," but these are empty because the line of accountability goes from Area Director to Commissioner from Assistant Area Director for Education to Area Director. The so-called "line" power of the Assistant Commissioner is nonoperational, as it is intended to be. He does not even control in any legitimate operational sense the Assistant Area Directors or the Agency Education Officers, simply because all of them know that they operate within centralized structures (Area and Agency) which must have precedence in controlling their behavior.

For Education such a structure is disabling. It stifles initiative, makes Education no more vital than, say, land management, and systematically (the double entendre is intended) makes the Education officials bound by the iron constraints of protocol to non-education officials. To speak of the possibility of an "exemplary" Indian education under these circumstances of structure is pointless.[2] If change is necessary, as the move toward improvement explicitly requires this existing structure must discourage it. It is a structure that rewards contentment with the status quo and punishes aggressive change-agent behavior.

The recommended alternative structure starts by centralizing more authority and responsibility in the office of the Assistant Commissioner for Education. (Not so incidentally, there is an obvious imbalance now in authority and responsibility in that office. An intolerable situation!) To do so the line authority of the Area Director for *any* educational function must be abrogated. The divorce on the line must be complete, though staff level coordination is useful and thus necessary. I am recommending that Education be considered as special, different from the other "civilian" administration for which the Area Office is responsible.

Education *is* special, for two reasons. It is, first of all, as big a function in BIA as all the others combined; its very size makes it complex and beyond being contained in some list of a generalist administrator's multifarious responsibilities. But more importantly the Education function requires professonal leadership more than it does managerial skill. Managerial skill, taking nothing away from it, is a far more commonly found capability than leadership. In Education management must be treated as a second order and second echelon capability. The top position in educational function is leadership. Even in public school systems there is no more common cause for mediocrity and failure than the superintendency's being discharged in managerial rather than leadership terms. In any complex professional function, leadership has to be a professional responsibility. In law, for example, the court administrator is not expected to be a leader; he manages logistics. Leadership in law is a job for men trained in the law and respected for their eminence as professional lawyers. It is and can be no less in education. The Area Director can not be an educational leader, and because he now has the powers of one, the result is that management actually displaces leadership. There is an Alice-in-Wonderland quality about doing this sort of displacement on purpose. It's awful enough that it happens so often by error or inadvertence.

The alternative structure (See Figure 2) starts, then, with a "strong" professional leader in the Assistant Commissionership. In this respect my recommendation is like the general recommendation of the Interdepartmental Committee cited above, which speakes of the Assistant Commissioner cast in the model of the public school superintendent. But there are some characteristics of the BIA's responsibility which make the public school model inappropriate in some important ways. Geographic spread is one of these characteristics, the dispersal of Indian children in boarding schools, day schools and public schools[3] is another, and the special needs of Indian children as a disadvantaged minority culture is a third. The structure for BIA Education must be accommodated to these variables. Therefore, there must be a *geographical* decentralization of the Education professional administration staff and a considerably greater than usual delegation of authority and responsibility to the field administrators. However, there seems no need for repeating BIA's three-level office format; two will suffice for Education.

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[2] Please see the third section of this memorandum for another facet of this problem.

The staffing pattern for the new Education structure is, of course, critical; structure requires people working together. Because the actual format of these roles is a basic right of any chief administrative officer, I am persuaded that these recommendations should be general rather than specific. Visualizing a two-level structure, Washington and the field, I see a Washington headquarters

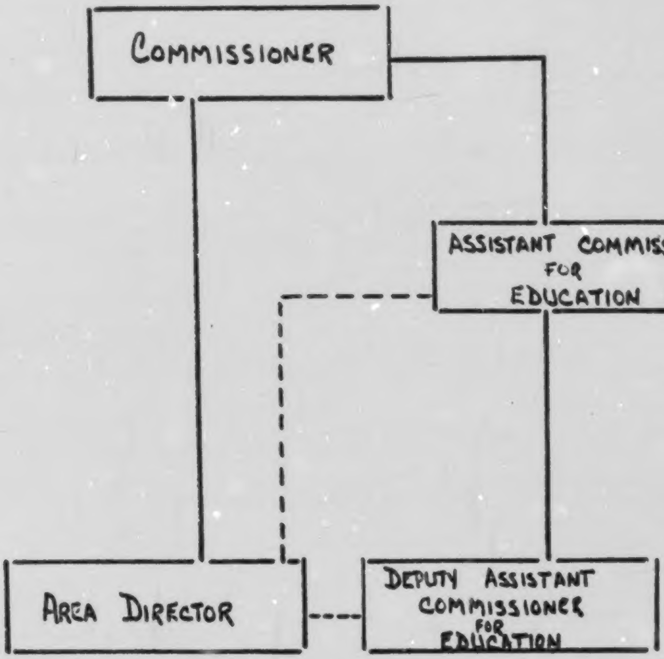
COMMISSIONER
ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER FOR EDUCATION
AREA DIRECTOR
DEPUTY ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER FOR EDUCATION

Figure 2. A Skeletal Chart Showing the Basic Format of a Recommended Organizational Structure for the BIA Education Function.

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[3] Please see the note at the end of this section for a statement on the problems of public school relationships.

staffed by the Assistant Commissioner and a small group of functional specialists: finance, curriculum and instruction, professional and pupil services, and a small research and evaluation staff. I see a number of field offices, located in some reasonable proximity to what hopefully will, in time, be a rational distribution of Area Offices, which will have direct line authority over all the Indian schools in each of their respective regions. These regional (field) offices will require a functional staff of specialists. I will not suggest a role format, except (1) to say that the present format is clearly not ideal, and (2) to suggest one special and vital new role, for which see Section II, *The Budget Process for the Education Function.*

All Indian Schools would operate under the line authority of the field office of the Deputy Assistant Commissioner, through the special function line officers of his staff. With these relatively simple changes from the typical public school model, the essential strength of that model is conferred upon the BIA Education function. There is a direct professional leadership and administrative function; an integrity and independence of Education consistent with its purpose and needs, and a reasonable possibility that responsibility can be discharged with commensurate authority.

Note: There is a question of philosophy which I personally have found quite disturbing. It deserves mention here. The question is, "Does BIA have a program responsibility for Indian children who are attending public schools?"

Of course Federal control in public school education is prohibited, and anything which looks like control is potentially disturbing. Even so, the Federal Government has assumed responsibility for Indians, including their education. How then does this responsibility get discharged? Is it ethical for the government to give over Indian children to public schools, even with Johnson O'Malley money, and leave it at that? I doubt it.

Indian children are special, if for no other reason than that they are seriously disadvantaged economically and socially. With respect to Anglo culture they are also culturally disadvantaged. The evidence of widespread lack of positive self-concept, the greater-than-normal incidence of mental health problems which characterizes the Indian teenage population, the need to provide strong additional language education (English as a second language), as well as all the special problems of acculturation is quite clear. Public schools cannot be assumed to be attuned to all these needs, to have developed programs to deal with them, or to be willing to spend their resources in doing so.

I was shocked to find that BIA does not, apparently as a matter of policy, engage in any *programmatic* cooperation with public school people, of whose desire and willingness to do justice to their Indian students there can be no doubt. BIA knows about Indian children, or if they don't, they should. Public schools don't, and can't really be expected to, on their own.

I would strongly urge that the new Education Division make programmatic cooperation with public schools a high priority. Most Indian children are, of course, in public schools. No BIA Education function can be really responsible to its obligations if it does not go as far as the law allows in being directly concerned with all that happens to the Indian children who are sent off to public school.

SECTION II

THE BUDGET PROCESS FOR THE EDUCATION FUNCTION

This is the wrong year to be assessing the BIA's budgeting practices. It's an awkward time. The older system of line and category budgeting is being phased out, except that it isn't quite; it's being hung onto in the field, like a security blanket in favor of a Planning, Programming Budgeting System. The trouble is that BIA, like many other Federal agencies, has not yet be enable to make PPBS work. And that is no surprise.

For the Education function the road ahead in PPBS budgeting will surely not be easy. No one, anywhere, has yet quite achieved a true PPBS budgeting process for Education. The reasons why are that PPBS requires at least (1) program objectives clearly stated in measurable behavioral terms, (2) many individual program designs, current and future, (3) operations analysis, (4) program performance measures, (5) a management information system and a data bank to support it. None of these basic requirements for PPBS exists in BIA, and few exist anywhere in Education yet.

As matters now stand it can be said, categorically, that the Albuquerque data center is producing no information relevant to PPBS for anyone: Agency, Area or Bureau. There are no known plans at the Center for its doing so. Nor, at this time, are the budget makers at the School, Agency or Area levels skilled in the hard disciplines of PPBS. One can only assume, rationally, that as PPBS is better understood at the Bureau level these understandings will be expressed in process protocols and shared in some program of training for relevant personnel throughout the BIA. There certainly ought to be no doubt that a PPBS budgeting process simply will not work unless all who participate understand the special demands such a budget makes upon them. The supposition that they have all "been through a PPBS venture once" should not mislead anyone, for, in fact, none has. What passed for a PPBS process last year wasn't, no matter what it was called and no matter that some forms bore titles using the initials.

No one should fault BIA for not yet being able to do a satisfactory PPBS job. Even DOD has still not done a perfect job with a far easier set of tasks. Systems theory, systems analysis, cost effectiveness, cost analysis, etc, are all reasonably well understood, but no one yet has mastered the intricacies of applying them to human beings engaged in becoming educated. There are no really reliable quantifying ways to measure how much "bank" there is "for the" educational "buck." There are some who believe that the best that PPBS can ever do in Education is to be proximate; that legitimate expectations for PPBS in Education must fall short of theoretical possibilities. The point is certainly controversial, and no definitive position need be taken away. Even if PPBS in Education does only a little of what it theoretically could do, great advance over ordinary budgeting will result.

The hope has to be that the Program Planning Branch can be persuasive in showing Congress and BOB how much more time and skill PPBS will require to be worth doing at all. The heart of PPBS is planning. In Education alone the planning PPBS requires is so much more demanding than anything that has ever been done by BIA personnel that no valid way to express the difference comes to mind. It is an altogether different order of activity, a discripline no one in BIA has been required to be able to do.

It is no fault of BIA that the PPBS cart has come before the planning horse. The Executive Order requiring PPBS put the technique before the capability, for PPBS is a discipline, a kind of technical tool, through which educational and financial planning may be raised to a higher level of excellence and sophistication. But the tool does not confer the capability, and the quality level of planning and programing does not change just because the PPBS format is applied. It is the discipline of PPBS that matters. It would have been far better if the capability had been achieved first, if a real planning function had been developed before displaying it through PPBS. What has so far been displayed is that the planning capability does not yet exist.

There is no real point in discussing "past" budgeting practice, even if it is really current. It is no more than line budgeting by category, such as is practiced by countless organizations in and out of government. Of course it comes "from the bottom up" according to approved process principles, though the "bottom up" really contributes little more than its own "lines." New ideas find expression in dollars, but these have really been worked out up through the echelons in the preliminary "Program Memorandum" first. By the time the budget is made, BOB, Interior and Bureau know the allowed amounts; all, of course, within the context of Appropriations. From the perception of the field, the budget is an Area Director's document. He decides who gets what, depending on his general instructions from the Commissioner.

There is nothing sinister in any of this, naturally; it's designed that way. A PPB system will make the budgeting process less arbitrary, more responsive to needs, more dependable as a fit between planning and practice, and surely more persuasive upon BOB and Appropriations. So it's more useful to talk about the future in budgeting, when PPB will become operational.

As long as the present structure remains in force, even PPB will not help Education enough. The budget will still be the Area Director's. Even if one dismisses objections to the fact that Education money is assessed for certain costs which are not educational, such as "common services," and even if one ignores the contrary policy that puts adult education within Community Services rather than Education, it is the Generalist manager who makes vital Education budget decisions, not the professional leaders. Even in our worst city school systems few mayors or councils have the temerity actually to make an education budget, however much they exert pressure against it. Of course any professional administrator should be subject to the control of a higher public authority, but at the policy level rather than the middle management level. The Commissioner, BOB, Interior, Appropriations—all policy people—should examine Education budget requests, but not Area Directors who are incompetent to make educational policy. Obviously, budget decisions are policy decisions.

The integrity of a PPB system for Education in BIA depends upon the direct-line authority-responsibility structure recommended in Section I of this report. Without such a structure no PPBS worth its effort could be depended upon to give Education its due, and this report is directed at optimizing that eventuality; so much so that two additional recommendations for implementing the PPBS for Education are offered. Both are integral to and crucial in the success of PPBS, and they make it a legitimate prospect that the Education function can be remade so as to value change for improvement rather than setting its premiums for stability and the status quo.

Recommendations for an Educational PPBS. A distinction must be made between PPBS as a (1) format for presenting a way to spend money and as a (2) display of planning and programs expressed in dollars. BIA does not yet do either, but the first isn't worth doing at all unless the second is at least being attempted.

It is not coincidental, of course, because PPBS grew out of the search to plan complex operations with greater skill and rationality, but it is absolutely true that the process of educational change also depends upon the quality of planning and programming. Another way to emphasize the concept is to say that PPBS has no greater utility than charting the direction of change in an organization. Developing a PPBS capability for the Education function has its best pay-off in making educational improvement both more rational and more likely.

Even independent of the Area Director's powers, the Education function is not geared with only present staff, however deployed, to venture far into the esoterica of planning and programming.[4] The Assistant Commissioner will have to introduce some new people into the field level offices who will be agents for educational change. They should be specialists in educational planning and programming. In this capacity they will be full-time budget officers—not financial officers—for the Deputy Assistant Commissioners charged with systematic cultivation of educational change ideas, with marshalling ideas from throughout the region, or wherever, which promise to improve educational programs in Indian schools and, hopefully, in public schools which serve Indian children. By a process of planning, which includes clear statements about goals and objectives, systems analysis, feasibility planning, resource allocations, and, ultimately budgeting, programs can be rationally developed.

Albeit sketchy, the description above does suggest a person consciously employed to produce plans for educational change and development in his role as budgeter. He must, it would seem patent, be an educator of more than ordinary qualifications. The operation of the PPBS would be his responsibility, under the administrative control of the Deputy Assistant Commissioner.

If the Education function is restructured for independence from the Area Directors, it would also have budget responsibilities independent of the rest of the BIA—as it should. It will develop, through a current contract with a major management consulting firm, a management system and, hopefully, the protocols required for data input and information output from the Data Center so that both management and budgeting can be raised to levels of sophistication the organization needs so much.

SECTION III

PERSONNEL FACTORS

Let it be clear that there is no intention in what follows to criticize individuals in the BIA Education Division or elsewhere in the organization. Nor is there any intended presumption of generalizing across the BIA from relatively small interview samples. Since this is not an investigative report, there was no attempt to assess the quality of people. There are, however, some general observations that seem to be wholly dependable which are expressed here for the purpose of showing why the basic recommendation of this report ought to be implemented.

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[4] Please see Section III for some additional thoughts on the subject of personnel capabilities.

The Field Education Officer. For someone used to public schools and familiar with school administration principles and practices from a lifetime as a professor of the subject, observing the role of Agency Education Officer and Assistant Area Director—Education elicits a kind of puzzled pity. Nothing like the relationship that exists between the education official and the Area Director exists in the public schools. Few professional educators prepared for administrative responsibility would willingly allow their expertise to be so diminished by a middle echelon manager who makes professional decisions for them. The way it is, to use an analogy, is what it would be like to see an M.D. submitting his surgical procedure plan for the non-professional hospital administrator for approval, and then following variant orders. Unthinkable? Not in the present BIA structure. All that saves the situation from surrealism is that people try to behave rationally; the education officer usually does get as much of a "free hand" as is consistent with his personality matched to the Area Director's.

It can be no accident that education officers are not recruited as such from public schools. Rather, they grow up in the BIA service, learning the system and its demands long before they get to occupy education officer positions. Of course, the system does get inbred that way; but as long as the present structure continues, as long as the Education function is not matched by an appropriate responsibility and authority for education officials, as long as educational expertise and leadership are devalued in favor of middle management, how can the Education function be anything but inbred?

Inbreeding is not the worst aspect of the system. The behavioral disciplines that the system enforces are far worse. There are really only three ways a field education officer can act: (1) he can defer without dissent, or (2) he can dissent aggressively and "fight" for his ideas, or (3) he can cultivate a personal relationship which yields him a measure of influence with the Superintendent or Area Director. Few experienced public school professional administrators would find any of these behaviors endurable for long. Certainly any organization requires diciplined behavior, but it also accords the professional the respect and dignity his qualifications confer. Policy restraints by a board of education or executive restraints by a superordinate professional are necessary and acceptable, but not policy and executive restraints on professional judgments by middle management non-professionals. Apparently it takes long training to produce professional educators who can work in the BIA structure.

The Change Psychology. School organizations everywhere are designed for stability, not for change. Thirty years of intensive study of educational change phenomena show that change ideas always have trouble making their way through educational systems. That's not all bad, of course, because no one wants a school that is uncommitted and instable. But certainly impermeability is no virtue in school systems. When educational change becomes almost impossible, the enterprise is in a fair way of dying. It has become apparent in public schools that the process of controlled, planned change is of the very highest priority. Indeed, almost all recent Federal education legislation has stressed innovation and change as the *first* priority.

The BIA structure is designed more than most for stability. It is doubtful that very much could be done with or to the people in the organization, given the present structure, to encourage innovative educational practice. Recent changes are the exceptions which prove the point. Most modest, recent changes are almost entirely a function of ESEA Title I. And even here it is easy to be misled, for it was not the new money that made change possible, but the fact that the new money could only be used for new purposes. The truth is that the Title I proposals were virtually all old ideas which had never been able to work their way through the budgeting process for funding.

The recent kindergarten program is even more obvious proof of the point: kindergartens are over a hundred years old as a proved educational practice. It took a new Assistant Commissioner determined to get the practice installed to break through the barriers. And even so, his success in doing so has been less than total. Had it not been that Headstart experience proved so successful in creating the demand among Indians themselves, there might still be no kindergartens.

There seems no doubt that the Education Division must be restructured, as recommended, if educational change is to become possible. And it will require, as recommended, that educational planners at the field level will be necessary to introduce new ideas into the field offices and to program and budget innovative practice. But even that won't be enough, for the "old" Bureau hands must be vitalized.

Given a structure and a planning capability, it would seem probable that a new mood could be developed in the BIA Education Division. Freed of the restraints the "line" now imposes, responsible to an Assistant Commissioner who wants to build an exemplary educational system, it would appear to be a good bet that whatever latent leadership skills the current education officers have and there surely are some—could be released and made operational. People do rise to role demands, given opportunities to do so. One thing does seem to be certain: the present structure not only serves to reward unaggressive behavior and docility but punishes, usually by transfer, those who persist in behaving like educational leaders. The reward system of BIA discourages leadership, on purpose. It is, therefore, not possible to conceive of change and improvement in the present structure.

If the reward system were based on evidence of leadership behavior, if the challenge of the task were matched by a probability of accomplishment, old hands could change and new hands of high leadership quality could be recruited for administrative roles.

In short, unless the structure is changed, and budget leeway for new educational planners is created, the BIA Education function can never do much better than it's doing now. If changed, there is high probability that educational change will burgeon.

Senator KENNEDY. Our next witness is Mr. William Penseno, of the National Indian Youth Council.

Mr. Penseno, maybe you can begin by giving us a brief outline of your own educational experience.

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM PENSENO, NATIONAL INDIAN YOUTH COUNCIL

Mr. PENSENO. I would like to apologize first for not providing you with copies of my testimony. But I have revised it, and I will get copies.

My name is Bill Penseno. I am part Indian and vice president of the National Indian Youth Council. I am a product of both Federal boarding schools and Oklahoma high schools. I started in a parochial school in Ponca City, Saint Mary's, Catholic. I have gone to many State colleges, both small and large and private. I am a senior at Central State College in Oklahoma.

I am not here to represent Indians. I am not an Indian leader. I do not wish to be a so-called Indian leader. I do wish to be an Indian worker. I do wish to see fundamental changes in the systematic relations that Indians have with their socializing agencies, especially the schools.

I come not with malice, but with a conscience and desperation. I cannot sit quietly and watch the terrible tolls in wasted human life, lives of young Indians, my own family, that come from the failures of the Indian help programs. Always these failures are said to be the Indians' fault. Always we must change ourselves to suit the faculties that they provided us. We are totally administered. We can experience nothing directly but death.

So we have turned to death. We don't fear death, only the life that we are provided with. We turn to death by drinking on railroad tracks in Ponca City and greeting our salvation train. We drown ourselves in wine and smother our brains in glue. The only time we are free is when we are drunk.

I am speaking of my own flesh and blood as of this hour. Yet there is another walking death that we are driven to, social death.

The enduring suicide of personal invalidation, cultural disenfranchisement, and a schizoid world of fractured loyalties which is encouraged in schools. These problems must be viewed in an educational context, and the educational experiences we are subjected to must be seen in their total structural context.

For this reason I will speak in the same breath of Government schools and Oklahoma public schools because I consider the process to be the same. Both proceed on the same definition of Indians, and the operative differences are minor. There is less tolerance for Indian goof-ups in public schools. In Ponca you get one chance, and then you go to Chilocco.

Senator **Kennedy**. Where?

Mr. **Penseno**. Chilocco, 20 miles north. At Chilocco there is more group security for the Indians. They have a sort of intimate culture. In fact, the only reason Indian kids go to Indian schools and return to them is because of friendships they make there, not because of any pretense of getting an education.

I will try to honestly account for why it is that learning does not go on in these places and exactly what does go on there and what the National Indian Youth Council is doing about it.

The school is the enemy. Public and Indian education are teaching us not to survive in a healthy community but how to be disintegrated. Embalming is a recent addition to Indian school curriculums. They are planning our funeral with a premature death certificate called termination.

Let it be heard here we are not people of a romantic past or irrelevant present. We intend to live until the end of time. Indians are a different people; different, not wrong; different, not opposing; different, not inferior; different, not anomalous. We are not culturally deprived, disadvantaged, or underachievers. We do not take this in an ideological vacuum.

Tribalism is no hindrance to us but support. We have a basic confidence about our affairs that has been developed over thousands of years. It takes imagination and cohesion to survive the way we did for the past hundred years or so.

The school is the enemy. It attacks the very roots of the existence of an Indian student. May I quote from some of the teachers at these schools:

"Just because you are Indian, don't be lazy." "Don't be so much an Indian." "I would rather have a spoon than a horse"—as if they were different.

A student in Ponca City asks if she has to sit by an Indian. The teacher says, "No, I know what you mean." Our girls are called squaws. We are greeted with, "How." If it rains, we are asked if we have been dancing. If we get a haircut, we are asked if they can scalp us. Everything we know and cherish is derided and made a butt of jokes.

We are given etiquette lessons in Indian schools as if we didn't know how to express our feelings properly. One boarding school has lessons in dating, as if we could not be trusted in courtship, as if we weren't taught right, as if what our folks tell us and shows us is wrong or at least backward.

The ways that Indians can exhibit that the Indians' cultural base is not stagnated are very narrow. It is on-going. Indian people make decisions each day and within this context. But the problem is the limits within those definitions and how decisions operate.

The professionals say the problem of Indians is their values. What is an Indian if he doesn't have his values? They will say in the same breath to retain our heritage, preserve your exotic lures, songs, dances, as if they are separate from people.

In Ponca City there is a group of white people who make money dressing up in Indian costumes and doing our dances, sacred dances. These people avoid Indians in the same town like the plague. Our artifacts are more real to them than we are.

There is also an Oklahoma Indian myth about a few people with a little Indian blood who have made it in white society. I don't want to knock these people in their jobs, but I direct my concern to the other 99½ percent. I sincerely wish that tribal societies had produced these people. But there is nothing yet indicative of the great Indian success pattern. Unfortunately, the Indians who make it have little Indian blood, less Indian contact, still less Indian contact, and almost no Indian allegiance. Sometimes the only people who call these people Indians are white people.

It is sad that these few become objects for validating the contention that there really is something wrong with Indians in their values. The myth is perpetuated. The real issue is skirted. The real issue is whether Indians will be able to exhibit their own competency to themselves and their children so that life can go on, not death.

The school is the enemy. It attacks the existence of an Indian student. Simply stated, the problem with Indians is that they are Indians as seen by others. This is stated in a myriad of sophisticated ways to excuse the miserable performance of those charged with teaching Indian students.

The fact that a graduate class at a Federal boarding school had a median level of ninth grade in a battery test was described as something wrong with the students. The structure of school administrators interpret all of this reality in the defense of their schools. Never does the administration even fear that something could be wrong with the school.

The antidotal office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs reacted to last week's article on Indian schools in the New Republic. They said, "We have not read the article yet, but we are sure the charges cannot be true."

The valedictorian of a recent class of the same school went back to the reservation and could not pass his tribe's civil service exam.

Indian education is an alien system designed not to meet Indian needs and goals but to minimize the havoc and embarrassment caused by the disruption of Indian institutions by outside influences. Social disorganization is the name of the game, and a chief contributor over the years has been the Federal education program. The chief effort toward helping Indians has been through education. The result of the Federal participation is cultural deprivation. The Indian community is deprived of its most energetic and creative members with their period of bondage as a planned, permanent condition.

The success is measured in terms of how permanently the Indians become removed from their families. In other words, he does not go back to the blanket. Indians send their children to schools with mixed emotion. They want them to eat, but they send them off to school at the dire risk of losing them.

Each time I go off to college, my grandfolks all come over for dinner and pray that I will come back to them. It is not just my physical presence they want. Having Indian blood is not a necessary good. Having an all-Indian staff at boarding school does not necessarily help.

Who killed Sitting Bull? Who captured Geronimo? Who betrayed Chief Joseph? Indians did.

Indian schools deprive the student of the teaching experience and counsel of his elders. This sickness cult called social aspiration is actually rewarded in the school systems.

When I was in high school, I would be walking down the street with my friends, and they would get picked up for sniffing glue or drinking, and they would be taken to the station. I know they set me on a pedestal. They asked me my name, and I told them. They put everybody else in jail, and they sent me home. They did not want to tarnish my record. They wanted to use me as a club to batter the rest of my friends.

"Socialization" is not only a word, it is a real and disintegrating consequence that denies the existence as is to the Indians. It has never dawned on anyone that Indians are something and a valid something. It has been a long and well-known fact that Indians are in a transitional phase from nothing to something and that there is something wrong with that.

It is also true that a real Indian is unfettered by civilization. This means that structurally Indians are all that whites do not consider themselves to be. Just ponder that a moment. Real Indians are, then, those who are dirty, lazy, drunken, and incidentally, uneducated. These are the people who drive Indian cars, live in shacks, apply for welfare.

If one accepts these definitions about himself and his family and proceeds on that road to being educated, the problem of the school is clear. If one accepts this as being the nature of his people and his culture, then he is surely lost.

The Indian dropout rate will attest to those who do not subscribe to those definitions. These definitions do not serve the purpose of the Indian and his family. In this situation the Indians cannot act. They can only react in destructive manner not consonant with our own interest.

It is frequently said that the hope of the Indians is in their youth. They are less contaminated and have more of a chance to get out of the cultural trap. It is then, that the Indian hope is that their youth and education will be their salvation. To accomplish this, all the values that the Indians hold must be invalidated in the schools. Their behavior must become most like the whites see themselves as acting. In other words, it is the aping of what Indians think whites expect of them, a caricature of what society demands.

Those who do not follow this behavior are soon ousted as being troublemakers and unprogressive. It is not that there is something per se wrong with these problems. It is that it works a destructive effort on individual human beings who think they have to become something different in order to learn a task.

Students who show promise are told: "You are not like other Indians. You are exceptional." These definitions that have been cast about us are not true. This is not what Indian people consist of. We are proud people and people of many talents. It is absurd to consider that these definitions are what Indian nature is.

The schools further contribute to socialization by teaching a student an experience that cannot be shared with their parents. This further widens the gap between members of families. It reminds me of the last summer I spent at a boarding school. The local superintendent came to speak to us about why Indians did not achieve. He said Indians were not achievement oriented and that Indian parents had too much grip on their children. The children not being able to put up with the school cannot adjust and drop out.

The blame was then placed on the parents. They did not make the children go to school. There was never a moment when the question was presented about the school. The schools are the process through which a student gains intellectual eyes to view the world. The power of the school as a defining agency becomes obvious. School cannot be separated from the community in which it is situated or from the genesis of the perspective that is presented by the school.

The school, in terms of Indian consideration, becomes the instrument of one people viewing another. The quality of the viewing and the ability and extent to which the viewed people accepts as true that perspective determines the marked amount of stress that the people who are being viewed will experience. Thus, it becomes important to note what the attitudes are of the people who program education for Indians.

I was visiting an Indian school last month. Movies were being shown in the auditorium about cavalry and Indians. The Army was outnumbered and holding an impossible position. The Indians attempting to sneak up on the Army were being killed, one every shot.

When it finally appeared that the Indians were going to overrun the Army, the cavalry appeared over the horizon with their bugles blowing. The whole auditorium full of Indian students cheered. This is what I mean. How better could the effects be stated? This is Indian education. It is neither Indian nor education.

It is no wonder, the way Senator Kennedy speaks, that Indian children have the poorest self-image of any minority group in the country. Added to this fact is that by self-admission one-fourth of the teachers who serve as teachers to Indian children would rather be teaching someone else. This is reflected in the treatment.

Last week my sister, who is at Chilocco, was bitten by a police dog that was sicced on her by one of the employees there. My cousin last month got caught sniffing glue and was handcuffed and kicked and beaten by two counselors. At Red Rock, which I think is 10 miles from Senator Bellmon's home, last month Dennis Black was hit in the head by a wrench by one of the faculty members there.

In a Federal boarding school the job descriptions are indicative of this purpose, instructional aid, attendant, matron, and guard. These are words for penal and mental institutions, not seats of learning. It makes me think the purpose is recriminatory, not educational.

Last year, 200 kids were kicked out of a high school institute for drinking alone. They were pushed out. If the purpose were education, you would think they would keep at least half those kids in school there. To say Indian schools are educational, is a cruel joke. The jokes are on my brothers, sisters, and cousins.

The definitions that are cast by the school on the Indians, by the teaching without a version of reality, testing on the part of the child and his parents are such, that the school acts for the purpose of the school and there is no reciprocal way for the Indians to gain experience to deal effectively with their children's education. Indians in a situation can only react.

These definitions are an important source of educational context into which all of the problems confronting the American Indian are—there is a belief that Indian culture and life viability ceased in the early 1850s or so. They think the Indian is becoming absorbed in the American fabric. They say that all Indians have ceased to be ongoing.

Even the indices for determining a real Indian are easily stated. The definition for "real Indian" has come to mean all the things that whites consider themselves not to be. Whites don't consider themselves to be dirty, drunk, lazy, gut-eating, shack dwellers, and so forth. This is the definition assigned to Indians. Neither do whites teach their kids that—they don't teach their kids verbally that is what Indian people are. These are structural definitions that people act on, not transmit verbally.

There has been no acceptance of the various Indian communities as constituting a true ethnic community but only as a problem. If the analysis of the Indian problem were to expand to include the concept that Indian people constitute a true ethnic community that can and should continue and not merely a problem that must be terminated, the problems I believe people would move toward solution. The threat must be removed, I hope, by legislation that Indians will be legislated out of existence.

The problem is not with the Indians. They merely react. The problem is with the institutions that service Indians. Why is it such a problem to consider the problem in these terms? The institutions that serve Indians were created by man, and the Indians were created by God. Surely the institutions are more amenable to change than the people.

On the individual level, a period of personal confrontation has to precede anything else. This course of study should begin in the elementary level, but since it has not then it is necessary not only in terms of time but also reality that this crop of students will more than likely drop out. They must know who it is they are, not only in terms of America but more importantly in terms of their own people. They must learn this in school. They must not be tools in the hands of white people to batter their friends with.

To meet these problems the National Indian Youth Council operated a successful institute in American Indian studies this past summer at Kansas University and Haskell Institute. The institute brought together 35 Indian students from all across the country and from diverse tribes who wanted to gain knowledge not only of an academic nature but also experimentally in having a part in shaping their own education.

For the first time we had our own thing. We spent a couple days sitting in a big circle in silence, getting used to the idea that we are expected to make decisions, formulate our own policy and make our own rules.

Incidentally, we had no dropouts at the institute last summer because everybody had a hand in the institute. It was the belief of the people involved that Indians need only experience in operating modern institutions to be successful and to put together a continuity, that these were Indian things if Indians were the originators and the planning force behind the activity.

It was our contention that given the situation if an institution serving Indians were responsive to the Indian rather than the other way around, that Indians could act rather than react. This meant in terms of the school would be for the student, not the student for the predefined school. This would allow the institute to be defined as an Indian thing.

The institute first and foremost was an experiment in self-determination. A professional staff was hired and managed by Indians. The activity of the institute was subject to the discretion and vote of the students. It was determined that the curriculum would remain flexible and open to student reality. This was laid out in general terms.

We feel we were faced with an alternative of either dropping out or selling out in the present structure. We wanted to devise a third alternative, to examine the experiences that Indian college students and Indian young people perceived in their experience to be problematic. This in many ways was an examination of the contemporary scene in which young Indians find themselves. In essence, it amounted to a course within which the conceptual tools were taught that would enable the student to determine his own position and who he is structurally.

There was very little Indian culture taught as such. The students taught each other many things. It was the feeling of the students that values are not to be contemplated but can best be seen while in action. We didn't go up to the blackboard and ask, "How would Crazy Horse like this sentence?" We decided the way we did it would make an Indian.

Our interest was not preserving anything but igniting something in our own communities and in ourselves. In other words, the way the values are expressed and realized is through an environment that lets those values emerge and act.

It would seem that the success of this operation has been in the ability of the participants to deal in categorical and personal terms, to participate in an operation of an American Indian institution that American Indian students had primary responsibility for. And we defined and we moved the curriculum in our own way. This has a great deal to say about the process of Indian initiative and self-determination and the kind of environment that fosters these concepts.

The students took in hand not only the program in the direction of the resource person but also found a way to move toward formalizing a perspective they have gained together.

These are a few of the comments that came from students at the institution. Indian college students have in many ways become enemies of their own people. They are potential enemies in that so many have denied their people's existence or have accepted the negative definition that people hold about Indians. When they have chosen this path, they have accepted the structural beliefs about their own people and have thus become an enemy.

The institute can give the people the forum to examine their own beliefs and motives and hopefully help to make potential enemies into resources, make Indian workers out of us and find a way out of the dilemmas presently facing us.

When I told my mother about what it was that our institute was trying to accomplish by having a third alternative, she began to cry. She told me we are poor people. As apparently she wished the best for me and wanted me to have an education so that we would not suffer as they have suffered, mother said: "Most of the young people who had gone to school became different. When they came back, they could not stand around their own people. It hurts me to see that my son would become so much different and apart from me."

It hurt to have this happen, but I was prepared to endure this so she would not have to suffer like they have. "It makes me happy to think if you are successful, I can still see me in you and you have an education."

The program of the national youth council is over all community development. We were instrumental in getting funds for the community development association in Ponca City. It is a completely autonomous enterprise conducted by the indigenous leaders of the tribe. We have our own radio program, and we have our own store now. And we are going to try to start an agricultural co-op.

We are also thinking in terms of education. We have tutoring programs in junior high. At the elementary level we have two classes after school for the kids in the first to sixth grades. Basically it is in their own language and in the legends of the tribe and the history of the tribe right now.

The teachers at the White Eagle School told us that the Indian kids would not come to these classes in the first place. They would not sit still, would not be quiet. They were too unruly to sit in school.

We sat them in a circle, and my grandmother is teaching them how to speak Ponca. She has a soft voice, and these kids sit quietly and listen, contrary to their expectations.

It is not the place of our institutions to teach about who particular tribes are, nor could we if we wanted to, but the institute can put the resources at hand for the students to determine how Indians stand in relations to the rest of the United States in terms of culture identity and structural definitions.

The institute expanded this summer to accommodate four institutes, four different locations. In terms of other skills we have these recommendations. A curriculum of American Indian studies to be established in all Federal boarding schools, and in schools of significant Indian attendance.

We had hoped that the Johnson-O'Malley funds could be used for these purposes like these after classes after White Eagle: Kids learning about their own tribes and own language; that a school board be appointed for each Federal boarding school with the authority to hire and fire employees. This can be accomplished by contracting to the school board as a nonprofit educational corporation.

In connection with the Indian curriculum, an Indian history should be commissioned to be written and compiled by the various tribes, this history to be not only written but also oral and from an Indian perspective.

We would like to see establishment of facilities for Indian parents to visit their children at Federal boarding schools. It is bad enough to be away from them, but they can't visit them for any length of time. At Chilocco this Christmas they had a 1-day Christmas vacation. My sister, who lived only 20 miles from us, could not come home. The people who visit may be for a week or two at the Indian schools can meet with the kids there of their own tribe and teach them maybe their legends and some of the history of the tribe and the language.

You need in Federal boarding schools teacher evaluation based on performance by the students. You need student evaluation also of the teachers and professional staff and dormitory life. You need to continue the efforts in the vocational areas. You need to have exemplary vocational schools.

Also, I think we need to build Indian schools in Alaska and Arizona, where they have many Navahos, so that they will not be so far away and removed from their parents.

Those are the only recommendations we have right now. But we are proceeding with our institute, which we hope will counteract some of the exodus from our tribes.

Senator KENNEDY. I want to commend you for your statement. I think that you have given us the finest insight yet of the attitude of the young Indian people you speak for, as well as being, I am sure, a spokesman for many other Indians who have gone through the system. I think your testimony here is extremely revealing and very sensitive. I think it is very frank and honest.

I think all of the members of this committee, as well as the Senate, will benefit from reading your statement. I think it is splendid. It is one of great anxiety and should stir the conscience of all of us.

In the latter part of your statement, you made some recommendations. You talk about the development of a varied curriculum for the respective schools that would take into consideration the conditions and heritage of the Indian people, and this would make the educational system much more relevant to the present-day problems that Indians face.

You also talked about a school board appointed by—and I began to lose you. I did not quite understand what you were driving at.

Mr. PENSENO. For the Federal boarding schools, I might say, first, I would like to see kids not be sent more than 200 miles, if at all possible, from their home to boarding school, and also the tribes in that area to comprise a vote from each tribe or one from each area, members of the school board for the Federal boarding school, with the authority to hire and fire teachers and counselors.

Senator KENNEDY. You also recommended the building of supplementary facilities so that the parents can visit their children; student evaluation; making the vocational schools much more relevant to the kind of job opportunities which exist in a lot of these communities; and the great need for additional facilities in several States, particularly in Alaska, which we have heard testimony on this morning.

From your own experience, are you prepared to make any kind of comment on whether or not you would like to see the Indian boarding schools continue? Would you like to see the public schools develop special kinds of compensatory education programs for Indians and have all Indians go to the public schools? Where do you come down on this? Would you want to see a continuation of the present structure as far as the boarding school is concerned, and just a change in their curriculum? Or do you want to see the schools themselves turned over to local school districts, as was suggested to some extent by the Senator from Alaska and which I understand is being attempted in Alaska?

Would you give us any comments that you have on this?

Mr. PENSENO. Indians are able to survive in the public schools at great hardship. But I think they should not be sent from their home when they are in high school. I think the community needs them, their family needs them, and they need their families. I think there comes a time when the students after high school should break away for a little bit and go to college. I would like to see the present big boarding schools, like Haskell and Chilocco, and some others, be made into vocational schools and Junior colleges, if not colleges eventually.

I think the Indians together can survive in a public school. In Oklahoma, considered the vanguard of the Indian movement, we are where New Mexico and Arizona Indians will be in 50 years in terms of interaction and contact. I don't like to throw out this dichotomy, but I did not dream it up from some vague abstractions. Indians who make it don't hang around Indians who don't make it. That is the reality.

Senator KENNEDY. In the other States, in Arizona and New Mexico, would you want to see a continuation of these schools, and then at a certain age have the Indians integrated into the public school systems?

Mr. PENSENO. I don't know the situation in Arizona.

Senator KENNEDY. Do you have a general feeling for the boarding school program? Do you have any ideas? Do you believe each State has to handle it differently? Or have you found from your own experience and from your conference with young people who come from different States and who have had different educational experiences, that there is a sort of central theme—such as in the early years, maybe young Indian boys and girls should go to some kind of schools where they would have a highly intensified program and special kinds of attention given to them to meet their problems, so that when they go to a public school system they can use their full talents and excel?

I am trying to get an idea other than a change in the curriculum, and a greater kind of local control and student review by the Indian in the school, and facilities for parents to come and visit the Indians in the broading schools. What do you want to see vis-a-vis other young people, Caucasians and other minority groups? Where do you want to be vis-a-vis them in the school system?

Mr. Penseno. Indians in public schools need their own special programs, and they will respond to them as they have at White Eagle and Ponca City. I am all for interaction with white people. I don't think it can hurt you as long as we don't take them too seriously.

I am not a separatist. I am not an isolationist. I am an interactionist. I think Indians can contribute a good deal in public schools if they are proud of themselves and if they can see themselves as distinct and something good. I am not aware of all the structure possibilities.

Senator Kennedy. At your conference last summer where you met with these other young people, what kind of priority did they place on education in the development of Indians? Was there a sense of priority or feel or consensus as far as the attitudes of the participants?

Mr. Penseno. Sort of like George Bernard Shaw's play, "Joan of Arc," in which the priest who so vehemently condemned Joan, saw her burning, and he said, "Oh my God, if we only knew the effects of our action." I think kids need to know. They want to know also the effects, where they are in the structure and what the effects of their actions are on their parents and their tribe.

You see, we went in Oklahoma into a project, "Peace Pipe." It was an effort to get Indians in the Peace Corps. I think it is fairly ridiculous, though. There are only one or two more improverished areas of the world, and the cream of our youth is encouraged to embark on some foreign soil and seek out their commitments. Kids want to be committed. I think their educational institution can provide them with the basic sociology, I guess, where you are, they can provide them with the instruments to find themselves.

Senator Kennedy. Senator Mondale?

Senator Mondale. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

May I join with the chairman in commending you for a remarkably sensitive and inspiring presentation, not only in terms of what you said, but also the spirit in which you expressed yourself.

I have only a few questions.

You referred to the conference which was held, I gather, last summer.

Mr. Penseno. It was not a conference. It was a regular institute on American Indian affairs.

Senator Mondale. From what source, or resources, were the funds obtained to finance this conference?

Mr. Penseno. We only got about $30,000 in all, from Upward Bound mostly. The facilities were provided by the BIA, facilities at Haskell.

Senator Mondale. How long did this conference last?

Mr. Penseno. It was a 6-weeks summer-school program. We got academic credit for it.

Senator Mondale. From what source did the suggestion for this conference come?

Mr. Penseno. The National Indian Council.

Senator Mondale. Do you plan further conferences?

Mr. **Penseno.** We will have four next summer. We just submitted a proposal to a large Far-West university to have a permanent institute on American Indian affairs, which we will sponsor.

Senator **Mondale.** In your opinion, has the Bureau been interested and helpful in this effort?

Mr. **Penseno.** They provided us with their facilities last summer, but afterward they greeted our success by telling us we were Utopian.

Senator **Mondale.** Who made that helpful comment?

Mr. **Penseno.** I was told this by another staff member.

Senator **Mondale.** Did the personnel there participate?

Mr. **Penseno.** No. We were free to set our own regulations at Haskell. Everybody else had an 8 o'clock curfew. We set our own curfew. We set our own hours and terms by which students would be expelled. The counselors and aides there didn't think we could handle that freedom.

Senator **Mondale.** Did you hire your own counselors and aides, and so on?

Mr. **Penseno.** Yes; and they were all young people like us. We had our own staff also and contracted for our own speakers, movies.

Senator **Mondale.** I think it might be helpful, Mr. Chairman, to have an exhibit of the curriculum and kind of instructors and subjects discussed. This is another example of the educational effort undertaken by the Indians themselves.

I have one final question. Do you think that quality education for the American Indian can be achieved without first accepting the principle of Indian control?

Mr. **Penseno.** No.

Senator **Mondale.** No further questions.

Senator **Kennedy.** Senator Yarborough.

Senator **Yarborough.** Do you know what percentage of the Indians in your area who are returning from military service are going to school under the GI bill, the cold war GI bill?

Mr. **Penseno.** No. I don't deal much with statistics.

Senator **Yarborough.** Do you know if those coming back are returning to school?

Mr. **Penseno.** The ones I know become winos.

Senator **Yarborough.** When they come out of service?

Mr. **Penseno.** Yes.

Senator **Yarborough.** Why? What is the reason for it?

Mr. **Penseno.** My best friend, guy that just got a Bronze Star in Vietnam, is sitting at home now, a wino; a kid smarter than me.

Senator **Yarborough.** I went to school in grade school with boys that were sharper than I, much sharper, but, unfortunately, all but one, never went to college. Things have changed. They would have now. Schools in that age, four out of five boys dropped out of high school.

A great problem here is that these Indian young men coming out of service have the greatest educational opportunity in the history of this country. The Government pays his way through high school free if he has not been through high school. That is a bill that was worked out through the Congress in 1966, 1967, and 1968. Now if they have not been to high school, they go to high school 4 years free, and get college degrees.

They received certain instruction in the military service. They had to handle these weapons. They come out with a capability of going through high school, or they could go to vocational school or trade school or take flight training. There are too many opportunities under that bill. For young men who didn't have the money before, it is lying there waiting for them.

Is there any effort being made to get these veterans to go to school when they come out?

Mr. PENSENO. They don't want it. Education is not a beneficial opportunity to Indians. It is in most instances a social death.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Why is it a social death? I mean under the cultural pattern. Are you speaking only of this tribe, the Ponca Tribe?

Mr. PENSENO. That is all I can speak for.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Why is it a social death? Because they figure it alienates him from his people?

Mr. PENSENO. Definitely.

Senator YARBOROUGH. How many Indians are in the Ponca Tribe?

Mr. PENSENO. 2,600, all in Ponca City just about. About 95 percent unemployment rate. About 85 percent dropout rate in high school.

Senator YARBOROUGH. You had an oil field on your reservation?

Mr. PENSENO. Continental Oil Co. has it. They bought it a few years ago.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Doesn't the tribe get anything out of it?

Mr. PENSENO. No, sir. My grandmother gets $30 a year.

Senator YARBOROUGH. There was a great fortune taken out of the land.

Mr. PENSENO. Yes, sir.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Did they buy the mineral rights outright and didn't leave the lease in the tribe? How did they get the mineral rights from the tribe?

Mr. PENSENO. They bought it.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Bought it for little or nothing? If your grandmother only gets $30 a year, it must have been a pretty cheap sale they made.

Mr. PENSENO. Yes, sir; very much so. In some instances they married an Indian girl. Then she mysteriously died a few years later, and they wound up owning the land.

Senator YARBOROUGH. You mean the Indian girl mysteriously died a few years later?

Mr. PENSENO. Yes, sir.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Were there a number of cases of this kind?

Mr. PENSENO. Many.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Did the Bureau of Indian Affairs ever investigate any of them?

Mr. PENSENO. I don't think they thought it very important.

Senator YARBOROUGH. How many years ago was that? About 1917, 1918, in that period?

Mr. PENSENO. Even before then, when they wanted land for agricultural purposes.

Senator YARBOROUGH. When there were agricultural lands?

Mr. PENSENO. Yes.

Senator YARBOROUGH. How far is Ada, Okla., from your home?

Mr. PENSENO. I don't know, sir.

Senator Yarborough. In the interest of time I will forego other questions.

Senator Kennedy. Senator Bellmon.

Senator Bellmon. Mr. Chairman, I don't want to delay us a great deal, but I would like to compliment Mr. Penseno on the viewpoint he has brought this committee. I know he realizes this is a serious problem, one affecting not only the Oklahoma Indians but Indians across the country. Whom do you consider to be an Indian?

Mr. Penseno. The greatest leader the Cherokee Tribe had was John Ross, who was only a quarter Indian.

Senator Bellmon. Do you consider a man who has quarter blood to be an Indian?

Mr. Penseno. I think Indians who adopted white kids considered them Indians.

Senator Bellmon. So you say, then, an Indian separate from his blood——

Mr. Penseno. It is only applicable in legal terms, blood.

Senator Bellmon. When you talk about Indians, whom are you talking about?

Mr. Penseno. Somebody who wants to be an Indian, and somebody who knows he has to be an Indian.

Senator Bellmon. For the purposes of this committee, how are we going to decide who is an Indian if we start appropriating funds to help educate Indians?

Mr. Penseno. There are tribal rolls. Each tribe has its own roll.

Senator Bellmon. You would say we should determine our help according to the tribal rolls?

Mr. Penseno. Yes; I am not sure, but I think each tribe should be allowed to set their own standards for Indians in that tribe.

Senator Kennedy. Thank you very much. We appreciate your statement. Could you, along the lines suggested by Senator Mondale, give us all the information you have on the meeting this past summer?

Mr. Penseno. Yes, sir.

Senator Kennedy. And if you will be in touch with the chief counsel here and give whatever help and assistance you can that will provide us with some enlightenment of that conference, how it was set up and established, what was there, what the general reaction of the Indians was.

Mr. Penseno. Yes, sir.

Senator Kennedy. Thank you very much.

Senator Yarborough. Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer the suggestion in the light of the testimony had from the Indian witnesses the other day, the ones from San Francisco, I wish you could spare the time and give some thought to this cold war GI bill. It applies to all servicemen, whether they have been overseas or not, if they have served 6 months and been honorably discharged.

Mr. Penseno. Indians can go to college anywhere on a scholarship.

Senator Yarborough. We had testimony that the Bureau of Indian Affairs in California would not send them to graduate school. They had no funds. That is the reason I bring this up.

What detriment is it to them in their culture to go to school?

Mr. Penseno. There is a price to pay for everything. The way the school is set up right now, it encourages socialization in the first place.

It physically separates you from your family. The kids have been beaten for speaking their language.

Senator **Yarborough**. You mean if they go to public schools, they are beaten for speaking the Indian language there?

Mr. **Penseno**. It used to be Federal boarding school.

Senator **Yarborough**. They are beaten for speaking the Indian language?

Mr. **Penseno**. They used to be. There are still occasional beatings now. It is more emotional than physical.

Senator **Yarborough**. We had that problem in Texas with Mexican-Americans. They receive punishment if they spoke Spanish on the school grounds.

An answer you gave as to who is an Indian reminds me of the early days in the West, the early days of the white man when there was warfare between the white men and Indian tribes. The white children were captured and adopted in the Indian tribes. If they stayed there for 10 years, it was with the utmost difficulty you could ever get them to come back and live in a white settlement again, to get the captives back and what they call reclaim them, as you doubtless know.

Mr. **Penseno**. The Indian wants to be treated like an Indian by other Indians.

Senator **Yarborough**. Some of those adopted Indians of the tribe became as Indian as a person born an Indian.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator **Kennedy**. Thank you very much.

Our next witness is Dr. Carl Marburger, the Commissioner of Education for the State of New Jersey, former Assistant Commissioner for Education for the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

STATEMENT OF DR. CARL MARBURGER, COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION FOR THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY, FORMER ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER FOR EDUCATION FOR BIA

Dr. **Marburger**. No great problem on that, Senator.

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee: I wish to thank you for this opportunity to speak to you of my concern about the education of American Indian children and youth. It may be in order to clarify who I am and the reason for my presumption to speak about this issue.

I am presently Commissioner of Education for the State of New Jersey, and prior to July 1967 was the Assistant Commissioner for Education in the Bureau of Indian Affairs for a period of about 15 months. I have been away from the Bureau for some time now, and many of my comments may be out-of-date and some of my recommendations already in practice.

To speak generally of the state of Indian education, I can say that it is most comparable with the education of disadvantaged youth, rural and urban throughout the country. I.Q. and achievement test results indicate consistently low scores and tend to retrogress as the children go through the grades. These children bring negative self-image concepts to the school, and the environmental handicaps are most debilitating. Among American Indian children these problems are exacerbated by the extreme isolation of many of the families and by language deficiencies.

I think it is important to note that we cannot fault just the Bureau of Indian Affairs for failure to resolve the educational problems of disadvantaged youth, for no school system has resolved this complex problem. Many individual children and families have been helped, but the sheer weight of numbers and our inability as educators to deal effectively with these difficult educational and social problems have militated against real progress.

A key factor in the ability to resolve this problem is the chronic lack of well-funded programs for environmentally handicapped children. Our citizens and school boards throughout the country recognize that the blind, the deaf, and the physically handicapped child cannot survive the school situation without massive compensation. Therefore, schools for the physically handicapped often have a yearly pupil cost approximating $3,000 per pupil in order to provide the specially trained teacher, the facilities, supplies, and equipment necessary to enable that handicapped child to survive the school experience.

We have in the State of New Jersey a Kassenblatt School for the Deaf. Our per-pupil expenditure for those young people is $3,800 a year. Yet disadvantaged children in our cities and our rural areas are normally provided $400 to $700 per child per year—much smaller expenditures than are normal in relatively affluent suburban districts.

This chronic underfunding is particularly serious in the Federal schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Around 35,000 Indian children are housed in boarding schools with an annual expenditure of approximately $1,500 per child. Compare this with the average yearly cost of between $3,800 and $4,200 for a child attending a boarding school on the east coast. That $1,500 is supposed to take care of the instructional costs, housing, feeding, and total care of the Indian child for a period of 10 months. All that is possible with this kind of funding is rudimetary institutional care, except as individual teachers and administrators are able to provide additional care and affection as their energies permit.

When stopwatches are used by Federal agencies, not the Bureau of Indian Affairs, to determine how many children can be fed in an hour, then all semblance of family living is destroyed and the boarding schools become de facto alms houses.

I personally fault the Bureau of the Budget for this condition. They continually make odious comparisons with local school districts where Indian children are also often receiving an inadequate education without recognizing the formidable additional handicap of isolation, language, and family problems of the children in boarding schools. I also fault educators for not having available the data necessary to justify their request for sufficient funding. These data the Bureau of the Budget consistently and legitimately request. Meanwhile, Indian children, particularly those in boarding schools, continue to lose.

A second severe handicap to the provision of quality education for American Indian children is the civil service status of the professionals. Salaries are not comparable to other school systems, and the isolation of many of the schools is a formidable obstacle to the recruitment and retention of qualified personnel. Civil service lacks flexibility and creates a fantastic inbreeding, which makes it nearly impossible for all but the most persistent applicants outside the system to join the professional staffs, except at the beginning teacher level.

A key question is, should there be boarding schools? Considering the isolation of Indian families, particularly among the Navaho and in Alaska, there is, in my judgment, no alternative to the boarding schools. I would phase them out as quickly as possible. A key factor should be their location. Until we have more roads in Navaho areas (and I strongly recommend adequate funding for those roads), boarding schools for secondary pupils are the only alternative to no school at all.

Those schools, however, should not be in Oklahoma, California, and Nevada. They must be on or near the reservation so that youth can go home on weekends and holidays, so that parents can be involved in the education of their children, and so that the economic benefits of the school accrue to the community on the reservation.

And since there must be boarding schools, they must be exemplary models of quality education. They must be funded at a level that takes them far beyond institutional care, and they must be staffed flexibly with the finest administrators and teachers it is possible to recruit.

Further, no elementary child should be placed in a boarding school, with the possible exception of Alaska, where you heard of many of the problems there of distance and small communities, which means that we must build elementary schools on the reservation as near to the families and communities as is possible.

I do not think it is possible for exemplary education to be provided for Indian children in Federal schools as long as the Bureau of Indian Affairs is in the Department of Interior. The energies of that Department are primarily expended in their land management and conservation functions. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, on the other hand, is concerned primarily with human resource functions, and the Bureau is at a real disadvantage in the competition for funds at the departmental level.

Further, by the fact of its location in the Department of the Interior, the Education Division is isolated from the research, program development, evaluation, and dissemination activities in education, so that the educators in the Bureau are severely out of touch with the practices in the field. A good example is title I and title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. They are currently included, but they are likely to be excluded by July of this year because of the limitation placed on them by the Congress.

At the time the Bureau was brought into the funding for the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, a limitation was placed on the Bureau that the funding would exist only up through this July, and then at the same time Congress also then approved a 2-year forward funding, which means then that the Bureau of Indian Affairs as of this July would not be included in the forward funding.

As I understand it, the Bureau of Indian Affairs children would not be eligible for title I and title III funding as of July unless Congress does something about it.

The greatest difficulty I experienced as Assistant Commissioner for Education, as touched on by Dr. Osview this morning, was that I had little line control over the educators under my jurisdiction. Previous allegiances of the educators were to area directors and reservation superintendents. All budgetary and programmatic decisions were therefore channeled through noneducators who had concern about the totality of their bureau responsibility.

Although I attempted through a series of memorandums, backed by the Commissioner, to establish this more direct line of responsibility, for the most part direction was still given by other than education personnel.

My responsibility as Assistant Commissioner for Education was further complicated by the fact that personnel decisions, construction and rehabilitation of facilities, and data processing were under other assistant commissioners or directors. I had little or no control over these aspects of education which would normally fall under the auspice of the person in charge of education.

As assistant superintendent of schools in a city you have total responsibility for all the education that takes place in that city, which includes personnel decision, including building and construction. And this is true of Mr. Zellers. He does not have that kind of authority over a great part of his division.

For this reason and the reasons mentioned previously, I strongly recommend the transfer of all the educational functions of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (including personnel and construction) to the Office of Education in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. I am convinced this would provide great advantages to Indian children. This would be particularly true since the Office of Education would for the first time in its history be responsible for operating school programs.

I recognize that the Indian people have indicated a strong resistance to this projected move.

We had a series of conferences in Denver where this expression was given by the Indian people. They justifiably see their concerns being swallowed up in an even larger bureaucracy, but in spite of protestations to the contrary, the transfer of Indian health to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has improved the health of American Indians.

I believe comparable benefits would accrue in education, especially if the Bureau of the Budget and the Congress recognized the responsibility for providing the finest educational experiences for Indian children by their commitment to substantial increases in appropriation.

Until, or if, such a transfer decision is made, than the chief education officer of the Bureau must have line responsibility for all education components within the Bureau. Further, he must have the funds to provide quality education programs and the flexibility within civil service to staff them.

One last point, and critically he must involve and continue to involve Indian people and Indian youth and Indian students in the decision-making process as it relates to their education.

Thank you, Senator.

Senator **Kennedy.** I want to commend you for what I think is a very comprehensive statement. Very brief, very concise, and pointing out, first of all, the need for the funding and, second, the reorganization of the line responsibility. I think you have touched on two very important aspects which must be explored in any kind of consideration of Indian education.

In the final part of your statement, you commented on the importance of inclusion of the Indians in the development of the curriculum. I am wondering if you, as an educator and Commissioner of Education and with your own background experience, could give us some kind of reason as to why you believe that that is really important.

Dr. MARBURGER. Senator, I think as educators we have too long assumed that we knew the answer. We have been, I think, facing many of the crises in education today because of that assumption. The assumption that we knew best and that parents could not bring an input, a substantive input, into the education of their children, that young people could not bring a substantive input and, indeed, teachers as well.

We have not involved teachers in the decisionmaking process to the extent that I think is necessary, and I think much of the unrest today stems from our concept that we know what is best. We don't know what is best. I think we need to involve Indian people, the communities, in the decisionmaking process affecting the education of their children.

Now, this becomes an extremely difficult task in the Bureau of Indian Affairs because of the boarding-school concept.

Rough Rock Demonstration School, I think, is a successful demonstration school because it has involved its community, because the parents are critically involved in the decisionmaking process. It is also there where the parents are. It also has substantive funding beyond that which is available in the normal boarding school. I think it is a critical ingredient at a national level. There must be continuation and maintenance of the Indian Advisory Committee on Education. I think at the reservation level there has to be the equivalent of such a committee, and at the local level certainly school boards become a part of the decisionmaking process in education.

Senator KENNEDY. Now, this is in the development of the curriculum as well as making decisions which will affect the normal school board decisions. Will this affect the quality of the decisions?

Dr. MARBURGER. Otherwise it is a phony and won't do a thing. It is like a student council. They are told they can decide on the color of bunting for a dance. It is totally meaningless. I mean real commitment to involvement by the people, the students and the staff.

Senator KENNEDY. One final question.

Would you care to comment on the relevancy of the vocational education program as far as the BIA is concerned? What I am interested in is the future. What direction should this take?

Dr. MARBURGER. I don't know what has taken place since I was there, but vocational education was not, I think, adequately taken care of in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and I think for the most part it is not taken care of nationally. I think the new amendments to the Vocational Act will improve vocational education. I think the Bureau of Indian Affairs will be able to take advantage of those amendments. They cannot at the current time.

I think it is easy to categorize young people and students, Indian children or black children, or Puerto Rican, and say vocational education is the thing for them, and that is the real danger. We must provide options for our people, some for vocational experience of various kinds, such as Haskell offers. Others are college bound. There must be a whole variety of options for our people in the schools.

Currently in the Bureau schools we don't provide those kinds of options that allow for the flexibility. Here again it is a question of funding. With 30 young people in the class, it is difficult to provide options for vocational education, college bound, and so on. We need to strengthen greater the educational program provided. We shouldn't use that as a general track by which we categorize the young people without adequate diagnosis of what the skills and potentials might be.

Senator **Kennedy**. I know that the others have a lot of questions. I want to commend you for your statement.

Dr. **Marburger**. Thank you, sir.

Senator **Kennedy**. Senator Yarborough.

Senator **Yarborough**. Commissioner Marburger, this is a very excellent paper for someone who has been really there at the point of command where you issued orders but without the means of apparently getting them through.

Dr. **Marburger**. Not much happened all too often as a result of those orders.

Senator **Yarborough**. I know it was a frustrating experience, but your description to us and your recommendations are of value to this committee. I want to congratulate you on the preparation of this paper.

Dr. **Marburger**. Thank you, sir.

Senator **Mondale**. I think your testimony is exceedingly significant, not only because of what you have said but also because you do so from the vantage point of experience within the Bureau of Indian Affairs. You were, as I understand it, in charge, insofar as anybody is in charge, of the Indian education programs in the Bureau for about 15 months.

Dr. **Marburger**. Yes, sir.

Senator **Mondale**. Why such a short period?

Dr. **Marburger**. Well, it was an exciting time, and I enjoyed the experience greatly. I did have the opportunity for the state experience and some strong arm twisting on the part of my Governer. It would seem like this was an experience I had not had as a professional educator, and I wished to move in that direction.

Senator **Mondale**. There was no frustration or despair?

Dr. **Marburger**. That is not true. There was a great deal of frustration, but that was not the reason for my leaving.

Senator **Mondale**. You make a telling point at the outset of your testimony, one which I think has been dwelled on far too little in these hearings. That point is that with all the recommended changes in personnel, concept and administration, the question is still whether or not sufficient resources are being applied to achieve quality education.

Do you have an opinion as to how much the Government should spend per pupil for quality education for the American Indian?

Dr. **Marburger**. Yes, sir.

Senator **Mondale**. What is it?

Dr. **Marburger**. I think we have to use the figures I see comparable to those of the private boarding schools on the east coast. I am talking about $3,800, sir, as a figure.

Senator **Mondale**. Do you have an opinion as to what might flow from that investment?

Dr. Marburger. That is a long-range and difficult question. I think that from that flow the kind of class size, the kind of experiences, the kinds of staff, the kinds of administrators and teachers. If you couple that with some type of moratorium on civil service for a long enough period of time to give the Assistant Commissioner or the Commissioner an opportunity to reach out for the kind of personnel we need, I think we could demonstrate as educators that we could provide the kind of education allowing young people to have those options of work, of further training, of college, if we could provide those kinds of funds.

Once again I must couple that with staff, because the only panacea in education is that which frees the cost-syndrome teacher in that classroom and the administrator who frees up that teacher and his staff and his community to involve himself.

Senator Mondale. Even with adequate funding, the right kind of teachers and professional administrators are also an indispensable element. Your testimony concludes rather strongly that the present method of teacher selection is to be condemned.

Does the local principal of a school now have any authority over the selection of his teachers in the Bureau system?

Dr. Marburger. Relatively little. As always, a competent administrator seeks ways in which he can become involved. But for the most part, with the far-flung employer, which is the Bureau of Indian Affairs schools, it is very difficult for him to do that as it currently is set up.

Senator Mondale. If Stewart Vocational School is short one teacher, they advertise in the record of the Civil Service roster nationally, and a teacher is hired by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Then one day he arrives at this school to instruct. Is that correct?

Dr. Marburger. I really cannot adequately respond to that any longer. I don't know what the procedures are.

Senator Mondale. In your day what was it?

Dr. Marburger. In our day we had a central recruiting bureau located in Albuquerque for secondary staffs. Elementary teachers could be referred out to four or five local superintendents or principals in a more effective way than secondary level.

Senator Mondale. You hit hard the need for line control by the Assistant Commissioner for Education. I gather that Nader's criticism, that the board of education for these Indian schools is the regional director, is basically a sound description of the system.

Dr. Marburger. The area director is really the controlling factor in the education.

Senator Mondale. Did you find on occasions that you would make recommendations for personnel, curriculum, or other suggestions that were vetoed and disregarded by the regional directors?

Dr. Marburger. I think it is more subtle than that. There was not a flagrant disobedience of orders or anything of the sort, but just a failure for things to happen.

Senator Mondale. They did not say "No"? It just didn't happen?

Dr. Marburger. It didn't happen.

Senator Mondale. The result was the same?

Dr. Marburger. That is right.

Senator **Mondale**. Can you give us examples of fundamental recommendations which you made that were in fact vetoed or just didn't happen?

Dr. **Marburger**. I asked to have the authority for all promotions above a certain level to come through my office so that I could have some input into those promotions, and they were always from within. They would flow to me occasionally, but on occasion I would find out that so-and-so had been promoted and I was not aware of it. The channels were there, but it just didn't happen quite that way.

Senator **Mondale**. So this request was not granted. Who made the decisions? The regional directors?

Dr. **Marburger**. The area directors primarily, or it happens perhaps at a lower echelon than that.

Senator **Mondale**. What was the suggestion of the Bureau—that regional directors be the guiding force for Indian education within their region?

Dr. **Marburger**. They are not educators. They are concerned with all the problems of the Bureau. I think essentially it was the appointment of the area director of schools for education, along with a welfare person, along with another person.

I hoped to build a line responsibility from myself to that person, but their allegiance then was also to the area director as the welfare person was. So area directors were in many ways making budgetary and fiscal decisions. I had very little control over them.

Senator **Mondale**. In light of the little influence that the educational section in the national BIA has over the BIA controlled systems, how much control or influence does that department have over the education of Indian children in public schools?

Dr. **Marburger**. It has relatively little. Almost nothing except through the Johnson-O'Malley fund.

Senator **Mondale**. Yet two-thirds of the children are in public schools?

Dr. **Marburger**. Right.

Senator **Mondale**. What effort has been made to influence public educational systems for Indian children which were receiving Johnson-O'Malley funds?

Dr. **Marburger**. Relatively little. Attempts were made, but there were two persons on my staff with responsibility for Johnson-O'Malley and to cover the waterfront, as it were, programs.

Senator **Mondale**. How much money was spent through Johnson-O'Malley support while you were in charge?

Dr. **Marburger**. I don't recall.

Senator **Mondale**. A rough estimate.

Dr. **Marburger**. I could not give it to you. I lost that figure totally.

Senator **Mondale**. Would you say that two people to administer it was inadequate?

Dr. **Marburger**. By all means, it was inadequate.

Senator **Mondale**. Would it be fair to say today that Johnson-O'Malley funds go to school districts with no strings at all attached?

Dr. **Marburger**. Relatively little in the way of strings.

Senator **Mondale**. What strings are there?

Dr. **Marburger**. Except that there is a submission of an application, that, in effect, becomes the only string.

Senator **Mondale.** Does that application set forth a plan for educating those children?

Dr. **Marburger.** I don't recall, sir, what the specifics of that application were. I am sure Mr. Zellers or someone could respond to that better than I can.

Senator **Mondale.** You referred to the Budget Bureau and its views about Indian education. Does the Budget Bureau also perform a dominant role in the educational policy?

Dr. **Marburger.** In my judgment, yes.

Senator **Mondale.** Mr. McKittrick's name was mentioned earlier by Mr. Nader. I would ask for some candor on your part here, because he made a very harsh criticism of the Budget Bureau in this regard on account of its dominance and interference. I think he charged that Mr. McKittrick had even frustrated President Johnson's decree that local control should be instituted in these school systems, thereby permitting the parents to have something to say about the education of their children.

Do you have any comments in this general area?

Dr. **Marburger.** No, sir; not on that specifically. I would say that the Bureau of the Budget by sending staff out to see reservations and see schools, spending a couple of days, who would then make judgments that on the basis of this certain decisions would have to be made, they, in effect, entered the programs to a great extent because they controlled the purse strings and, in effect, made the determinations that certain things had to happen.

Senator **Mondale.** Were they interested or qualified to pass on the questions of Indian education, in your judgment?

Dr. **Marburger.** No, sir; I don't think they were. I think I also, as I indicated in the paper, have to fault myself, educators generally, for our lack of the kinds of data to assist them in making budgetary decisions. We simply did not—I did not have available to me during the time I was there a record of the costs of running Indian education for the time I was there.

I think the month before I left I finally got a processing run on what the expenditures were.

Senator **Mondale.** You were there 15 months and were not supplied the cost figures for the system you were supposed to be responsible for?

Dr. **Marburger.** That is right. We kept them on the cuff in the office, but the data processing system did not provide me with the kind of data except in the last month or so.

Senator **Mondale.** Do you think quality Indian education can be accomplished without substantial authority in the Indian communities to influence the educational direction of their own children?

Dr. **Marburger.** No, sir; I don't think it can.

Senator **Mondale.** Thank you very much.

Senator **Yarborough.** Senator Bellmon.

Senator **Bellmon.** Dr. Marburger, I have a couple of real brief questions.

First of all, in your judgment, what is the proper goal for Indian education?

Dr. **Marburger.** Proper goal?

Senator **Bellmon**. Yes. What are we trying to accomplish?

Dr. **Marburger**. I think we are trying to accomplish the same thing we are for all young people, all students, to provide them with the kind of training in the skill areas that will allow them then to make the decisions as to where they want to go in their lives, and to be able to deal then effectively with their environment.

That means to go to college, to go to vocational, to go to trade, whatever the vocational choice they wish to make, as well as, hopefully, to round out a young person in terms of his relationship with his environment, his use of leisure time, his citizenship responsibilities, and others.

These are the general goals as I see it, for all children, and certainly applied to Indian children.

Senator **Bellmon**. Do you feel if we turn over the decisionmaking responsibility for education to Indian adults, that they are going to agree with these goals that you have laid out?

Dr. **Marburger**. Yes, sir; I think they will.

Senator **Bellmon**. Suppose they don't?

Dr. **Marburger**. This is what we need to sit down and talk to Indian people about. They will have, obviously, other goals for their young people. This indeed is a part of what we need to become involved in.

As they see the preservation of their culture and other factors which are the very key, then I think we need to involve them in those decisions.

Senator **Bellmon**. From what you have said, what we are talking about here is educating Indians to become white people.

Dr. **Marburger**. No, sir. It is educating Indians to be well qualified human beings.

Senator **Bellmon**. By our standards?

Dr. **Marburger**. By the standards, by human standards, if you will, sir, by the standards of the Indian people and the standards of all of us who are involved in the education process, the Indians, the students themselves, the parents are involved in that.

Senator **Bellmon**. If the Indian adults choose to run a school system that preserves their religion and their culture, should we in the white community object to this, or should we go along with the decision?

Dr. **Marburger**. I don't think it is going along. I think if we believe in the principle of involving people in the decisionmaking process, and that is their decision, then we will bring whatever wisdom and knowledge we have to the situation as educators.

I think we must involve them, and we must take their decision, with all of the constraints that are placed on any educational venture.

Senator **Bellmon**. Let me ask one other question.

You have mentioned that you feel that the educational responsibility should be transferred out of the BIA. We have had testimony this morning from Senator Gravel, of Alaska, recommending that the BIA would be totally abolished. Would you care to comment on this?

Dr. **Marburger**. I did not understand totally the Senator's complete logic in just abolishing of the whole bureau structure. I think there are functions within the Bureau that could be maintained within the Department of the Interior.

I think, however, education to remain there, for the reasons I have stated in the paper, simply means that it stifles the professionals in the field, although there are many competent teachers and competent administrators who are simply out of touch with reality in education today.

I think this reason, plus the fact the office to run a program would really put them on their mettle and I think would be of great benefit to Indian children.

Senator **Bellmon**. In your testimony you have recommended that the fund be appropriated directly for the education of Indian children for this purpose alone.

Can you define whom you consider an Indian to be? How will we decide who shares in these funds?

Dr. **Marburger**. I think the answer the young man gave in terms of tribal roles is certainly appropriate. I don't know what the blood quantum is. Obviously there needs to be a blood quantum, whatever it may be.

Indianness is a state of mind. We have to recognize this, that a person believes in his Indianness. He has some blood quantum to go along with it, plus tribal rolls which do record who Indian people are.

Senator **Bellmon**. Thank you very much.

Senator **Yarborough**. Senator Mondale.

Senator **Mondale**. I would like to ask one question about your proposal to transfer education funds to OE.

Do you think OE in turn would turn this responsibility over to the States?

Dr. **Marburger**. I think that would be a tragedy, at least for the time being.

I say that, coming from a State as a State education officer.

I think that the structuring of it, the kind of funding that is necessary to operate it, the kind of general expertise needed to build an exemplary system for Indian education, I think at this point in time must be a function of the Federal Government.

I think over time, as school communities, as States are able to accept the responsibility to provide comparable exemplary education experiences, then I think it should be turned over to them.

I think they need to demonstrate that before they say, "Here are Indian children to educate," because they are not getting good education there, either.

Senator **Mondale**. Normally when a function from one Department is transferred to another, the whole package is transferred to the new location. Is that what you contemplate here?

Dr. **Marburger**. I contemplate the education aspects going over, that means personnel related to education, construction related to education, all of that.

Whether that leaves enough behind so that the BIA could still be viable, I cannot respond. It would take certainly a substantive part of the budget of Indian Affairs, if education were moved over.

Senator **Mondale**. We had testimony that the Stewart Vocational School offers three courses—domestic help, farmwork, and house painting—which takes 4 years. If that is accurate, what is your judgment of that vocational school?

Dr. MARBURGER. I cannot respond to the Stewart school specifically, but we spend an awful lot of time boring kids in education. I don't think we need 4 years for this type of program. I think we need a much greater variety of programs.

Once again I plead with the Congress to recognize the children in Federal schools under vocational amendments and other amendments as they come through. As the Congress passes those acts, count the Federal children in the process.

The children in the public schools are getting advantage from it, but the ones in the Federal schools are not.

Senator MONDALE. They are not counted in the formula?

Dr. MARBURGER. No, sir. At least the only ones I know that Indian children are counted in are elementary and secondary, title I.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Mr. Commissioner, you mentioned in your paper that you have an inbreeding in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the same personnel being in others that they recommend, and so forth.

Now, these teachers in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, they are under Civil Service, like the general civil service employees?

Dr. MARBURGER. Yes, sir.

Senator YARBOROUGH. They teach a couple of years in the Indian school and then drop out and teach in the public school system in Oklahoma, Arizona, Colorado, wherever the reservation might be, and then move back into the Indian school system.

You know school systems have certain mobility between school districts in the public school system and as betwen States. California hires them away from us.

So they have that mobility in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, their teachers move out of that Bureau of Indian Affairs system into other school systems?

Dr. MARBURGER. Yes, sir; they do, because they come in as certified personnel. They come in with their certificates from the various States and colleges.

They have much greater mobility out of the Bureau than perhaps in, because you have to join in the civil service system.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Once you get in there, they go out and teach a year or two in the State system; once they get into the system they can go ahead and retire?

Dr. MARBURGER. I cannot generalize, but probably not. Most of the teachers stay within the system once they become a part of the civil service system.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Where teachers have retirement systems in their own State, they carry it from district to district, and have an opportunity to carry this knowledge around from district to district.

Dr. MARBURGER. Yes, sir.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Is what you are talking about, an inbreeding?

Dr. MARBURGER. That is right, and promotions almost exclusively from within the Bureau, at least when I was there, so that you are getting the same kind of thinking all thorugh the whole administrative hierarchy.

Senator YARBOROUGH. You don't get what the academic community calls cross-fertilization I guess from other areas.

Dr. MARBURGER. That is right.

Senator YARBOROUGH. That is one of the weaknesses of the Bureau of Indian Affairs?

Dr. MARBURGER. That is right.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Senator Mondale asked the question about moving the whole package, you might just get the package in another department.

I think rather than move the Indian Affairs to some other department, just move education over there.

Dr. MARBURGER. That is what I am suggesting.

Senator YARBOROUGH. It would be a little more competitive in the Bureau, and do a good job, if you split up the jurisdiction in two places?

Dr. MARBURGER. I am suggesting the movement of education to the Office of Education.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Thank you very much, Dr. Marburger, for bringing your experience and your knowledge as a leading education administrator in the country, having seen the Bureau of Indian Affairs management of the students from inside, bringing that educational knowledge, administrative knowledge based on the practical experience, to this committee. It will be very helpful to us in the recommendations we make. Thank you a lot.

Dr. MARBURGER. Thank you.

Senator YARBOROUGH. The next witness is Dr. Alan Sorkin.

Dr. Sorkin is economist in residence at the Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C.

Dr. Sorkin, proceed in your own way.

STATEMENT OF DR. ALAN SORKIN, ECONOMIST IN RESIDENCE, BROOKINGS INSTITUTION, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Dr. SORKIN. My name is Alan L. Sorkin. I am a research associate at the Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C.

I am engaged currently in a study of manpower, education, and industrial development programs on Indian reservations. In connection with this study I visited 14 reservations and Indian land areas during 1968.

While the prime focus of my remarks will be on selected problems in Indian education, I will highlight some of the more important findings of the study in other areas as well.

There is little doubt that the American Indian is the most poverty stricken minority group in the United States. Median family income of reservation Indians is an estimated $1,600 a year. The unemployment rate for male reservation Indians is 37.3 percent, or about 50-percent higher than for the total labor force during the worst part of the depression of the 1930's.

Over 75 percent of the housing on Indian reservations is substandard, with 50 percent beyond repair. Because of the poverty and poor condition of reservation housing, the health of the reservation Indian suffers accordingly.

For example, in 1966, a reservation Indian was seven times as likely to contract tuberculosis, eight times as likely to be infected with hepatitis, and three times as likely to die of influenza and pneumonia as a non-Indian.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Those are shocking figures.

I assume you base that on actual census statistics?

Dr. SORKIN. Yes, sir.

Senator YARBOROUGH. The average Indian is seven times as likely to contract tuberculosis, eight times as likely to be infected with hepatitis, and three times as likely to die of influenza and pneumonia as a non-Indian?

Dr. SORKIN. Yes, sir.

The Division of Indian Health puts out statistics. The title of the publication is "Indian Health Highlights."

Senator YARBOROUGH. Do you have the average age in this country of Indians and non-Indians? Is there any statistic that gives you the average age of Indians and non-Indians?

Dr. SORKIN. I have seen the statistics of the median age of an Indian on the reservation is about 19 or 20 years. It is only 60 percent as high as for non-Indians. I think the average age is 37 or 38.

Senator YARBOROUGH. For non-Indians?

Dr. SORKIN. Right.

Senator YARBOROUGH. And 19 to 20 years for the Indian on the reservation?

Dr. SORKIN. Right.

Senator YARBOROUGH. It is a shocking contrast. It is more shocking even than these other figures.

Proceed.

Dr. SORKIN. In order to ameliorate the problems of poverty and unemployment on the reservations, the Bureau of Indian Affairs operates two voluntary relocation or employment assistance programs for reservation Indians.

The first is a direct employment program. The Indian is relocated at Government expense to one of nine urban areas and placed in a job. The second program is an adult vocational training program, under which the Indian is first trained in one of 125 different occupations and then is found employment, usually off the reservation.

My studies indicate that these programs are highly successful, and because of the increased income of the participants, return $10 to $20 for each dollar spent. Dropout or returnee rates are no higher than for other Federal manpower programs, such as the Job Corps or the MDTA program.

However, because of a lack of appropriations by Congress, these programs cannot accommodate all applicants. For example, during 1968, nearly one-third of the applicants for adult vocational training had to be turned away for lack of funds.

Broadening the opportunity for relocation for those Indians wishing to leave the reservations will not only increase the opportunity for the first Americans to share in the American dream, but will reduce the level of surplus labor on the reservations.

Unemployment can be reduced by an expansion of industrialization on the reservations. From 1957 to 1968, employment of Indians in reservation industry increased from 391 to 4,112. However, this latter figure represented only 3 percent of the reservation labor force.

Poor transportation and communication facilties, lack of markets, and the low educational attainment of the Indians themselves discourage many entrepreneurs from locating factories on reservations.

Increased Federal expenditure on social overhead capital, together with increased technical assistance, similar to that given abroad as part of the foreign aid program, would not only increase the pace of industrialization on the reservations, but would put many presently unemployed Indians to work building roads, airstrips, or other forms of social overhead capital.

My remarks on Indian education will be concerned with four topics: dropouts, vocational education, adult education, and the problem of teacher turnover in schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The comments to be made summarize a larger investigation of Indian education to be submitted for the record.

Dropouts: A recent study of the U.S. Office of Education's Northwest Regional Laboratory has indicated that 50 percent of the Indian students on 19 reservations in six States fail to graduate from high school.

By analyzing the data contained in this study, it is possible to determine the factors accounting for differences in dropout rates between reservations.

It appears that differences in average income between reservations are most strongly associated with differences in dropout rates. Thus, students residing in the most poverty stricken reservations have higher school dropout rates than those reservations with higher family income.

This seems reasonable, because the families residing on the most poverty stricken reservations may not be able to afford to keep their children in school. Moreover, since the poorest reservations offer the least employment opportunities to both graduates and dropouts, there is little economic incentive for the student to remain in school.

Vocational education: During the years when a majority of Indian children were educated in Federal boarding schools, there was emphasis on training students in vocational skills, including vocational agriculture. However, after World War II, educational policy makers in the Bureau of Indian Affairs felt that vocational courses should be phased out and more or less exclusive emphasis be placed on academic courses.

Between 1957–63, "shop" courses above the prevocational level were eliminated at all but four high schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Senator **Mondale**. Who made that decision?

Dr. **Sorkin**. As far as I can tell, it must have been people fairly high up—I am going to get a little bit into that in my statement—in the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

I know when I was out on the reservation, people just told me it had been eliminated, but did not tell me who did it, or who was responsible for it. I would assume it would have to be administrative people in education in the Bureau of Indian Affairs. I get a little bit into that.

Moreover, most Bureau schools offer few commercial courses for girls, such as shorthand, bookkeeping, or office practice.

The rationale for severely limiting vocational offerings has been the following: Since vocational training is available at the post high school level through the adult vocational training program, or at Haskell Institute, it is better to concentrate on purely academic courses at the high school level. Then those students who wish to attend college will have had sufficient preparation, and those who desire vocational or commercial training will be able to obtain it after high school.

This appears to be an erroneous policy, for the following reasons:

1. There has never been enough facilities available at Haskell Institute or through the adult vocational training program to accomdate all those who are interested. Thus, there are two to three times as many applications for admission to Haskell Institute as there are openings, in the first year class. Moreover, 25 to 30 percent of the applicants for adult vocational training cannot be accommodated.

2. About half of the vocational courses offered at the post high school level are similar to those given in vocational high schools or comprehensive high schools enrolling non-Indians.

Recent research has indicated that the earnings differential between the graduates of post high school vocational courses and vocational high school graduates who have taken the same courses is so small that it fails to make up for the earnings loss of the former, while not in the labor market.

Thus, the total lifetime income of the post high school vocational graduate may be less than that of a student who took the same courses while in high school.

3. As pointed out earlier, approximately 50 percent of the Indian students residing on or adjacent to reservations fail to complete high school.

These individuals are not eligible for post-high school vocational training, and for the most part lack the educational qualifications to be eligible for the adult vocational training program.

These individuals would likely have a better chance for permanent employment if they received some vocational training before they left school.

4. Moreover, vocational training could be used as a form of dropout prevention. Studies have indicated that many Indian children, like non-Indians, leave school because of lack of interest in what is being taught. It is likely that a vocational program would be able to increase the "holding power" of the schools.

Adult education: One of the greatest needs among reservation Indians is an effective program of adult education. This would not only increase the human capital available on the reservation for utilization by employers or potential employers, but would allow adult Indians greater job opportunities should they desire to leave the reservations.

Table I indicates the median educational level of adult reservation Indians.

Table I.—Median years of school completed, by age, reservation Indian males, 1960

Age:	Median years of school completed
20–24	9.3
25–34	8.5
35–44	8.1
45–54	6.7
65 and over	3.2

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, U.S. Census of Population, 1960. Nonwhite population, by race, table 20, p. 343 (Washington, D.C., 1963).

The table above indicates that the median years of schooling for all age groups, except the 20–24 age group, is below the high school level.

Although the percentage of Indian communities served by an adult education program has increased in recent years, in 1968 only about half of all communities was being served. Virtually no communities in Alaska were being served, in spite of the fact that 15 percent of the total population under Bureau of Indian Affairs jurisdiction resides in Alaska.

In 1968, only $1 million was programed for adult education or only $30–$50 per student. Less than 1 percent of the education budget of the Bureau of Indian Affairs was spent on adult education.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs has only 40 professional adult educators, or one for every four Indian reservations. It is the job of these individuals, in addition to teaching, to establish courses, recruit teachers, and coordinate their programs with other reservational educational programs.

It would appear that these individuals are spread too thinly to do a really effective job.

Teacher turnover: Teacher turnover in Bureau of Indian Affairs schools is about 75 to 100 percent higher than the public schools for the Nation as a whole.

However, teacher turnover in Federal Indian schools is roughly comparable to the turnover in public school systems located in the relatively sparsely settled States of Idaho, Montana, Oregon, Nebraska, and Alaska.

While some would take this as evidence that teacher turnover in Bureau schools is not a particularly important problem. In my view, this would appear to be an erroneous position, if one considers that one goal for the Bureau of Indian Affairs is operating a "model school system" for disadvantaged children.

Information from a recent teacher turnover study conducted by the Bureau of Indian Affairs indicates over half the turnover occurs among teachers with less than 2 years' teaching experience, with over 40 percent of the turnover occurring among teachers with only 1 year experience in the system.

An analysis of the reasons that those teachers with only 1 year's experience in the system gave for leaving indicates that 50 percent left the Bureau of Indian Affairs schools for economic reasons or due to isolation.

It would appear that three policies might cut down on the high rate of turnover among relatively inexperienced teachers.

First, the Bureau of Indian Affairs should try not to assign new teachers to the most isolated reservations. Since many of the new teachers are recent college graduates from the East, the shock of living in a remote Indian reservation can cause difficult adjustment problems.

Second, salaries and increments should be adjusted to reflect the disutility or remoteness of a particular location. A single salary structure, unresponsive to where one is assigned, is unrealistic.

Third, all new entrants to the school system should be given extensive and realistic orientation before they are sent to the reservations. While this may frighten off some potential teachers, in the long run it would likely reduce the turnover, since teachers would have a realistic idea of what to expect.

Senator **Yarborough**. This is a very interesting observation, these last two pages.

You indicate that not only do the Indians have problems of adjustment, but that the whites that go from college graduation out to the reservations fall out of the system, too, at the high rate. Over 50 percent the first year. Their dropout rate is as high as the Indians.

Dr. **Sorkin**. That is true. I never thought of it that way, but that is true.

Senator **Yarborough**. Thank you for these very interesting observations, your study, and your recommendations.

I am particularly interested in that they taught vocational training where a good many Indians were having job opportunities before, but after World War II they dropped it.

Dr. **Sorkin**. I think one of the most serious mistakes has been made in the entire area of Indian education.

I don't think there should be exclusive effort, by any means, on vocational training, but there are a lot of semiskilled and skilled jobs going begging, either adjacent or on the reservations that have to be filled by non-Indians at the present time.

I think, with an adequate vocational program, these jobs would be filled by Indians.

Senator **Yarborough**. High schools back 50 years ago were offering good courses in vocational education in auto mechanics. There were great opportunities in that field. I heard on my car radio garages in this area advertising for mechanics. They are paying higher wages trying to lure them from other garages.

So it is in many other vocational fields. Find a good repairman on the TV or a radio that can make that last longer than 3 weeks. He cannot make it last longer than 3 weeks, or they have built-in obsolescence.

We need technical vocational education for technicians somewhat higher than the mechanic, for which there are great job opportunities in America.

Are there any plans by the people in the Bureau of Indian Affairs to try to put these courses back in the high schools?

Dr. **Sorkin**. The people I talked to seemed to indicate that the situation was under review.

Senator **Yarborough**. After 20 years of error, it does not seem that it would take a long review, after 20 years of error.

Dr. **Sorkin**. The people that I talked to had just come into the Washington office. I think there is going to be some additional effort to evaluate the present situation.

Whether it will lead to any changes in the near future, I cannot tell.

Senator **Yarborough**. I think they ought to restore the vocational educational program, and then let the evaluators evaluate it after those people have gotten the jobs.

You point out the great failure to have an adult education program. The statement is good. It speaks for itself.

Senator Mondale?

Senator **Mondale**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The figure you use concerning the fact that there are only 40 professional adult educators in the Bureau—I assume that is in the national office?

Dr. **Sorkin**. Right.

Senator **Mondale**. One for every four Indian reservations.

If you consider the fact that two-thirds of the Indian youth are being educated in the public schools, then surely that is woefully understaffed.

Moreover, we have already heard testimony that the Regional Directors run those schools. On top of all that is the desire of the Budget Bureau to supersede them.

Dr. Marburger testified that he thinks that, excepting title I programs, the Indian children are not being counted in the calculations for appropriations and expenditures for vocational education, adult education, and some of these other federally aided educational efforts.

Do you happen to know whether that is true?

Dr. **Sorkin**. As far as that specific point, I don't.

All I can say is that one comment I could make is that it seems every time there is a bill passed, or some special welfare amendment, 2 or 3 years go by before it is applicable to the Indians.

Senator **Mondale**. Could we have a study by the staff, and also on these various specific education programs I would like to know whether the Indians are entitled to participate or not, and whether they are permitted to participate on the same basis as other Americans?

If they are, I would like to know whether there is a 3-year lag—this syndrome he is talking about—before they catch on to it.

If it is true, where does the fault lie? Does the Bureau make requests, or ignore it?

It seems outrageous, especially when this is the only system that is a direct and total Federal responsibility. This ought to be where you would begin, because you have no one else to blame except yourself in this area.

Senator **Yarborough**. Last October we passed the biggest vocational education bill in American history, authorizing expenditures of $3 billion over 4 years of time to extend vocational education into adult vocational education, build new vocational educational schools, if it was not available in the high schools or junior colleges, authorizing vocational education in senior colleges.

With all that, the Indians were excluded.

Senator **Mondale**. It seems to me that if this testimony is accurate, then as the Nation recognizes the broadened need for adult vocational education, they are going in the other direction. We are cutting back. The system is less adequate than it was some years ago.

If I may say so, I appreciate this testimony by Dr. Sorkin. It is what I would expect from a Sorkin—his father is a good friend of mine.

Senator **Yarborough**. I don't know whether your assignment is over on the subject for the Brookings Institution.

Dr. **Sorkin**. I am continuing to work on my study, and probably it will not be completed until June.

Senator **Yarborough**. As we have heard, this study on Indian education is our jurisdiction, but health is also the jurisdiction of this General Labor and Public Welfare Committee. I am chairman of the

Health Subcommittee. I am shocked about these figures in this statement and what I have heard in this Education Subcommittee about the alcoholism among the Indians.

I have been told by other people that the percentage runs higher than 50 percent—75 percent on some reservations—that just through a sense of frustration, they get drunk.

The reservation Indian is seven times as likely to contract tuberculosis, eight times as likely to be infected with hepatitis, three times as likely to die of influenza and pneumonia as a non-Indian.

He is not only contracting them, but he is dying of these diseases, when you tell us the average age of the Indian on the reservation is 19 to 20 years of age, and the average age of a non-Indian is 37 years, because we know that the average age of the Indian is not because the old people left the reservations.

If anybody leaves, it is the young people, is it not?

Dr. SORKIN. The average age of the reservation Indian at death is 43, which is almost 25 years below the average age of death of a non-Indian.

The reason that the difference is so great is because of the high rate of infant mortality on the reservation.

Senator YARBOROUGH. High rate of infant mortality?

Dr. SORKIN. Right.

Senator YARBOROUGH. What about the poverty and malnourishment on the reservation?

We have had testimony on that. Especially we had pictures on the Navajo Reservation of children stunted mentally, physically, because of malnutrition.

Education, poverty, malnutrition, hunger, alcoholism, it all ties in.

Have you made any study of the incidence of alcoholism among the Indians as compared to other ethnic groups in our society?

Dr. SORKIN. I did not make a study of it, but I think I can share this observation with you.

If you go through the Public Health Service Indian hospitals on the reservations, most of the doctors will tell you that alcoholism is a very great problem, but most of those hospitals have no special treatment facilities for the care of alcoholic patients.

As a matter of fact, somewhat euphemistically, some of the hospitals that don't have blood banks will get their blood from Indians that are in this tribal jail. Since many of them are in the jail by reason of alcohol, you sometimes wonder what kind of blood they are giving the patients.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Are they paying those Indians for that blood in jail?

Dr. SORKIN. I don't know, I never visited any jails.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Paying their way out of jail with their blood?

Dr. SORKIN. I guess that happens in some cases; yes.

Senator YARBOROUGH. We need some investigation into that, too.

In this research, while you are dealing primarily with Indian education, as chairman of the Health Subcommittee, I would like you to make notes on any health factors that you run into there.

Dr. SORKIN. I have written as part of my other work a short paper on some of the progress which has been made on Indian health.

Although we have been talking about some of the shortcomings now, compared to when the transfer of responsibility from BIA to HEW took place, it is much improved.

Senator YARBOROUGH. How many years ago was that?

Dr. SORKIN. 1955, it was transferred.

Senator YARBOROUGH. So the health of Indians has now improved over 1955, after we got it out of the BIA?

Dr. SORKIN. There is almost no comparison. It is a tremendous improvement.

Senator YARBOROUGH. It sounds like a pretty good precedent for taking education out of there.

Dr. SORKIN. If they could be as successful in that as they were in health, I think everybody would be quite satisfied.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Thank you for this study, and thank you for bringing into your report here what you found on the health problems.

Are there further questions?

Senator Mondale?

Senator MONDALE. I have no further questions.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Thank you very much for this paper. We may want to sumit further questions to you, if you will accept them, and you send us your written answers.

Dr. SORKIN. Thank you.

Senator YARBOROUGH. This completes this series of hearings in Washington at this time.

The committee will be recessed at this time, subject to reconvening at the call of the chairman of the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education.

The subcommittee is recessed.

(Whereupon, at 1 p.m., the subcommittee recessed, subject to the call of the Chair.)

INDIAN EDUCATION, 1969

THURSDAY, MARCH 27, 1969

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDIAN EDUCATION
OF THE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met at 9 a.m., pursuant to recess, in room 4232, New Senate Office Building, Senator Edward M. Kennedy (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Kennedy, Yarborough, Mondale, Hughes, Murphy, and Bellmon.

Committee staff members present: Robert O. Harris, staff director to full committee; Adrain L. Parmeter, subcommittee staff director; and Herschel Sahmount, minority professional staff member.

Senator **KENNEDY**. The subcommittee will come to order.

Our first witnesses this morning are Robert Bennett, Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, and Dr. Charles Zellers, Assistant Commissioner for Education, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior.

Will both of you be kind enough to come up to the table?

We want to welcome you to the committee. On two other occasions we have had you scheduled. Through the necessities of committee business, we had to change and alter those plans. We want to extend a word of welcome to you now.

STATEMENT OF HON. ROBERT L. BENNETT, COMMISSIONER, BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, ACCOMPANIED BY CHARLES N. ZELLERS, ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER FOR EDUCATION, BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Mr. **BENNETT**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman and members of the Indian Education Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, it is a pleasure to be with you today. Before I start my testimony I would like to offer for the record my credentials in support of what I am to say, which relate to my birth on an Indian reservation in 1912, graduation from a Federal boarding school and high school, and business department, and 36 years of service with Indian people in all parts of the country, including 4 years in Alaska, except for time off for military service.

So I would like to submit these credentials for the record.

Senator **KENNEDY**. They will be accepted and put at the appropriate place in the record.

(The material referred to follows:)

ROBERT L. BENNETT, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

Born November 16, 1912, on the Oneida Indian Reservation in Wisconsin.

Education:

Attended public and parochial schools in Wisconsin. Was graduated in 1931 from Haskell Institute (Indian school) at Lawrence, Kansas, where he specialized in business administration. Holds degree of L.L.B. from Southeastern University School of Law.

Occupational Background:

1933–38—Served with the Bureau of Indian Affairs agency at the Ute Reservation in Utah. Also served in various capacities with the Ute Tribal Council and as treasurer of three Indian livestock associations in the area.

1938–43—Assigned to Washington office, Bureau of Indian Affairs, as specialist in realty operations.

1943–44—Transferred to the Navajo Agency, Window Rock, Ariz.

1944–45—PFC, U.S. Marine Corps.

1945–46—Navajo Reservation.

1946–48—Directed training program for World War II Indian veterans, as a member of staff of Phoenix, Arizona office, Veterans Administration.

1949–51—Rejoined Bureau of Indian Affairs in capacity of Job Placement Office, Aberdeen Area, serving Indian groups in the Dakotas.

1951–54—Reassigned to Washington, D.C. office, Bureau of Indian Affairs, to assist in tribal development programs.

1954–56—Appointed Superintendent of Consolidated Ute Indian Agency, Ignacio, Colorado.

1956–62—Reassigned to Aberdeen Area Office and appointed Assistant Director.

1962–65—Appointed Area Director of Indian Affairs for the Alaska region, with headquarters in Juneau.

1966—Appointed Deputy Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C.

1966—Appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C.

Organization Affiliations:

American Academy of Political and Social Science;
American Society for Public Administration;
National Congress of American Indians;
Member of the National Advisory Committee for Indian Youth;
Board of Directors, ARROW, Inc.
Rotary International

Family data:

Married to the former Mrs. Cleota Minor Brayboy of Baltimore, Maryland, a social worker. Six children: John, a Navy veteran, married, now living in Ann Arbor, Michigan; William, a Navy veteran, married, now living in Ann Arbor, Michigan; Leo, a Marine veteran, married, living in Dallas, Texas; Joanne, in college; and David and Robert, living at home.

Mr. BENNETT. Secondly, when I became the Commissioner of Indian Affairs I made a statement of philosophy as Commissioner. I would like to read two or three parts of it and submit it for the record.

This is April 29, 1966:

> I accepted the position of Commissioner because I have faith and confidence in the Indian people and their ability and capabilities. I believe that it should be the basic premise or policy that we place expectations on Indian people. We have not entirely accepted as we have moved along in our development of programs, the leadership, the contributions which I think Indian people can make and which are so necessary to the solution of their problems.
>
> We must eliminate, where it exists, paternalism and the stifling effects it has on people. We need to eliminate the attitudes of dependency which paternalism creates in the minds of people.
>
> As I see it, we must bring about a genuine partnership with Indian leadership. There is no question in my mind that Indian leadership must be brought aboard to the full extent possible as we deal with their problems.

I believe we need to talk with the Indian people about assuming more responsibility to make decisions which affect their daily lives. I believe, too, there is much that can be done within our administrative structure to provide the Indian people this opportunity.

Some of our procedures and regulations and instructions in the manual need to be reviewed so that every opportunity is provided Indian people to assume responsibility to make decisions and learn to live with them.

Reorganization of the Bureau is controlled to a large extent by its mission, trusteeship and service responsibilities.

You will, I believe, survive this change in administration because there is always room for competent people who are willing to carry more than their share of the load.

I stated to the Bureau staff:

> What I am concerned about most is your attitude, not so much your aptitude.

I concluded by saying:

> I look to the future with hope and enthusiasm. The Indian people are ready to move. I am ready and I hope you are, too, because together we need to provide the leadership and create the environment by which the Indian people can emerge in the fullness of their destiny.

This is my statement of April 22, 1966, when I became Commissioner which I would like to submit for the record.

Senator KENNEDY. Without objection, it may be accepted.

(The document referred to follows:)

STATEMENT BY COMMISSIONER ROBERT L. BENNETT TO BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS EMPLOYEES, WASHINGTON, D.C., APRIL 29, 1966

I accepted the position of Commissioner because I have faith and confidence in the Indian people, their abilities and capabilities.

I believe that it should be the basic premise of policy that we place expectations on Indian people. We have not entirely accepted, as we have moved along in our development of programs, the leadership, the contributions, which I think Indian people can make and which are so necessary to the solution of problems.

We must eliminate where it exists paternalism and the stifling effects which it has on people. We need to eliminate attitudes of dependency which paternalism creates in the minds of Indian people. I believe that we need to reappraise our relationship with Indian people—because there is a disturbing degree of failure expectancy which ranges from the Head Start program to the prevocational program in Seattle. There must be a reason why so many young Indian people enter these programs with this high degree of failure expectancy.

As I see it, we must bring about a real, genuine, partnership with Indian leadership. There is no question, at least in my mind, that Indian leadership must be brought aboard to the fullest extent possible as we deal with their problems.

We need to talk about our changing role. The Bureau for many years has been the price source of service and opportunity for Indian people. There are now many agencies in the field of service to all people and we need to examine the resources that are available and, as a part of our changing role, make these more readily available to Indian people than they have been in the past. The Bureau of Indian Affairs should not be a go-between for the Indian people. We need to bring Indian people face-to-face with reality and with their friends and neighbors in local, state and national government and the business community.

I beileve we need to talk to Indian people about their assuming more responsibility for making decisions which affect their daily lives. I believe too that there is much that can be done within our administrative structure to provide the Indian people this opportunity. Some of our procedures and regulations and instructions in the manual need to be reviewed so that every opportunity is provided the Indian people to assume responsibility to make decisions and learn to live with them.

One of the problems which is going to receive immediate and serious attention is our relationship with Congress and with the members of the committees who have responsibility for both substantive legislation and also for appropriations to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This relationship needs to be improved and a great deal of my time and that of other people in Washington will be taken up with this very vital part of our responsibility.

The Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee has designated Senator Lee Metcalf, Subcommittee Chairman, to work closely with the Bureau to examine and evaluate programs on a continuing basis. I am sure that we can work together and that the Senator will have all the information he asks from us in order to make his reports to the full committee.

I believe that we can do much to improve our public image. And this is going to receive much attention in the future. We have a role to perform. I believe we can perform it effectively. I think the people throughout the country need to know some of the good things that we are doing. It is my hope that they learn it from us and from others as times goes on. I believe that we need to be particularly sensitive to these situations that will affect our relationship either at the state level or at the national level, whether it be with other agencies, state legislatures, or the Congress.

Reorganization of the Bureau is controlled to a large extent by its mission, trusteeship, and service responsibilities. The objectives of the present reorganization are:

1. Decision-making on a timely basis by streamlining the organization.
2. Sensitivity to forces which will have an impact on the lives of Indian people.
3. Flexibility to deal with situations on a project basis rather than on a strictly functional basis.
4. Philosophical consistency.
5. Upgrading of education and liaison activities.

In my thirty years of service, I have survived several changes in administration and reorganization. You will, I believe, survive this one because there is always room for competent people who are willing to carry more than their share of the load. What I am concerned most about is your attitude, not so much your aptitude.

I want you to feel that in this office there will be a very welcome reception for any ideas and recommendations; that we will welcome hearing from you when you and the Indian people feel a particular program has merit, even though it may be in conflict with established policy and regulation. We can make exceptions to the regulations; we can waive requirements, if justified. There are no "sacred cows" in the Bureau so far as I am concerned.

We are going to move. A right decision made too late, is no decision. We can't wait for perfection—let's get the issues before the people. There are going to be decisions made—there are going to be policies issued. I welcome you aboard.

I have been one of you for over thirty years. I am now the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, but I am still one of you. Whether I am to be a great Commissioner or even a good one depends on you.

I look to the future with hope and enthusiasm. The Indian people are ready to move. I am ready, and I hope you are too, because together we need to provide the leadership and create the environment by which Indian people can emerge into the fullness of their destiny.

Mr. BENNETT. The final information I would like to submit for the record are some 60 resolutions from such organizations as the All Indian Pueblo Council, Inter-Tribal Council of Eight Tribes of Miami Agency, Inter-Tribal Council of the Five Civilized Tribes, National Congress of American Indians, National Council of the Churches of Christ, New York City, and many others which support this basic philosophy.

Senator KENNEDY. We will take those and the staff will review them and place appropriate sections in the record.

(The materials referred to can be found in the subcommittee files.)

Mr. BENNETT. Thank you.

I would like to make one more preliminary remark and that is, that you will find as the testimony and questioning goes on, that I am not very profound in Indian affairs because I have been associated with them too long; and during this period of association, I have developed a great respect for their profoundness.

Mr. Chairman, I wish to express my appreciation for the opportunity to present my views on Indian education and related problems.

While your subcommittee has done much to focus the attention of the country on the Indian education program of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, we are hopeful your subcommittee will devote as much time, attention, and publicity—and in the same manner—to the public schools of this country which have Indian students.

This is necessary if improvements are to be made in Indian education in the Bureau schools which enroll about one-third of the Indian students and the public schools which enroll about two-thirds of the Indian students.

Many witnesses have testified before this subcommittee in Washington and throughout the country. Some of the information this committee has produced will be of tremendous value in guiding us, and I hope the public schools, toward a better quality of education for Indian children.

It is gratifying that many witnesses before this committee are now supporting the innovative approaches and long-accepted concept of Indian involvement of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, some of which I will describe later, to the complex human problems of Indian people.

With this kind of support, which has been lacking for so long, we can proceed in confidence with the Indian people to continue our joint effort to bring about needed improvements.

It is regretted, however, that the tenor of some statements made before this subcommittee at various times have been more in the nature of destructive and vitriolic attacks upon Federal schools and the Bureau of Indian Affairs rather than objective critiques of deficiencies in Indian education wherever they be found in Bureau or public schools.

The current critics in Indian affairs tend to blame the education program of the Bureau of Indian Affairs for all the social, economic, and political ills of Indian people that, in actuality, are the cumulative results of a century of neglect, misunderstanding, prejudice, and paternalism.

Criticism that relies upon hearsay and feeds upon distortion, and I quote from previous testimony before this committee, is "rotten; insensitive, and decadent," has the effect of destroying the morale of Indian people and their educators and the respect of Indian children for any kind of schooling—Federal or public.

I trust your good judgment will not let you be misled by that kind of irresponsible testimony.

Certainly, we in the Bureau of Indian Affairs welcome the support this subcommittee can give to the equalization of the opportunities for Indians, particularly through education.

We welcome the opportunity to appear before you in the hope that our combined efforts will lead to a real headstart for Indian children from this time forward.

To start, there are two points I would like to make:

1. There are no panaceas, no instant shortcuts to creating model schools or education systems. Formal education is but a small part of the influences that go into the shaping of a human personality.

Differences in culture and value system, deficiencies in health, obstructions in language comprehension, inhibitions in behavior resulting from deprivation and other forces—all these factors have a bearing on a child's success in school and upon the school's success in reaching the child.

Where Indian education problems exist in the Bureau and public schools, therefore, they reflect larger socioeconomic problems of Indian life today, and all problems must be dealt with simultaneously and accordingly.

Nevertheless, there are measures that can be taken, with your help, to make considerable improvement in education services at once. I have outlined several such steps and will discuss them later.

2. My second point deals with the need for partnership between Indians and the Federal Government within the framework of the special nature of Federal-Indian relations.

Lasting solutions to Indian problems can be found only if Indians are involved in analysis, planning, and operations. In the 3 years I have served as Commissioner, one of my greatest rewards has been to watch the emergence of Indian views and the increasing participation of Indians in the process of decisionmaking.

It is my hope, therefore, that this subcommittee will not make recommendations for unilateral action in Indian education or other Indian matters without the opportunity for the duly elected representatives of the Indian people to have a voice in the future of Indian education.

In connection with that I would like to offer a list of the recognized tribal leadership throughout Indian country.

I would like to offer for the record my statements at the National Congress of American Indians in Omaha, Nebr., which includes the first annual report ever made by a Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Indian people.

Senator KENNEDY. We will accept those and they will be part of the total file. We will select those parts that are most relevant to these hearings.

(The material referred to may be found in the appendix.)

Senator MONDALE. Will you yield a second?

Mr. Commissioner, did you say that this was the first report that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs ever gave to the Indians?

Mr. BENNETT. Yes, sir.

Senator MONDALE. When was it?

Mr. BENNETT. At the National Congress of American Indians in September this past fall.

Senator MONDALE. It is about time that they got around to it.

Mr. BENNETT. Yes, I think so. I hope I set a precedent.

I have said there are no shortcuts or panaceas for educational improvement because the problems in Indian education cannot be separated from the more general problems of economic and social underdevelopment of many Indian communities.

Our efforts in education must have relevance to efforts in these broader directions, and the totality of effort must be geared to preparing Indians for the changing society ahead rather than holding them to the past.

Many, if not most, Indians today live in regions that are economically depressed. Reservations, with few executions, are far from the hub of greatest economic growth.

Consequently, joblessness among rural Indians is excessively high, with 30 to 40 percent of the Indian work force partially or totally unemployed.

This condition of Indian life has a significant bearing on the performance of Indian children in school. Compounding the difficulty is a deep gap between the cultures of various tribes and the rest of America's people—a gap manifested not only in language barriers but also in lifeways and value systems.

Indian needs are so many and varied one scarcely knows where to begin. Uneducated parents must be stimulated to encourage the child to stay in school. Indian parents need employment income from jobs that will restore family pride.

Kindergartens, which we have had only this year for the first time in the Bureau, need to be expanded for all Indian children.

The teenager needs more recreation and summer activities. The young Indian adult needs to see the advantages of continuing education.

At this point, Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer statements that I have made in talks relating to Indian young people on two different occasions.

Senator **KENNEDY**. That will be accepted.

Mr. **BENNETT**. Compensation for all these inhibiting environmental factors of isolated rural Indian life today must be provided by the school, if possible.

There is no doubt that an intensive effort to improve education will contribute to the viability of Indian communities.

The whole history of Federal-Indian relations is evidence that the policies and programs have swayed with the winds of the times. Each new swing has contributed to the building of a synthetic Indian society based largely on what others considered right and proper for the Indian people, and this is being repeated now before this subcommittee and will be repeated again, I am sure. This has been the unhappy lot of the American Indian.

Nowhere is the vacillation more evident than with respect to Federal schooling for Indians. Federal schools have existed for almost a hundred years.

In the words of an early Secretary of the Interior, the objective was to "civilize" Indians by training them for farming, homemaking, and trades. That is a limited aspiration set for Indians but still one that influences programs and education funding.

There was a brief flowering in the Federal school system for Indians that began in the late 1930's and early 1940's, but came to a premature withering. Some of the most advanced approaches to breaking the education barrier were applied in those days.

Primer readers were written in dual language texts illustrated by Indians in their environment and telling stories about Indians.

Indian crafts had their place in the classroom as teaching materials.

Indian lore was taught within the context of science and history studies.

Vocational education was oriented to the needs of the community—as, for example, the unprecedented seafaring and commercial fishing training once offered at Wrangell Institute in Alaska.

At this point, Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer this material which began in 1940, which shows bilingual education for Navajos written in English and Navajo and related to the environment of the Navajo community.

Senator **KENNEDY**. We will accept that and they will be made a part of the subcommittee files.

May I ask you a question, Mr. Bennett? I did not have a chance to review your statement before now and I am just following along with it. I regrettably have to chair another hearing a little later in the morning. I noted in the early part of your statement, you referred to statements that were made to this committee.

You say you "regretted, however, that the tenor of some statements made before this subcommittee at various times have been more in the nature of destructive and vitriolic attacks upon Federal schools and the Bureau of Indian Affairs rather than objective critiques of deficiencies in Indian education."

Could you elaborate on that? What testimony have we taken that you think has been unfair in characterizing what many of us feel is one of the most unfortunate Federal involvements, either in the testimony received here in Washington or in the testimony which has been received out in the field?

This committee over the period of the last year has visited a number of these schools and reservations. Would you be somewhat more precise?

Mr. **BENNETT**. Yes. The Washington Post reported——

Senator **KENNEDY**. I value the Washington Post reports on it, but I am sure your people reviewed the testimony itself: the direct testimony.

I would be more interested in that evaluation rather than the characterization made by a newspaper.

Mr. **BENNETT**. This is where I received my information. One of the witnesses stated that the Bureau of Indian Affairs was rotten, insensitive, and decadent. I do not believe this contributes anything to the education of Indian children.

Senator **KENNEDY**. That is one. What are some of the other types of comments?

Mr. **BENNETT**. Many of the comments have been in this same vein. You see, the Bureau of Indian Affairs is committed to a public school education for Indians.

Senator **KENNEDY**. I am sure over the period of time that we have been having these hearings that there have been those who feel this very deeply. Certainly you are not going to question sincere beliefs?

If someone feels that that is a reasonable characterization of the Bureau, and they want to express it before this committee, they are certainly entitled to those views. I think your references are somewhat deeper than that in terms of any misrepresentations that have been made in regard to the Bureau of Indian Affairs or in the characterization of the schools or the conditions under which these young people attend these schools or in the administrative procedures of the Bureau in the decisionmaking process of the school systems themselves.

They have made a lot of comments and characterizations about these.

Coming from you, those statements certainly reflect on the kind of witnesses that this committee has called.

I wish you could be somewhat more specific in your general characterizations about witnesses' testimony.

Mr. **Bennett**. My remarks were only about the testimony and not about any of the witnesses, because they, like anybody else, have an opportunity to appear here and say anything they wish.

However, much of the testimony is not in accordance with the facts as they exist. Since last April, I have been waiting for an opportunity to present the facts before this committee and I am appreciative of this opportunity.

Also, I would like the opportunity to supply for the record those other statements made in testimony before this committee which are not in accord with the facts and which indicate an attitude of paternalism far beyond anything the Bureau of Indian Affairs ever thought of.

Senator **Kennedy**. Do you accept that there is a paternalistic attitude by the Bureau of Indian Affairs?

Mr. **Bennett**. There has been. In my opening statement of philosophy when I became Commissioner of Indian Affairs I stated as a matter of my administration that this was one of the attitudes which had to be eliminated from the Bureau of Indian Affairs and for 3 years I have worked on it.

However, there are also witnesses who appeared before this committee whose testimony indicated an attitude of paternalism far beyond anything the Bureau of Indian Affairs ever dreamed of because witnesses have said before this committee and stated that the Indian people should have the decisionmaking, that the control of their destiny and lives should be with them in their local communities, and then go on for hours telling what Indians should do.

They are either committed to local decisionmaking or they are going to tell the Indians what to do.

Senator **Mondale**. Would you give me an example of a witness who called for local control and then went on as you said?

Mr. **Bennett**. In one of the testimonies in the hearings held since the first of the year.

Senator **Mondale**. Who was it?

Mr. **Bennett**. I will be able to present it to you.

Senator **Mondale**. Do you remember on what basis he spoke to this committee? His background or credentials?

Mr. **Bennett**. I do not think he had any.

Senator **Mondale**. I can remember expressions from some witnesses here to the effect that they knew better than the Indian what to do, but I do not recall any responsible witness calling for local control and then turning around and giving a series of directions with respect to how the Indians should control themselves.

I would appreciate knowing who it was because I have listened to all the testimony and I do not think that is a fair characterization or generalization of the testimony either.

Mr. **Bennett**. I will be happy to submit that and name the witness and his testimony.

Senator **Kennedy**. We want you to continue, Mr. Bennett. I think that what we are really interested in is the specifics of the program.

In regard to those witnesses who have misrepresented situations, the school situations, and local conditions, we hope that you will identify them.

I know you have had a good deal of time to review the testimony, and your Department has the testimony which has been taken during the course of these hearings. To the extent that you can express a viewpoint on the misrepresentation of the facts of the situation, I hope you will do so, because, obviously, it is in the interest of the committee.

(The information requested can be found in the appendix.)

Mr. BENNETT. Thank you.

Then came that series of emotional attacks on the Bureau of Indian Affairs by the unthinking critics of that day charging that we were attempting to keep Indians as "blanket" Indians, and out of the mainstream, and as a consequence, the Indian education program was driven back to a shadow of its best self.

For years afterward, it was maintained at very little more than the minimal standards required for State accreditation—and since there is so much variance in standards of education from State to State, both Federal and public schools, even to this day, range from good to bad in their overall programs.

When I think of these inhibiting influences including the heavy hand of oppressive criticism, I am, quite frankly, pleased with the upward climb our Federal schools have nevertheless shown over the years and we need to put this progress in proper perspective with reference to time.

We have, for example, reached the capacity to provide a classroom seat for almost every child that needs one—yet, 23 years ago, when the Navajo Tribe had finally accepted education, only about 6,000, or 25 percent of Navajo children between the ages of 6 and 18 were in school and an estimated 18,000, or 75 percent were not.

In 1946 began one of the most innovative and daring programs of education for overage young people to provide them with minimum language, social, and employment skills to enter the job market or to catch up to their proper grade.

Using teacher aides who spoke the Navajo language, and special materials, the special Navajo program was begun; a determined drive to get out-of-school Navajo children in school and to devise programs suited to the needs of average, undereducated youngsters.

It was then that all available space, including that at Chemawa School in Oregon and Chilocco School in Oklahoma, was utilized for that purpose.

A further step-up of the program occurred in the 1950's when the Bordertown program with dormitory students attending local public high schools, came into being along with an accelerated school building program.

The result has been that last year of more than 46,000 Navajo children between the ages of 6 and 18, over 90 percent were in school.

Furthermore, it has been established that over 70 percent of those in school are now finishing high school, a rate close to the national average.

That, I submit, is a success story of the first magnitude for those who choose to take note of it.

Further, most Indians have only been citizens of the United States, and the States within which they live, for less than 50 years.

The last military detachment was withdrawn from an Indian reservation only 50 years ago, but the last use of the military in this country was in 1969 to prevent the nondropout products of the public school system from tearing down the colleges of this country.

I cannot hold with those who oversimplify the Indian situation by denying that Indians are very different from other Americans, and implying that they should not be singled out for special attention.

This argument is put forth most frequently in the context of the Indian unemployment problem. It presupposes that everyone should be encouraged to move to the cities where the jobs are supposed to be—yet this country has learned in the past few years that the cities may not be the solution.

We have also learned that it can be destructive to assume that differences in culture and origins are inconsequential in the development of of the American Indian child.

The Indian culture is land-oriented. The Indian usually is happiest in his land environment; and therefore, we must find a way to bring the benefits of education and technology to him, rather than having circumstances force him to enter an alien setting.

It should be mentioned here that charges, that the Bureau of Indian Affairs is preoccupied with the natural resources owned by Indian people and not with the people themselves, are false.

Sixty-two and a half percent of the staff are engaged in or in support of programs of human development and 59.2 percent of the fiscal year 1969 budget is for like programs.

I would like to offer, for the record of this committee, charts showing the funding of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, in support of this statement.

Senator MONDALE (presiding pro tempore). It will be included in the record.

Mr. BENNETT. Thank you.

On the other hand, I become equally impatient with the advocates of a complete "restoration" of Indian culture. The realities of modern life preclude the return to the idyllic ways of tribalism, devoid of mass communications, mass transportation, mass production and mass education.

All schools in this Nation today are confronted with difficulties that challenge the imagination and dedication of teachers, administrators and parents. Some schools serving Indians are better, others worse, than average.

Federal and public alike all operate under unusual pressures. From Point Barrow, Alaska, to Miccosukee, Fla., we operate a network of schools like no other in the country, in locations and under conditions of isolation and deprivation, that daily test the courage, dedication, and endurance of our staff.

These are the people who must bear the brunt of the highly publicized emotional attacks, because any attack upon the Bureau is an attack on the people who serve in it, over 50 percent of whom are Indians.

We know that Federal schools for Indians, like other schools throughout the country, are not perfect and we are continually trying to improve them.

I want to tell you something about the improvements we have made within the past 2 or 3 years alone. I want to suggest ways you can, if you will, help us make more dramatic improvements within another 2 or 3 years. And I want to start by giving you some statistics as the basis for your ultimate judgment:

Fifty percent of the total Indian population is under the age of 17. Let us pause a moment right here. Let us see what this means for our schools, and the schools of the future.

It means that—setting aside for a moment whether they are Federal, public, or mission schools—there is going to have to be a tremendous increase in construction of Indian schoolplants.

In Federal schools today, many students live and study in greatly substandard conditions. In dozens of our schools, dilapidated buildings stand condemned and vacant, yet the buildings to replace them have not been built.

Some classes are held in reinforced sections of condemned buildings. In the public schools in rural communities where Indian children are, there is also frequent overcrowding and lack of library, recreational and other support facilities.

A second population statistic to keep in mind in this: Of the 150,000 Indian children of school age and in school, nearly two-thirds are in public schools. Let us pause here, too.

The dropout rate for Indians in public schools according to studies recently completed runs between 40 and 47 percent depending on the region, at least half again the national average. We must strengthen our liaison with State and local public school authorities.

We must find a way to provide more adequate counseling services for Indians attending public schools.

In Federal schools, the dropout rate, particularly in the southwestern region, is somewhat lower. However, studies show that verbal, mathematics, and reading skills of Indians across the board are lower than the national average (although slightly higher than other minorities).

Dropout trends also show great variance from tribe to tribe. A recent study completed for the Bureau of Indian Affairs by the Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory shows Hopis as having a dropout rate of 14.9 percent; with Apaches at the other end of the scale having a dropout rate of 58.7 percent.

For its Indian students, the Bureau of Indian Affairs operates 244 facilities—77 boarding schools; 18 boarding dormitories for high school students attending nearby public schools; 147 day schools; and two hospital schools.

Enrollment in the boarding schools is over 35,000; in the day schools, over 16,000; and in the dormitories, more than 4,000.

I can tell you what the Bureau of Indian Affairs is doing to improve low-performance needs, but I am less sure what the public schools are doing.

One of my first acts as Commissioner was to lift the education activity of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to the status of a division with an Assistant Commissioner to direct it.

Next, I appointed an All-Indian Education Advisory Committee to assist us in education planning.

The election of school boards to control local schools as advocated by me in January 1966, even before I was Commisioner, was made official policy of the Bureau by the President's special message to Congress on March 7, 1968.

Mr. Zellers will explain in more detail how, under a plan we call Project Tribe developed with the Indian Education Advisory Committee, we will contract local Bureau schools to the Indian people themselves.

At this point there are about 170 Indian people in the nationwide education meeting in the city of Ogden and the Bureau of Indian Affairs which has gone on all week.

Senator MONDALE. Is this a meeting of respective advisory school board members?

Mr. BENNETT. It was a meeting that was called by this National Indian Advisory Committee of all the tribal leaders throughout the country who were interested in education and interested in working with us in developing educational policies for the future.

Senator MONDALE. What submission are you making for the record?

Mr. BENNETT. This submission is a statement I made on February 12, 1966, about Federal school control by local Indian communities.

Senator MONDALE. Very well. That will be accepted at the conclusion of your remarks. I will ask the staff to review it and include those parts which are pertinent.

Mr. BENNETT. Also in this is a special issue of President Johnson's message to Congress establishing local control of schools as a Federal national policy.

Senator MONDALE. That part will be included in the record at this point in your remarks.

(The document referred to follows:)

INDIAN RECORD

Special Issue -

March 1968

President Johnson Presents Indian Message To Congress

THE FORGOTTEN AMERICAN

The President's Message to the Congress on Goals and Programs for the American Indian. March 6, 1968

To the Congress of the United States:

Mississippi and Utah—the Potomac and the Chattahoochee—Appalachia and Shenandoah . . . The words of the Indian have become our words—the names of our states and streams and landmarks.

His myths and his heroes enrich our literature.

His lore colors our art and our language.

For two centuries, the American Indian has been a symbol of the drama and excitement of the earliest America.

But for two centuries, he has been an alien in his own land.

Relations between the United States Government and the tribes were originally in the hands of the War Department. Until 1871, the United States treated the Indian tribes as foreign nations.

It has been only 44 years since the United States affirmed the

Indian's citizenship: the full political equality essential for human dignity in a democratic society.

It has been only 22 years since Congress enacted the Indian Claims Act, to acknowledge the Nation's debt to the first Americans for their land.

But political equality and compensation for ancestral lands are not enough. The American Indian deserves a chance to develop his talents and share fully in the future of our Nation.

There are about 600,000 Indians in America today. Some 400,000 live on or near reservations in 25 States. The remaining 200,000 have moved to our cities and towns. The most striking fact about the American Indians today is their tragic plight:

—Fifty thousand Indian families live in unsanitary, dilapidated dwellings: many in huts, shanties, even abandoned automobiles.

—The unemployment rate among Indians is nearly 40 percent—more than ten times the national average.

—Fifty percent of Indian schoolchildren—double the national average—drop out before completing high school.

—Indian literacy rates are among the lowest in the Nation; the rates of sickness and poverty are among the highest.

—Thousands of Indians who have migrated into the cities find themselves untrained for jobs and unprepared for urban life.

—The average age of death of an American Indian today is 44 years; for all other Americans, it is 65.

The American Indian, once proud and free, is torn now between white and tribal values; between the politics and language of the white man and his own historic culture. His problems, sharpened by years of defeat and exploitation, neglect and inadequate effort, will take many years to overcome.

But recent landmark laws—the Economic Opportunity Act, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Manpower Development and Training Act—have given us an opportunity to deal with the persistent problems of the American Indian. The time has come to focus our efforts on the plight of the American Indian through these and the other laws passed in the last few years.

No enlightened Nation, no responsible government, no progressive people can sit idly by and permit this shocking situation to continue.

I propose a new goal for our Indian programs: A goal that ends the old debate about "termination" of Indian programs and stresses self-determination; a goal that erases old attitudes of paternalism and promotes partnership self-help.

Our goal must be:

—A standard of living for the Indians equal to that of the country as a whole.

—Freedom of Choice: An opportunity to remain in their homelands, if they choose, without surrendering their dignity; an opportunity to move to the towns and cities of America, if they choose, equipped with the skills to live in equality and dignity.

—Full participation in the life of modern America, with a full share of economic opportunity and social justice.

"Live in equality and dignity. . ." (Los Angeles, Calif.)

I propose, in short, a policy of maximum choice for the American Indian: a policy expressed in programs of self-help, self-development, self-determination.

To start toward our goal in Fiscal 1969, I recommend that the Congress appropriate one-half a billion dollars for programs targeted at the American Indian—about 10 percent more than Fiscal 1968.

STRENGTHENED FEDERAL LEADERSHIP

In the past four years, with the advent of major new programs, several agencies have undertaken independent efforts to help the American Indian. Too often, there has been too little coordination between agencies; and no clear, unified policy which applied to all.

To launch an undivided, Government-wide effort in this area, I am today issuing an Executive Order to establish a National Council on Indian Opportunity.

The Chairman of the Council will be the Vice President who will bring the problems of the Indians to the highest levels of Government. The Council will include a cross section of Indian leaders, and high government officials who have programs in this field:

—The Secretary of the Interior, who has primary responsibility for Indian Affairs.

—The Secretary of Agriculture, whose programs affect thousands of Indians.

—The Secretary of Commerce, who can help promote economic development of Indian lands.

—The Secretary of Labor, whose manpower programs can train more Indians for more useful employment.

—The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, who can help Indian communities with two of their most pressing needs—health and education.

—The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, who can bring better housing to Indian lands.

—The Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, whose programs are already operating in several Indian communities.

The Council will review Federal programs for Indians, make broad policy recommendations, and ensure that programs reflect the needs and desires of the Indian people. Most important, I have asked the Vice President, as Chairman of the Council, to make certain that the American Indian shares fully in all our federal programs.

SELF-HELP AND SELF-DETERMINATION

The greatest hope for Indian progress lies in the emergence of Indian

Vice President Hubert L. Humphrey reiterates the determination of President Johnson to bring about wholesale improvement in Indian affairs at a press briefing in Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall's office. This briefing followed release of the Presidential message. Attending the briefing were tribal officials, members of the press, and Bureau of Indian Affairs staff. Secretary Udall is seated at the Vice President's left.

leadership and initiative in solving Indian problems. Indians must have a voice in making the plans and decisions in programs which are important to their daily life.

Within the last few months we have seen a new concept of community development—a concept based on self-help—work successfully among Indians. Many tribes have begun to administer activities which Federal agencies had long performed in their behalf:

—On the Crow Creek, Lower Brule, and Fort Berthold reservations in the Dakotas and on reservations in several other states, imaginative new work-experience programs, operated by Indians themselves, provide jobs for Indians once totally dependent on welfare.

—The Warm Springs Tribes of Oregon ran an extensive program to repair flood damage on their reservation.

—The Oglala Sioux of South Dakota and the Zunis of New Mexico are now contracting to provide law enforcement services for their communities.

—The Navajos—who this year celebrate the 100th anniversary of their peace treaty with the United States—furnish many community services normally provided by the Federal government, either through contract or with funds from their own Treasury.

Passive acceptance of Federal service is giving way to Indian involvement. More than ever before, Indian needs are being identified from the Indian viewpoint—as they should be.

This principle is the key to progress for Indians—just as it has been for other Americans. If we base our programs upon it, the day will come when the relationship between Indians and the Government will be one of full partnership—not dependency.

EDUCATION

The problems of Indian education are legion:

—Ten percent of American Indians over age 14 have had no schooling at all.

—Nearly 60 percent have less than an eighth grade education.

—Half of our Indian children do not finish high school today.

—Even those Indians attending school are plagued by language barriers, by isolation in remote areas, by lack of a tradition of academic achievement.

Standard schooling and vocational training will not be enough to overcome the educational difficulties of the Indians. More intensive and imaginative approaches are needed.

The legislation enacted in the past four years gives us the means to make the special effort now needed in Indian education: The Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Education Professions Development Act, the Vocational Education Act, and the Higher Education Act.

The challenge is to use this legislation creatively.

I have directed the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare:

"These schools will have the finest teachers. . . (Ft. Mohave, Ariz.)

—*To work together to make these programs responsive to the needs of Indians.*

—*To develop a concentrated effort in Indian education with State and local agencies.* This is critical if the two-thirds of Indian school children in non-Indian public schools are to get the special help they sorely need.

Pre-School Programs

In the past few years we as a Nation have come to recognize the irreplaceable importance of the earliest years in a child's life. Pre-school education and care—valuable for all children—are urgently needed for Indian children.

We must set a goal to enroll every four and five-year-old Indian child in a pre-school program by 1971.

For 1969, I am requesting funds to:

—*Make the Head Start Program available to 10,000 Indian children.*

—*Establish, for the first time, kindergartens for 4,500 Indian youngsters next September.*

To encourage Indian involvement in this educational process, I am asking the Secretary of the Interior to assure that each of these kindergartens employ local Indian teacher aides as well as trained teachers.

Federal Indian Schools

Since 1961, we have undertaken a substantial program to improve the 245 Federal Indian schools, which are attended by over 50,000 children. That effort is now half completed. It will continue.

But good facilities are not enough.

I am asking the Secretary of the Interior, in cooperation with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, to establish a model community school system for Indians. These schools will:

—Have the finest teachers, familiar with Indian history, culture and language.

—Feature an enriched curriculum, special guidance and counseling programs, modern instruction materials, and a sound program to teach English as a second language.

—Serve the local Indian population as a community center for activities ranging from adult education classes to social gatherings.

To reach this goal, I propose that the Congress appropriate $5.5 million to attract and hold talented and dedicated teachers at Indian schools and to provide 200 additional teachers and other professionals to enrich instruction, counseling and other programs.

To help make the Indian school a vital part of the Indian community, I am directing the Secretary of the Interior to establish Indian school boards for Federal Indian Schools. School board members—selected by their communities—will receive whatever training is necessary to enable them to carry out their responsibilities.

Higher Education

Indian youth must be given more opportunities to develop their talents fully and to pursue their ambitions free of arbitrary barriers to learning and employment. They must have a chance to become professionals: doctors, nurses, engineers, managers and teachers.

For the young Indian of today will eventually become the bridge between two cultures, two languages, and two ways of life.

Therefore, we must open wide the doors of career training and higher education to all Indian students who qualify.

To reach this goal:

—I am requesting $3 million in Fiscal 1969 for college scholarship grants, to include for the first time living allowances for Indian students and their families to help capable young Indians meet the costs of higher education.

Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall, right, discusses a point of the President's Message to Congress on American Indians with the Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey at the Department of the Interior.

"Encourage light industry on Indian reservations. . ." (Laguna, N. M.)

- *I am asking the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to make a special and sustained effort to assure that our regular scholarship and loan programs are available to Indian high school graduates.*
- *I am asking the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity to establish a special Upward Bound program for Indian high school students.*

HEALTH AND MEDICAL CARE

The health level of the American Indian is the lowest of any major population group in the United States:

- The infant mortality rate among Indians is 34.5 per 1,000 births—12 points above the National average.
- The incidence of tuberculosis among Indians and Alaska natives is about five times the National average.
- More than half of the Indians obtain water from contaminated or potentially dangerous sources, and use waste disposal facilities that are grossly inadequate.
- Viral infections, pneumonia, and malnutrition—all of which contribute to chronic ill health and mental retardation—are common among Indian children.

We have made progress. Since 1963:

- The infant death rate has declined 21 percent.
- Deaths from tuberculosis are down 29 percent.
- The number of outpatient visits to clinics and health centers rose 16 percent.

But much more remains to be done.

I propose that the Congress increase health programs for Indians by about ten percent, to $112 million in Fiscal 1969, with special emphasis on child health programs.

But if we are to solve Indian health problems, the Indian people themselves must improve their public health and family health practices. This will require a new effort to involve Indian families in a crusade for better health.

Recent experience demonstrates that Indians have been successful in working side by side with health professionals:

—They have organized tribal health committees to review Indian health problems and design programs for solving them.

—They have launched new programs in sanitation, mental health, alcoholism, and accident control.

—A cooperative Indian-government project to provide safe water and disposal systems for 44,000 Indians and Alaska native families has proved successful. For every Federal dollar spent, Indian Americans have contributed another 40 cents in labor, materials and actual funds.

I am directing the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to build a "community participation" component into every Federal health program for Indians which lends itself to this approach.

Essential to this effort will be a large, well-trained corps of community health aides drawn from the Indian population: nursing assistants, health record clerks, medical-social aides and nutrition workers. These community health aides can greatly assist professional health workers in bringing health services to Indian communities.

I recommend that the Congress appropriate funds to train and employ more than 600 new community Indian health aides in the Public Health Service.

These aides will serve nearly 200,000 Indians and Alaska natives in their home communities, teaching sound health practices to the Indian people in several critical fields: pre-natal health, child care, home sanitation and personal hygiene.

Our goal is first to narrow, then to close the wide breach between the health standards of Indians and other Americans. But before large investments in Federally-sponsored health services can pay lasting dividends, we must build a solid base of Indian community action for better health.

JOBS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The plight of the Indians gives grim testimony to the devastating effects of unemployment on the individual, the family, and the community:

—Nearly 40 percent of the labor force on Indian lands is chronically unemployed, compared with a national unemployment rate of 3.5 percent.

—Of the Indians who do work, a third are underemployed in temporary or seasonal jobs.

—Fifty percent of Indian families have cash incomes below $2,000 a year; 75 percent have incomes below $3,000.

With rare exception, Indian communities are so underdeveloped that there is little, if any, opportunity for significant social or economic progress.

Two percent of all the land in the United States is Indian land. Indian lands are about the size of all the New England States and a small slice of New York. But many of their resources—oil, gas, coal, uranium, timber, water—await development.

The economic ills of Indian areas can have a major impact upon neighboring regions as well. It is not only in the best interests of the Indians, but of the entire Nation, to expand Indian economic opportunity.

Jobs

Special employment programs have been established to help meet the needs of Indians. In 1967 alone, more than 10,000 men and women received training and other help to get jobs under the Indian Bureau's programs—double the number served four years ago. These programs:

—Provide all-expenses-paid training and placement for Indian adults.

—Develop projects in cooperation with private industry, in which families prepare together for the transition from welfare dependency to useful, productive work.

Left to right at the press briefing in the Department of the Interior on the President's Message to Congress: John Belindo, executive secretary of the National Congress of American Indians; Mrs. Georgia A. Robinson, Osage; Mrs. Elvina Greybear, Sioux; Mrs. Helen Mitchell, Quinalt; Robert L. Bennett, Commissioner of Indian Affairs; Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey; Sarah Ann Johnson, Miss Indian America XIV; Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall; and Wendell Chino, chairman, National Congress of American Indians.

To meet the increasing demand, I propose that the Indian Vocational Training Program be expanded to the full authorization of $25 million in Fiscal 1969—nearly double the funds appropriated last year.

In the State of the Union message, I proposed a 25 percent increase—to $2.1 billion—in our manpower training programs for Fiscal 1969.

As a part of this effort, I have asked the Secretary of Labor to expand the Concentrated Employment Program to include Indian reservations.

Area Development

The economic development of potentially productive Indian areas suffers from a lack of base capital to permit Indians to take advantage of sound investment opportunities and to attract private capital.

The Indian Resources Development Act, now pending before Congress, contains provisions to spark this kind of investment.

The central feature of this Act is an authorization of $500 million for an Indian loan guaranty and insurance fund and for a direct loan revolving fund.

These funds would:

—Provide the foundation for the economic development of Indian lands.

—Encourage light industry to locate on or near Indian reservations.

—Permit better development of natural resources.

—Encourage development of the tourist potential on many reservations.

The Indian Resources Development Act would also permit the issuance of Federal corporate charters to Indian tribes or groups of Indians. This charter gives them the means to compete with other communities in attracting outside investment.

I urge the Congress to enact this program for the economic development of Indian resources.

Roads for Economic Development

Without an adequate system of roads to link Indian areas with the rest of our Nation, community and economic development, Indian self-help programs, and even education cannot go forward as rapidly as they should.

Large areas inhabited by Indians are virtually inaccessible. For example, on the vast Navajo-Hopi area there are only 30 percent as many miles of surfaced roads per 1,000 square miles as in rural areas of Arizona and New Mexico.

The woefully inadequate road systems in Indian areas must be improved. Good roads are desperately needed for economic development. And good roads may someday enable the Indian people to keep their young children at home, instead of having to send them to far-away boarding schools.

I propose an amendment to the Federal Highway Act increasing the authorization for Indian road construction to $30 million annually beginning in Fiscal 1970.

ESSENTIAL COMMUNITY SERVICES

Housing

Most Indian housing is far worse than the housing in many slums of our large cities.

To begin our attack on the backlog of substandard housing:

—I have asked the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to increase Indian home construction by an additional 1,000 units this coming year, for a total of 2,500 annually.

—I propose that the Congress double the Fiscal 1968 appropriations—to $6 million in 1969—for a broad home improvement program.

These steps are a strong start toward improving living conditions among Indians, while we deal with the underlying causes of inadequate housing. But the present housing law is too rigid to meet the special needs and conditions of our Indian population.

I am therefore submitting legislation to open the door for more Indians to receive low-cost housing aid, and to extend the loan programs of the Farmers Home Administration to tribal lands.

In addition:

—The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development will review construction standards for Indian homes to ensure flexibility in design and construction of Indian housing.

—The Secretaries of the Interior and Housing and Urban Development will explore new low-cost techniques of construction suitable to a stepped-up Indian housing program.

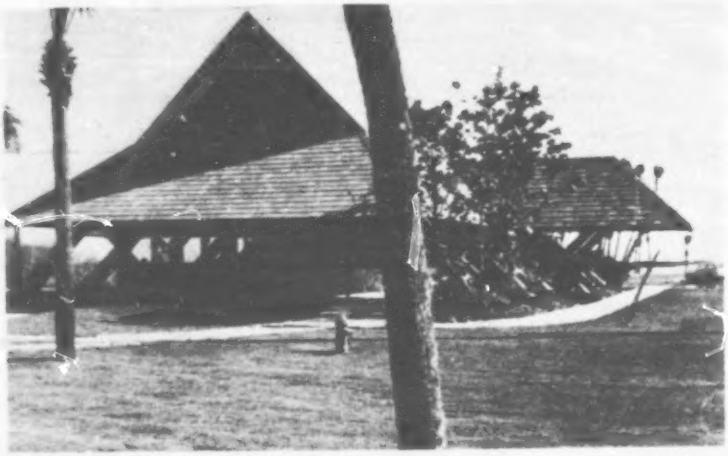
Community Action

Programs under the Economic Opportunity Act have improved morale in Indian communities. They have given tribes new opportunities to plan and carry out social and economic projects. Community action programs, particularly Head Start, deserve strong support.

I am asking the Congress to provide $22.7 million in Fiscal 1969 for these important efforts.

Water and Sewer Projects

Shorter life expectancy and higher infant mortality among Indians are caused in large part by unsanitary water supplies and contamination



"Encourage development of tourist potential. . ." (Miccosukee, Fla. restaurant) from unsafe waste disposal.

The Federal Government has authority to join with individual Indians to construct these facilities on Indian lands. The government contributes the capital. The Indian contributes the labor.

To step up this program, I recommend that the Congress increase appropriations for safe water and sanitary waste disposal facilities by 30 percent—from $10 million in Fiscal 1968 to $13 million in Fiscal 1969.

CIVIL RIGHTS

A Bill of Rights for Indians

In 1934, Congress passed the Indian Reorganization Act, which laid the groundwork for democratic self-government on Indian reservations. This Act was the forerunner of the tribal constitutions—the charters of democratic practice among the Indians.

Yet few tribal constitutions include a bill of rights for individual Indians. The basic individual rights which most Americans enjoy in relation to their government—enshrined in the Bill of Rights of the Constitution of the United States—are not safeguarded for Indians in relation to their tribes.

A new Indian Rights Bill is pending in the Congress. It would protect the individual rights of Indians in such matters as freedom of speech and religion, unreasonable search and seizure, a speedy and fair trial, and the right to habeas corpus. The Senate passed an Indian Bill of Rights last year. *I urge the Congress to complete action on that Bill of Rights in the current session.*

In addition to providing new protection for members of tribes, this bill would remedy another matter of grave concern to the American Indian.

Fifteen years ago, the Congress gave to the States authority to extend their criminal and civil jurisdictions to include Indian reservations—where jurisdiction previously was in the hands of the Indians themselves.

Fairness and basic democratic principles require that Indians on the affected lands have a voice in deciding whether a State will assume legal jurisdiction on their land.

I urge the Congress to enact legislation that would provide for tribal consent before such extensions of jurisdiction take place.

OFF-RESERVATION INDIANS

Most of us think of Indians as living in their own communities—geographically, socially and psychologically remote from the main current of American life.

Until World War II, this was an accurate picture of most Indian people. Since that time, however, the number of Indians living in towns and urban centers has increased to 200,000.

Indians in the towns and cities of our country have urgent needs for education, health, welfare, and rehabilitation services, which are far greater than that of the general population.

These needs can be met through Federal, State and local programs. *I am asking the new Council on Indian Opportunity to study this prob-*

lem and report to me promptly on actions to meet the needs of Indians in our cities and towns.

ALASKAN NATIVE CLAIMS

The land rights of the native people of Alaska—the Aleuts, Eskimos and Indians—have never been fully or fairly defined.

Eighty-four years ago, Congress protected the Alaska natives in the use and occupancy of their lands. But then, and again when Alaska was given statehood, Congress reserved to itself the power of final decision on ultimate title.

It remains our unfinished task to state in law the terms and conditions of settlement, so that uncertainty can be ended for the native people of Alaska.

Legislation is now pending to resolve this issue. I recommend prompt action on legislation to:

—Give the native people of Alaska title to the lands they occupy and need to sustain their villages.

—Give them rights to use additional lands and water for hunting, trapping and fishing to maintain their traditional way of life, if they so choose.

—Award them compensation commensurate with the value of any lands taken from them.

THE FIRST AMERICANS

The program I propose seeks to promote Indian development by improving health and education, encouraging long-term economic growth, and strengthening community institutions.

Underlying this program is the assumption that the Federal government can best be a responsible partner in Indian progress by treating the Indian himself as a full citizen, responsible for the pace and direction of his development.

But there can be no question that the government and the people of the United States have a responsibility to the Indians.

In our efforts to meet that responsibility, we must pledge to respect fully the dignity and the uniqueness of the Indian citizen.

That means partnership—not paternalism.

We must affirm the right of the first Americans to remain Indians while exercising their rights as Americans.

We must affirm their right to freedom of choice and self-determination.

We must seek new ways to provide Federal assistance to Indians—with new emphasis on Indian self-help and with respect for Indian culture.

And we must assure the Indian people that it is our desire and intention that the special relationship between the Indian and his government grow and flourish.

For, the first among us must not be last.

I urge the Congress to affirm this policy and to enact this program.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House
March 6, 1968

Vice-President Says Indian Council To Coordinate Attack on Indian Problems

(Editor's note: The following are the remarks made by Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, introduced by Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall, at a special briefing at the Interior Department for Indian leaders and the press on the day, March 6, of President Lyndon B. Johnson's Special Message to Congress on American Indians. Following the Vice President's remarks are the remarks made earlier [illegible] the day by Secretary Udall at a White House press briefing on the Message.)

Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey shakes hands with Miss Indian America XIV at the press briefing on the President's Message to Congress on Indians at the Department of the Interior at which he spoke.

Secretary Udall: Here is a man that has enough enthusiasm and drive to make anything go. One of the best things in this message is the fact that the Vice President of the United States, for the first time in history, is going to quarterback and orchestrate the whole Indian effort. Mr. Vice President, we look forward to working with you. The people in this room who will be on this council and I want to welcome you here this morning. These are the leaders selected by the Indian tribes across the country. This is their organization. They are here, and we will let you say whatever you want to say.

Vice President Humphrey: Thank you, Secretary Udall, and my fellow Americans. You are very fortunate, I can't talk to you very long. I must be over to a meeting at the White House shortly.

When this message was in its early stages of preparation I was as enthusiastic about the impact of this message, what it meant to the American community, and to our Indian people in particular, as any message I have ever read. I know of the tremendous amount of effort put into the message by the President of the United States, and his personal attention to it. And by the Secretary of the Interior and by all those closely associated with him in this Department. And throughout the Government.

The important thing about the message is that it doesn't leave the well-being and opportunities of people of Indian origins to just one branch of Government or one office of Government. The National Council on Indian Opportunity represents for the first time a coordinated effort of all the resources of the Federal Government, working in partnership with the Indian people themselves for the development of the great potential of human resources that are in this country in your people.

Now I happen to be privileged under Executive Order and under the terms of this message to chair the National Council on Indian Opportunity. The Vice President can serve in that capacity as a coordinator of activities and resources in our Government. But we have learned here in Washington that if you are going to get something done, you must bring to bear upon the problem the total resources of the Government plus the resources of the overall community. And particularly those who are deeply involved in the program.

For example, I happen to chair the National Aeronautics and Space Council, which deals with all the activities of Space and aeronautics, everything in the field of defense and research, of space, including our Apollo program, the flight to the moon, the astronauts, all of that is coordinated under the Space and Aeronautics Council. So there is not duplication of effort; so that there is maximum input of the Government's resources and the private sector toward one goal -- in that instance, American pre-eminence, America in first place in space research in the world.

Secretary Udall serves as a member on the Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development. This relates to all the matters concerning our great lakes and our oceans and seas. The development of food from the sea, the improvement of navigation, the exploration for minerals and fuel from the bed of the sea -- so for the first time we are bringing together all of the resources of our Government in the concerted effort to get maximum development of those great resources. Now we are doing exactly the same thing here now on Indian Opportunity. I think that the message the President has given to us is a charter of new freedom and new opportunity for the American Nation because the Indian people, the original Americans, the authentic Americans, are a vital part of this Nation. And if ever there was a challenge to the Government, and to the people themselves, it's in this message.

I've read every line of this message several times. I've looked over the summary of the principal objectives as outlined by the President -- the importance that the President placed upon the right of the first Americans to remain Indians while exercising their rights as Americans. This is a wonderful thing about the United States -- we don't all have to be alike. There is a sophisticated phrase -- "pluralistic society." Many, many, many -- but yet a unity out of the many. And the Indian's right to freedom of choice and self-determination -- this is the purpose of America. Freedom of choice and self-determination.

Our intention is to seek new ways to provide Federal assistance to Indians while placing new emphasis on self-help, self-respect for Indian culture. The whole concept today of development is not just Federal assistance, but self-help, the way the Government can be a partner, not a dominating partner, but an assisting partner. Your leadership -- and it is right here in this great room, I see some of you that I know personally, and I am glad to welcome my old friend Roger Jourdain from Minnesota -- it is with your leadership and your effort plus what the Federal Government can do that we are really going to get things done.

Now we have a great program here of the expansion of our preschool programs, and the emphasis on vocational training and the emphasis on model community school systems for Indian children -- great emphasis on training of the young, and I think that every parent here knows how important that is And then the emphasis on bringing the people into the economic lifeline of this Nation, not just as an accidental development, but as a premeditated program.

I want to tell you that you can be assured of one thing. My friends who have worked with me before in this area know of my deep concern about the lack of opportunity that all too often characterize our Indian people. The lack of equal opportunity. Ladies and gentlemen, we're going to make doubly sure that equal opportunity is not just a phrase in a message but it is a living fact in the life of a people.

That's only the reason I wanted to be in politics. I can tell you that there isn't a day in my life that I say, "Is it worth it all?" And as the pressure gets on you more and more in public life, you grow a little older, you wonder, "Why in the world should I stick around and do all these things?" You've got children and grandchildren, and you've got a nice home, and maybe you just ought to go out and get yourself a job teaching school again, or go back to the family drug-store, or get another job and just enjoy life. But you become committed, like most of us, most of us do what we are doing because we are committed in spirit, not in our sense of economic need but in spirit -- total commitment -- I'm in public life for one reason and one reason alone: Because I believe in the development of human resources.

I believe the most precious thing on this earth is a human being. I believe that a human being is an expression of God Almighty. And I believe that the purpose of the democratic government is the development of the resources and potential of the human being -- and I mean all human beings. Because there isn't any one of us, any ethnic group, any cultural group but what has something great to contribute to the total community, to the entire nation. And if we can release these capacities that are in our children if we can release the potential, develop the potential that is in each and every one of us -- just think how much better an America we are going to have.

My final word to you is this: You know we Americans like to think that we have a mission in this world -- a mission of helping people to help themselves -- a mission of freedom, of self-determination, a mission to see that people are not attacked and the victims of aggression. We feel very strongly about these things. A mission of trying to do something about the poverty of the world -- and there is so much poverty and sickness.

Ladies and gentlemen, if we can't do it at home, we can't do it anyplace else. Now that's a simple fact. The best foreign policy is an effective working domestic policy. If we can prove here at home that those who up to now who have been helpless can be helped, that those who have been unemployed can be employed, that those who are illiterate can be educated, that those who were sick can be healed, that those who are poor can be brought into the fullness of life -- if we can prove that here, we will have had the greatest victory that the world has ever known.

And by example we will have demonstrated that it can be done elsewhere. But if we can't do it here with what we have to do with, and believe me, we have a lot, if we fail here at home on the War against Poverty, if we fail here at home in this Adventure in Opportunity (which I like to call it) what makes you think we can do it any place else? What makes you think anybody else can do it any place else?

So we are on the spot -- not just for ourselves -- but for the whole world. I think every day the eyes of the world are focused upon us -- upon our mistakes and upon our achievements. So let's minimize our mistakes. Let's maximize our achievements, and I look forward to the privilege of working with you.

Udall Hails LBJ's 'Bold Action Charter'

SECRETARY UDALL: First, I would like to invite any of you who may be interested in going into further depth on this or doing background on it, the National Congress of American Indians, which is the Indians' own organization -- organized 20 years ago -- is meeting in Washington right now. I am having a session with them to which the press is invited shortly after 11 o'clock. Vice President Humphrey will be there.

If any of you want to go over with us, I am sure you will be able to get comments from the Indian people themselves and hear discussions of it.

I will just underscore three or four things. This is the first message that any President has ever sent on Indians.

To my way of thinking, after seven years of responsibility in this field, it is a very bold action charter. I have already told my people, "We had better brace ourselves because the Indians are going to be quoting back to us what the President said and what goals he set forth."

It certainly gives us an action focus that we have not had in the past.

An important part of this message to call your attention to is on page 2: "I propose a new goal for our Indian programs." I think this is the essence of it. I think it is a clear-cut statement, and a brutally honest appraisal of the plight of the American Indian.

I talked again with the Vice President this morning. I think one of the very important things is the Indian Council. Vice President Humphrey is very enthusiastic about taking on this responsibility. We are marshalling the resources of the Federal Government rather than looking for the Indian Bureau to do the job.

A decade ago, probably 85 or 90 percent of the money for the Indians came from the Indian Bureau. In the Budget we have just sent up, it is 53 percent. HUD, the Public Health Service, HEW, OEO -- all these new initiatives are the result of the last few years.

I would stress, too, that I think the President has given a priority budget-wise to the people programs. The only significant increase I got in my Department was for the Indian programs and the trust for the Pacific.

I would call attention to one other matter that is far reaching and again represents an initiative that has been long lacking. There are 45,000 natives in Alaska, Eskimos, Aleuts, et cetera. They are 20 percent of the population in Alaska.

This is the only Indian group that has not had the right up to now -- we have ducked that tough problem -- of having a decision made as to whether they were given land and given the right to assert claims to the United States for lands that were taken from them.

We have legislation proposed for the Congress and the President gives a ringing endorsement of it. I think this can have a tremendous influence in the State of Alaska.

The only other thing I would add -- and this fits in with the new initiative the President has proposed -- from the standpoint of it, the quality of the American Indian leadership that is coming forth today -- they are assertive

Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall answers a question at a press briefing in the Department of the Interior on the President's Message to Congress on Indians.

and want more responsibility. This fits in with the President's message.

I tried this out with all my people today. I said I didn't want to say anything that was not honest historically, that the initiative here as well as the initiative of the last few years -- I think as far as doing more for the American Indian and doing right by the American Indians is comparable to only one period: The first years of the New Deal with the John Collier Administration where President Roosevelt changed the whole focus of Indian action.

Q Mr. Secretary, it would appear that this message -- and I would like you to comment -- takes the position that the Indian is now to be taken away from his own culture and integrated into the American culture. This is a pretty strong policy decision.

I am wondering if the Indians want this or if this is what you intend?

SECRETARY UDALL: I think you had better read the first two pages. This is not what the President is doing. It is the freedom of choice that they are being given. This is the whole philosophy behind this program; that in a diverse society such as ours, the Indian ought to have a choice.

If they want to -- and feel they are qualified to -- move into the larger cities and get training, we will give them that opportunity. If they want to remain with their people and cling to their traditions, we will help them do that.

Q Have they always had that option?

SECRETARY UDALL: Not in the same way. There has been a great deal of confusion -- all of the confusion of the 1950's -- where the programs seemed to be termination. The Federal Government was trying to get out of the Indian business.

"Attack the backlog of substandard housing. . ." (Rosebud, S. D.)

The question was: Are the Indians ready to go on their own?

The essence of this program is diversity and freedom of choice. The President has laid it down very carefully.

Q How much is the President asking for in this message?

SECRETARY UDALL: The total figure is a 10 percent increase in the Indian programs: $500 million total.

Q I know that you are interested in the American Indian. You are increasing 10 percent. The situation, as it stands now, is ridiculously horrible for the American Indian. What do you hope to accomplish with a 10 percent increase?

SECRETARY UDALL: I think as you will always find, this is the answer when you get to people program -- whether it is the Peace Corps or anything else. You had better not scale up too big a jump, or you won't have the people. You can buy hardware that fast -- but not in terms of people.

The kind of programs we are talking about in schools and teaching staffs -- with the type of effort in housing -- I suppose we could move a little faster than this. But this is, I think, a good, big jump. We are going to need future ones.

The thing I like most about this message: The President has set some long-term goals and set a path on which to move. In terms of the budgetary situation, we are giving a high priority to the Indian programs.

Q How do you explain that they are deprived of such civil rights as the right of free speech?

SECRETARY UDALL: The treaty system that was used with so many Indians -- where we gave them lands that were their lands, and they were recognized as a sort of sovereign group within the country -- has created a legal status problem that has not been clarified.

Senator Ervin's bill, which was passed in the Senate, would clarify that the Constitution's Bill of Rights does apply on the reservation.

"Give the native people of Alaska title to their lands . . . (Eskimo children)

Q Obviously, these bad conditions have not developed overnight. What was it a year and a half ago that caused this new focus on the Indian problem?

SECRETARY UDALL: Well, I would say that when the new initiative began, I would trace it back to the appointment -- two years ago this month -- by the President, of Commissioner Bennett, who is the first Indian Commissioner in 100 years.

General Grant had one. There is an interesting story behind that. I think we find a quickening of action all along the line, culminating in this message. I think that myself and all of my top people in the last two years just realized that we had to scale up and give a much higher priority in the Indian effort.

SECRETARY UDALL: We have had a whole series of actions. I think I can say very candidly that this is not the first President who set up an Indian Message, but the

President also gave more support to the Indian proposals.

You can compare FDR and the thrust in the Indian area, but I think what we have now does represent a new jump forward.

Q You said approximately 2,000,000 Indians are living in the cities. Have they been involved in any of the riots in the cities?

SECRETARY UDALL: No; not to my knowledge. I don't have a responsibility for them once they move into the cities. I cannot follow them. Those who have moved into the cities, in the main, have moved in under our relocation programs. We take them by the hand and give them a training program.

We help accommodate them to big city living; we have had considerable success. I don't want you to think that they are all living in abject poverty in the cities. Many are holding down good jobs and doing very well -- but there still is room for improvement in this area.

Q Mr. Secretary, as someone who has looked at the in-fighting from time to time, it strikes me that the significant thing about this is that these other agencies --- OEO and HEW -- seem to be winning the battle for a bigger role, and the Indian Bureau position seems to be slipping.

I wonder if this is evidence of the way the money will be divided up. There is an overall increase of 10 percent, but perhaps the Indian Bureau share is going to be less than 10 percent.

SECRETARY UDALL: This was the intent. We have been trying to pull the other agencies in. We have been trying to get the other agencies to do more, not less. The Indian Bureau portion of the Budget is probably 57 percent. Five years ago, it was 70 percent. Five years ago, we had no OEO; the more they do, the better. The more Public Health Service, the more we applaud.

We are not hostile to this. I think it is great. The Indians are communities. They are people and they should have the benefits of all the Federal programs.

Q Could you relate the numbers to the 10 percent increase over fiscal '68?

SECRETARY UDALL: Most of the 10 percent increase will be larger in the non-Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Q What about the Bureau itself? Has it gone up?

SECRETARY UDALL: It has gone up throughout all of the Sixties. There is some substantial increase in the Indian Bureau this year. In my total budget, the Indian Bureau has the largest increase.

MR. CALIFANO [Ed. note: Presidential assistant] If you want a breakdown, I have one. Bureau of Indian Affairs will be $294 million in fiscal '69. That is an increase from $257 million in fiscal '68.

The others -- Indian health in HEW goes from $102 million in fiscal '68 to $112 million in fiscal '69. The OEO, HUD, Labor, Agriculture, Commerce, HEW, and Interior Fisheries and Wildlife programs are at about $110 million in fiscal '69. That is an increase from roughly $100 million in fiscal '68. This gives you about $460 million in '68 and about $516 million in fiscal '69.

Q What about the roads?

SECRETARY UDALL: Roads is $20 million this year. This is one of the areas that we had to fight. In terms of the nation spending $16 billion on roads, they don't get more than 2 percent of the money the President proposes.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

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Commissioner's Comments

LBJ Message Adds Luster To Indian Future

During the last year I have said on several occasions that the outlook for the future for Indians was never brighter.

This frank and forceful message by President Johnson adds new luster to the shining future possibilities for the Indians.

I am confident of continued Indian progress because Indian people and their leaders are becoming increasingly able to recognize and take advantage of opportunities on their own and to implement many of the plans which they have made by their own decisions.

This confidence is reinforced in the charter the President gives to the National Council on Indian Opportunity -- to make broad policy recommendations and ensure that programs reflect the needs and desires of the Indian people themselves.

Sarah Ann Johnson, Miss Indian America XIV watches the Department of the Interior press briefing on the President's Message to Congress on Indians with Commissioner of Indian Affairs Robert L. Bennett.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs will pursue a course in which it cooperates with other Government agencies and tribal councils for the greatest impact by available programs for the betterment of Indians.

In doing this we will involve tribal councils and the Indians themselves to the greatest possible extent. Our programs are directed toward Indian self-involvement, self-help, self-development and self-determination with the intent of carrying out the policy stated by President Johnson to provide maximum choice for the American Indian.

These programs will bring about more Indian involvement in making plans and decisions in programs affecting their daily life than ever before and President Johnson calls for full speed ahead in this direction -- toward the day when the relationship between Indians and the Government will be one of full partnership -- not dependency.

I also want to emphasize the President's demand for a new and clear goal for our Indian programs -- a goal, in the President's words, "that erases old attitudes of paternalism and promotes self-determination."

NCAI Chairman's Goals Parallel Message

(Editor's note: The following is the statement of Wendell Chino, President of the National Congress of American Indians, at the press briefing on President Lyndon B. Johnson's Indian Message held by Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey and Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall.)

Mr. Vice President and Mr. Secretary, the Members of the National Congress of American Indians are deeply grateful for the invitation extended to us to meet with you and convey to you the concerns and hopes of the American Indians.

After many years of frustrations and struggles by our people -- we are thankful for the changes that have been made to improve the social and economic conditions under the present administration. These changes have given us new hope and encouragement to pursue greater goals for our people.

However, there are few remaining areas in Indian, Federal and State

Wendell Chino, chairman, National Congress of American Indians, responds to the President's Message to Congress at a briefing in Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall's office. At the same time he presents a program of action for Indian development that is supported by the National Congress of American Indians. Chino is also president of the Mescalero Apache Tribal Council.

relationships that give us grave concerns. These matters we want to personally discuss with you, Mr. Vice President.

The National Congress of American Indians recognizes the extreme importance of the Indian Claims Commission and we strongly believe that an appointment of a recognized Indian citizen be made to the Indian Claims Commission.

Public Law 280 which gives to the various states the right to assume civil and criminal jurisdiction on Indian reservations without Indian consent as far as the American Indians are concerned it is a despicable law.

Public Law 280, if it is not amended, will destroy Indian self-government and result in further loss of Indian lands. On those reservations where states have assumed jurisdiction under the provisions of Public Law 280 lawlessness and crimes have substantly increased and have become known as no man's land because the state and Federal officials will not assume the responsibility of Public Law 280. We urge that Public Law 280 be amended to allow for Indian Consent.

The passage of a legislation ensuring the civil and individual rights of our Indian people is much desired and long overdue. An enactment of Indian Rights Legislation will remove the shackles of prejudice and discrimination. With Indian Rights Legislation we need a new Indian Policy statement that will remove the clouds of threat that hangs over Indian reservations that will terminate Indian and Federal relationship.

The Indian OEO programs have enabled our people to utilize their initiative in designing programs that will enhance their welfare. We earnestly believe that continued fundings of these programs will assist our people in determining their own future and stabilize Indian communities.

The Indian people of this country have an intense and a keen desire to be productive citizens.

In the President's message to Congress today, he has already reassured us of his interest and concern for our people. We in turn renew our pledge of our undying efforts to preserve our country and its freedom. May it continue to be a citadel of freedom.

In your office as Vice President, you have shown us the character, the price and the test of true leadership in these critical times.

We thank you for your foresight and concern.

Mr. **Bennett.** During the past 2 years, we in the Bureau of Indian Affairs have worked hard to make up for years of backsliding which resulted from unthinking criticisms of another era.

This year a kindergarten program was funded for the first time but it wasn't easy. We are back to the task of teaching English as a second language wherever it is needed. We are writing new textbooks. Indian history is being restored to our social studies programs. We are providing specialized training for teachers of Indians.

It is surprising to me that we are able to hold the many dedicated and competent teachers we have in the Bureau, and we are trying valiantly to compete with the best of the urban public school systems in acquiring the services of the country's best teachers and specialists.

Under Civil Service rules, we cannot offer them the pay scales and 9-month contracts they receive elsewhere. We are putting renewed stress upon the fine arts—the spearhead school in this endeavor being the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe.

We have revamped the program at Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kans., to offer postsecondary technical and related studies of the kind found in some of the new urban 2-year community colleges. At the same time we have quadrupled scholarship aid in the past 3 years.

We are also doing our best to attract Indians to the teaching profession; and at the same time are providing leadership training for Indian adults to prepare them for directing governmental and business affairs in their own communities.

At this point I would like to offer a chart showing the growth of the college scholarship program from $250,000 to 1962, to approximately $4 million for 1970, as well as the participation of the Indian students, from less than 1,000 in 1962, to approximately 4,000 this year.

These are students that are supported by Federal funds.

Senator **Mondale.** Do you have those figures broken down by undergraduate and graduate school and by tribe?

Mr. **Bennett.** Wo do not provide graduate assistance at this time because of our limited resources.

Senator **Mondale.** Can you provide us that same information, broken down by tribes?

Mr. **Bennett.** Yes, Mr. Chairman; we can.

Senator **Mondale.** Thank you, that will be included in the subcommittee files.

Mr. **Bennett.** I also would like to offer at this time the Haskell Institute calendar where we have several hundred graduates of vocational training each year. You will notice; some of these graduates from the vocational training start in employment at salaries over $7,000 a year; and some of the women graduates of this vocational school starting at salaries of over $5,000 a year, with their pictures and their tribe and their starting salaries.

Senator **Mondale.** That will be included in the files of these hearings.

Mr. **Bennett.** When I first attended a Federal boarding school in 1928, 40 years ago, two of the educational programs were Headstart and teacher training for Indians.

These little people attended classes one-half day; taught by young Indian high school graduates who were being trained to teach in Indian communities.

From this program came some of the finest teachers in Bureau history; for example, Agnes Allen, a Santee Sioux, once selected as teacher of the year for the State of South Dakota.

Another example: Esther Horne, selected for many honors throughout her career such as; excellence of service; outstanding performance; citation for distinguished service; and author of several articles and pageants.

Both are now enjoying their much-deserved retirement and suffer along with other dedicated Indian people the unjust and undeserved criticism of their lifelong dedication and labors. But, this is the price we all know we must pay.

The experts of those days then decided all teachers should have college degrees. Both programs were discontinued but no provision was made for these fine young people to go to college until some 30 years later when $250,000 was appropriated for grants-in-aid to assist Indian students to attend college.

Because of this time lapse of 30 years, one generation of Indian teachers was lost, but even now 16 percent of the professional education staff of the Bureau of Indian Affairs are Indians.

Even with the serious problems of school dropouts, all is not lost as our current detractors would have you believe, because we offer several training options to those who, for whatever reasons, do not follow the prescribed educational process expected of them.

For the young adults, 18–35, who did not receive full schooling, we have placement in direct employment, adult vocational training program and on-the-job training. This has an authorized funding of $25 million.

In addition, 33,883 were enrolled in classes in 1967 as a part of our adult training program with over 300 qualifying for their high school equivalency certificates.

Further, we are pioneering in a program of family residential training centers where programs have been developed for all members of the family—father, mother, and children—so they can become functional in any community in which they may wish eventually to settle.

For those young people in trouble with the law, we have programs with all Federal reformatories and the penal system of California that provides a rehabilitation program for them.

This program begins with joint counseling in the institution followed by a placement plan on release to the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

This plan may involve direct employment, enrollment in one of our boarding schools or family residential training centers, on-the-job training, or adult vocational training.

And I offer for this committee copies and descriptions of all of these programs, their participation and also including the first edition of American Indian Cultural Group, made up of Indian people in San Quentin prison which we helped inaugurate with the State of California.

Senator MONDALE. It will be received and included in the subcommittee files

Mr. BENNETT. I am among those who fervently wish there were no need for boarding schools for the very young Indian child. But there is a need; and there will continually be a need, as long as there are not enough day-school services to reach every child; and as long as some Indian children have no home at all or their home or community does not offer them needed support.

Federal boarding schools have educated and trained the Indian youth who are today's Indian leaders and are the most conspicuously successful in college and in professional life.

Not all schools have been uniformly successful because some have not kept up with the times and some of them are inadequately staffed to take care of the special education and counseling needs of the children.

A few boarding schools operate in facilities that are not structurally or functionally sound. Some should possibly be phased out altogether because of the unsuitability of their locations or programs for the education needs of today's young Indian person.

We are surveying the entire school situation with considerations such as these in mind.

Local responsibility is being tested in the Rough Rock Demonstration School on the Navajo Reservation, where a Bureau of Indian Affairs installation is being operated as a community school under a program developed with Bureau of Indian Affairs assistance run by a director and staff selected by the Navajo Tribe and funded by the Bureau of Indian Affairs with support of the Office of Economic Opportunity. We have high hopes that this experience will prove successful.

This approach to the education of Indian children on the reservations has been recommended by a number of Indian leaders. It may be in keeping with the realities of the Indian situation today, which require acceptance of administrative controls and responsibilities by Indian tribes.

We await the analysis of this program now being undertaken by the University of Chicago under a contract with OEO. One thing we know for sure is that it is expensive and should we undertake this program it will more than double the present funding of Bureau schools. The main problem as in most of these situations is, where will that kind of money come from?

I offer for the record the financing of the Rough Rock Demonstration School which shows that the Bureau of Indian Affairs contribution is $425,000 which would be the amount of all funds we would have available to run the school.

There is added to this an additional $500,000 from the OEO, various foundations, Public Law 89-10, Headstart and Follow Through to bring the total available in 1969 to $929,364.

However, our contribution of $425,000 is the amount of money we would be running the school with if we were running that school. This is all the money we have.

I would like to submit that for the record.

(The material referred to follows:)

ROUGH ROCK DEMONSTRATION SCHOOL, 1968-69

	1969 amount	1968 amount
Funds available:		
Source:		
Bureau of Indian Affairs:		
Education (contract)	$333,372	
Education (food)	76,122	
Plant management	16.000	
Subtotal	425,494	$409,752
ONEO	253,870	447,667
Foundations	140,000	
Public Law 89-10	60,000	33,500
Headstart	20,000	
Follow Through	30,000	
Total	929,364	890,919
Enrollment (ungraded):		
Phase I (Headstart through 4th-grade level):		
Headstart	47	
All others	100	
Phase II (5th- through 8th-grade levels)	127	
Total	[1] 274	

[1] This is current enrollment, said to be low because a number of families are out lambing.

Mr. BENNETT. But without waiting for results of studies which will serve mainly to confirm what we already know, and without even major redirections of authority, there are actions that can be taken to make some prompt improvements where they are needed most.

These are some of the priorities as I see them:

1. Provide a network of paved roads so that, wherever feasible, bus routes for day schools may be established across the Navajo Reservation and other similarly remote regions; and provide resources to build these local schools.

In that connection I would like to offer two charts; one which shows the comparison of Indian reservation roads to other roads in the same States in which they are located, which shows about one-third as many surfaced roads per thousand square miles; that is in the State of Arizona.

Senator MONDALE. Is the Bureau exclusively responsible for road construction on the Navajo?

Mr. BENNETT. Yes, sir, there are two authorities.

Senator MONDALE. Does the county have any responsibility?

Mr. BENNETT. The county has responsibility when the roads are turned over to them by the Bureau of Indian Affairs under a takeover system.

This usually takes place when a road is built up to a certain quality. After that they assume responsibility for maintenance.

Senator MONDALE. Why don't you include for the record a little explanation as to whose responsibility it is to build roads in the Navajo and whether it is shared exclusively with local government and if it is, who has that responsibility.

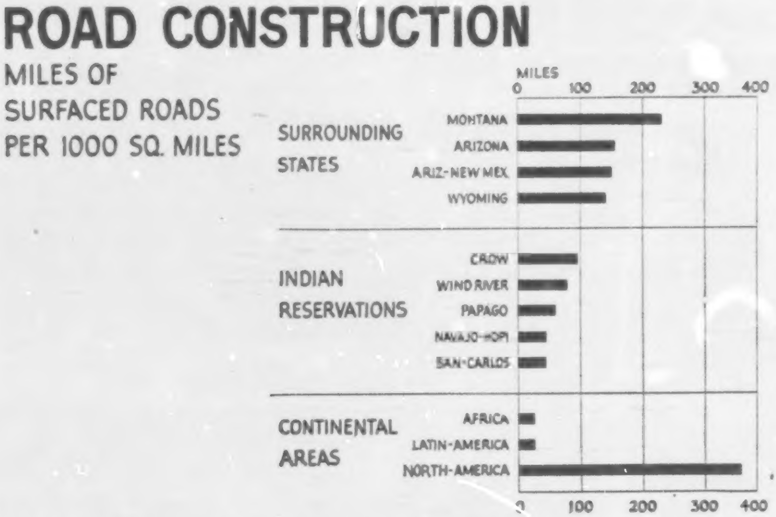
Mr. BENNETT. Yes, sir.

Another chart shows that if we were funded at an optimum level it would take 15 years to construct roads needed today. If we were funded at the authorized level it would take 20 years and at the current rate of funding it is going to take 30 years to build the road needed today.

Also, I would like to leave this with the committee.

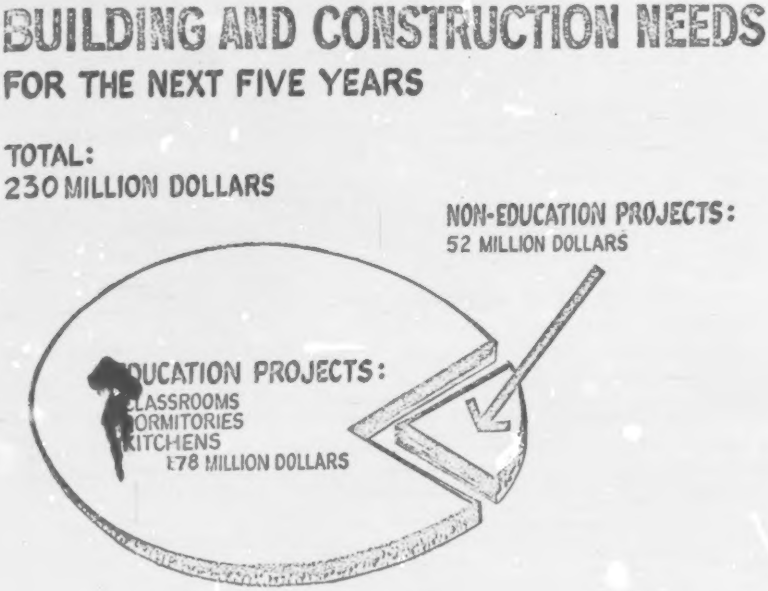
Senator MONDALE. It will be received for the record.

(The chart referred to follows:)



Mr. BENNETT. I also would like to leave our building and construction needs for the next 5 years which at the current rate of funding will take 10 years to meet.

(The chart referred to follows:)



Senator Mondale. It will be received for the record.

Mr. Bennett. 2. Permit the Bureau of Indian Affairs to offer substantial salary incentives to attract and hold the Nation's best teachers and education specialists, and provide the Bureau of Indian Affairs with the necessary funds.

3. Make it possible for the Bureau of Indian Affairs to institute a professional corps of psychological counselors, trained social workers, and related personnel to meet the intensive needs of some of today's Indian youth.

We are cooperating with the Indian Health Service in their efforts to improve mental health programs for Indians, but professional backup services in our schools are woefully inadequate.

4. Reinstate the funds for special programs and research which derived to the Bureau of Indian Affairs during the past 2 years under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and which will be unavailable next year.

These funds enabled us to develop new curriculums, employ the services of experts in evaluating our overall programs, and provide specialized training for teachers.

5. Require the U.S. Office of Education and the Bureau of Indian Affairs to develop goals and plans to make available more fully to the Bureau of Indian Affairs its professional services and funding under various special education aid acts such as the Vocational Education Act and the Education Professions Development Act.

6. Last, but not to be construed as least in importance—maintain closer surveillance of Indian education programs in public schools receiving Federal aid in connection with their Indian constituency.

Such aid derives from at least one of the following sources, sometimes all: Public Laws 815 and 874—the so-called impact laws providing aid for federally affected school districts; the Johnson-O'Malley act of 1934, providing limited funding through the Bureau of Indian Affairs for public schools serving Indians, on the basis of special needs; the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act provisions for financial aid to districts having populations in the poverty classification.

7. Urge the new administration to accelerate the functioning of the Council for Indian Opportunity which was created by Executive order last March.

This Council, which is chaired by the Vice President of the United States, brings together in policymaking membership those Cabinet officers whose departments provide services to Indians, and Indian leaders representative of all parts of the country.

This kind of coordinating body is necessary as the Bureau of Indian Affairs is no longer the sole agency with responsibilities for Indian citizens. Others who now share these are HEW, OEO, HUD, EDA, and, to a lesser extent, Labor and Agriculture.

It is vitally important that the resources of these multi and varied agencies be developed in full concert with the Indian people and in a manner that assures them equal growth of the social and economic and political aspects of Indian community life.

Quality education and equality of educational opportunity for Indians, no matter under whose auspices their schooling takes place—is an uppermost concern of mine, as I am sure it is of each member of this subcommittee.

Your interest has encouraged my candor today. I hope that together with the Indian people and others in Federal and State Government, who share this responsibility, we can work toward solutions that will be enduring ones; solutions that will make possible the full and wholesome growth of the Indian minority under their leadership to a deserving place of consequence in America's future.

I wish to thank the chairman and the committee for their patience in hearing me out on this formal statement.

Senator **Mondale**. Thank you, Mr. Commissioner. I notice Dr. Zellers has an extended statement. Is it your intention that he should proceed at this point with his statement or would you prefer to accept questions now?

Mr. **Bennett**. Mr. Chairman, if it is all the same to you, I would prefer to accept questions now. His statement goes into quite a bit of detail in terms of financing and building of courses.

Senator **Mondale**. Senator Bellmon.

Senator **Bellmon**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Before I ask questions of Commissioner Bennett, I would like to place in the record the apologies of Senator Dominick that he can't be here to attend the committee hearings this morning. He has recently been released from the Bethesda Naval Hospital, in fact, only on March 26, and under doctor's orders he left for his home to further recuperate.

He asked me to extend his apologies to the Commissioner and said otherwise, he would have been present this morning.

I have been impressed by the statement Commissioner Bennett has made. It is obvious that the problems he confronts in his work as Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs have built up over a long period of time and that they are due to many problems, including the lack of understanding of the needs and a lack, perhaps, of proper funding of the agency from time to time.

The matter which has impressed me as much as anything else you have said is the wide range of responsibilities that the Commissioner must administer.

Do you feel that you and your agency have too broad a scope of responsibilities so that you are not able to devote proper attention to the needs of educating the Indian young people?

Mr. **Bennett**. I think that the problem is the matter of providing the resources that are necessary to do what the Indian people and the Bureau of Indian Affairs agree is an adequate job.

We do have the programs that we are operating and in the discussions that I had with the Indian leadership throughout the country in several regional meetings shortly after I was Commissioner, most of the recommendations of the Indian people related to doing more of what we were doing.

We are performing to the maximum of our ability with the resources that are available.

Senator BELLMON. So you feel then that the Bureau of Indian Affairs can properly manage the problems relating to the resources of the Indian people?

Mr. BENNETT. Yes, Senator, and we are being helped in this by the contributions that other Federal agencies are now making in Indian affairs, such as the Office of Economic Opportunity, which offers resources for some programs; the Department of Commerce, the Department of Labor, and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

All are now making significant contributions in assistance to the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

However, these programs are mostly supplementary to what the Bureau of Indian Affairs is doing or are providing services in areas where we are not able to do so.

Senator BELLMON. Let me lay the cards on the table and let me be as candid with you as you have been with the subcommittee this morning, and I am afraid I anticipate your answer to this, there have been some proposals, both public and private, that perhaps the responsibility for education should be moved from the Department of the Interior to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

In your experience, do you have feelings as to whether or not this would be successful?

Mr. BENNETT. My feelings are largely based on the attitude of the Indian people and as of now they are unanimously opposed to such a move.

Senator BELLMON. Are you speaking now personally or do you have some indication that the Indian leaders feel as you have stated?

Mr. BENNETT. The Indian leaders feel this way. The last time this was brought to their attention a little over a year ago they preferred unanimously that the education program in the Bureau of Indian Affairs remain in the Department of the Interior and for this reason the administrative proposal at that time to transfer to HEW was dropped.

Senator BELLMON. Let me ask another question. In your prepared statement, you say that the Indian culture is land oriented and that the Indian is usually happiest in his land environment, therefore, you must find a way to bring the benefits of educational technology to him rather than having circumstances force him to enter an alien setting.

Can you tell us what the Bureau of Indian Affairs is doing to reduce the pressures on the Indian citizens to move to an urban center in order to find opportunities?

Mr. BENNETT. Yes, sir. The first is that we are attempting to qualify Indians through training to take advantage of local job opportunities.

As a result of this effort, 52 percent of our job placements last year were in local job opportunities. The Senator may recall we did open small offices in Oklahoma City and Tulsa, also, for this purpose.

In addition to that, we have a program of bringing nonagricultural industry to Indian communities.

As a consequence of this, I will be happy to furnish the committee a report. There have been substantial numbers of jobs, in the hundreds, created as a result of this program.

One example is Shiprock, N. Mex., on the Navajo Reservation, where we started a few years ago with the Fairchild Camera Co. employing 600 Navajos. The Navajo Tribe has constructed new buildings. At the end, 1,500 Navajo people will be employed.

The third effort we are making is in relation to the resources owned by the Indian people themselves. Formerly these were put out for lease and production by developers who had necessary capital. Our emphasis now is on providing the Indian people with the capital so that they can develop their own resources, not only have the benefits of employment, but also the benefits of management, management experience, plus any profits from this enterprise.

Some examples are the Navajo forest products on the Navajo Reservation which employs 450 Navajo people in the sawmill industry; a commercial recreation program in the White Mountain Apache Reservation at White River, Ariz.; the commercial recreation program of the the Warm Springs Tribe of Oregon; the ski recreation program of the Mescalero-Apache north of Red Lake, Tex.

All of these are intended to offer the Indian people the free choice of remaining in their home communities with economic opportunities available, or if they wish, to find their destiny and make their contributions to society elsewhere.

Senator BELLMON. Does the Bureau of Indian Affairs have a source of risk capital available to help Indian entrepreneurs start their own businesses?

Mr. BENNETT. Yes, sir; we have a revolving loan fund authorized by an act of Congress in 1934. At the beginning of the administration of these funds many of the loans were short-term loans for business enterprises.

However, the tribes in recent years have been concerned about the loss of land and consequently, have been borrowing money to purchase land from individual members of the tribe.

As a consequence, this loan fund is depleted and it is all out in long-term loans.

There are before the Congress bills to increase this authorization to, I believe, $100 million, and there are also two other bills before the Congress, the insured loan bill and loan guarantee bill, all having the objective of making more funds, high risk funds, available to Indian people.

Senator MONDALE. Senator Hughes.

Senator HUGHES. Mr. Chairman, and Commissioner Bennett, you know what my questions are going to be about. We have had much discussion on the topic—discussion between some of my assistants and your agency.

I want to compliment you on your statement and your dedication in trying to work out the problem that we have on the Mesquakie settlement in Tama, Iowa. I do not know if there is another settlement in the Nation like that particular one—a settlement rather than a reservation.

Mr. BENNETT. It is unusual in several respects. It is in the nature of a settlement and a very small one—the only one in the United States. Also, their lands are taxable and have been for many, many years. Because of that, they are entitled to the services of the State.

Senator **Hughes**. You mentioned something that I was never able to get at as Governor and maybe you have never been able to get at it as Commissioner—the problem of roads on reservations.

We have been hung up on roads in that settlement area all the years I have been in public office. At some point in time, and I have never been able to trace it down, the Bureau raised a legal question about road responsibility in the settlement. We have had a number of our State legislators—one in particular—who wanted the State to appropriate special funds to improve the road system at the settlement. We were never able to get that accomplished because of the tax questions raised by the inhabitants there. I was never able to legally clarify the responsibility for road construction. When we attempted to do that, we found out that many of the inhabitants there did not want the roads improved because they were afraid the State was going to promote the area as a tourist attraction, and they did not want to have thousands of people pouring through the settlement area to sort of throw peanuts to the monkeys, as you might say. They wanted to be left alone. But the roads are in bad shape.

If there is any way you can clarify for me by document or otherwise the legal aspect of the road situation in the settlement area, I would appreciate it. I do not expect you to have that information available right now. You could furnish it to the appropriate authorities in Iowa.

The Tama settlement school is now open by legal injunction, I understand. Is that still true, Commissioner?

Mr. **Bennett**. The school is open for the lower grades in the settlement.

Senator **Hughes**. This is up through fifth grade? This is by court order now.

Mr. **Zellers**. This is up through fourth grade, Senator. I think in the neighborhood of 46 students are in attendance at the present time.

Senator **Hughes**. I think that you know my position has been to support the settlement Indians there—to keep the school open as much as possible.

I have been reading as much as I can of the history of this. It appears there has been some difference of opinion between the leadership there and your Agency as to warning, notice, and the discussion that led to the attempted closing of this school.

As I have read it, it goes back to 1966, at an initial meeting, and about a year later in 1967, and then built up to several meetings culminating in about July 1968, in which the Mesquakies totally objected, apparently for the first time if your records are accurate, to the closing of the school and the moving of all of those students into the public school system.

I would like to know, if you have been able to concentrate on this isolated problem—what must be a small problem in your total range—what would be most beneficial in your opinion in that area: to retain the school under Indian control and authority as much as possible in the settlement area, which has been my position, or to go ahead with the integration and closing of the school?

What is your position on it?

Mr. **Bennett**. The policy is toward public school education. Up until the Tama school came into question this fall, the policy had been that this takes place when the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the school district determine there is mutual agreement on the part of the school district and the Indian people to go to public schools.

This policy was adopted after an earlier policy in 1950 where schools were unilaterally transferred from Bureau control to public school control.

In an effort to bring about a change in the policy by requiring a referendum on the part of the local community, the Mesquakie school situation became available at that time and we took the position to close the school, hoping that by so doing there would be enough consternation raised throughout the country that we could bring about a change in the policy which would require a referendum for the transfer of any school to a public school district.

I have made this statement and I will leave with the committee my statements made before the Appropriations Committees of the Congress setting out the position that from here on there would be no transfers of any Federal school attended by Indians to the public school system without a referendum by which the people of the school district favor this by majority vote.

Senator HUGHES. Are you talking about the public school district—a referendum in the public school district?

Mr. BENNETT. No, the referendum of the Indian people.

Senator HUGHES. This is your policy now?

Mr. BENNETT. Yes, sir.

Senator HUGHES. That will affect the Tama school then?

Mr. BENNETT. Yes, sir, it will. We have before us a proposal from the Tama school district requesting financing for the operation of their school not only for the first four grades but I believe all the way through grade nine. But we have not acted on this proposal because this will involve discussions with the public school district and the State of Iowa, because they have been operating the entire school system both in town and in the settlement up to now.

We have been paying them through the Johnson-O'Malley act.

Senator HUGHES. It appears that you feel in some instances, and perhaps in this instance—I have to qualify my statement that way because I do not know at this point from what I have been able to read—that you have been getting the representation from some of the Indians that perhaps the leadership does not represent the feeling of the majority of the members of the tribe there.

I am just seeking information. I really do not know.

Mr. BENNETT. The whole purpose of the Tama school situation as it developed was to lay the groundwork for a policy change. This is the reason we took the action we did.

This is what raised consternation among a lot of people in the country. We believe we do now have support throughout the country to require a referendum of the Indian people before their school is transferred to the public schools.

Senator HUGHES. What sort of situation existed which made this type of move necessary, administratively, to precipitate public opinion?

Mr. BENNETT. Because we in the Bureau of Indian Affairs have our policies reviewed in many areas of Government such as the Bureau of the Budget and the executive department and many others, it is necessary when we make a change of this kind that we have public support for this change in policy.

I believe that we have that public support now. There will be no schools unilaterally transferred from an Indian community to the public school without a referendum.

Senator HUGHES. If I may go back, I am not familiar with this and may be wrong about this, I do not know, but a policy apparently was enunciated in House Concurrent Resolution 108 which I am sure you are probably familiar with.

It stated that as soon as practical, special Federal services to Indian tribes should be terminated. To what extent does this policy influence the policies of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the education area?

Mr. BENNETT. This particular policy does not influence us. It is the policy of arriving at public school education for Indians. This is our ultimate objective. This was done unilaterally in earlier history by the Bureau of Indian Affairs through unilateral transfer of Bureau schools to public schools.

Because of the reaction received, primarily from Indian people, and the fact that many of the public schools were not ready to take on these responsibilities, we went to a policy of mutual readiness.

When we determined that the school district and the Indian community were ready, the transfer was made. We have now taken a further step in this policy, in an effort to bring about public school education for Indian children, by providing that there will now be a referendum before such action takes place.

Senator HUGHES. Do you believe that the experimental project, the demonstration project which has been run and been so widely discussed in these hearings, Rough Rock demonstration project, do you believe the cost analysis of this is indicative of what the cost will be in the future for a successful educational operation?

Mr. BENNETT. If the study which is now being made under financing by OEO of the Rough Rock School indicates that this is a direction in which Indian education should go, then the cost of operating the Rough Rock School is an indication of the kind of money we will be asking the Congress for in order to carry out these kinds of programs in all of our local schools.

Senator HUGHES. One final area.

You mentioned in your statement the mental health approach and also penal rehabilitation and special programs, I believe in California in one instance.

Is the percentage of difficulties among the young people in the tribes any higher than it is in the rest of the nation in the area of penal problems, violations of the law and incarceration?

Mr. BENNETT. I will say that the problem is comparable. However, in the Indian situation the convictions for violations of law on the reservation, which are mostly misdemeanors, are considerably higher. The reason for this is the basic Indian attitude about right and wrong. When a young Indian person commits an offense in an Indian community and is arrested, he says he did it and takes the consequences. He does not say, where is your search warrant? He does not say, get me a lawyer in a couple of hours. He does not say, you spelled my name wrong on the paper, or anything of that kind. He says he did it.

So, we have a very high rate of convictions.

Now, with civil rights and their having attorneys and all of the defenses becoming available to them, while the Indians might continue on the same level, I am sure the convictions will be a lot less.

Senator **Hughes**. Among a number of witnesses since I have been a member of this subcommittee I notice a problem has come up in which I have a special interest. That is the problem of alcohol among the Indians, particularly at the teenage and early adult level. It has been mentioned repeatedly.

I am wondering if there is any special attempt to reach the core of this problem and to separate it from mental health problems.

Mr. **Bennett**. Yes. There is considerable effort being made along this line. Our policy on this has been to create interest in the programs at the local community level.

There have also been professional services made available to Indian leaders who are interested in this particular problem by various universities. The University of Utah has conducted an Indian alcoholic seminar every summer for some 12 or 13 years.

There is an Indian section there which is attended by Indian leaders throughout the country. There are a significant number of regional meetings and conferences being held on this, the most recent one at the University of Oklahoma 2 or 3 weeks ago.

In addition to that, there are local community efforts being made in this entire area and we are pleased at the interest and concern that is being developed in the local community; discussions of it, and in some cases programs, action programs, already in effect.

This is particularly true of the Jicarilla Apache Reservation in northern New Mexico.

Senator **Hughes**. If you have any statistical record could you furnish it to me or the subcommittee? I, personally, would like to see it, to know what the programs are and where they are and what their success has been and what their problems are.

Mr. **Bennett**. We also have some special programs related to Indian people who are being employed in newly established industries on Indian reservations to overcome the problem of absenteeism and other problems that result from heavy drinking.

One of these is the Yakima Indian Reservation, and the results of this effort are beginning to show already in improved work habits.

We will be happy to furnish you with a record and to work with the Indian Health Service because they may have some additional information on this particular problem.

Senator **Hughes**. One of the problems has been the particularly high arrest rate in Iowa among the teenagers because of this. It has worried the tribal council. It has been related to tribal custom. It has been a very hard thing to penetrate, to get at, to break down, because of the cultural background of the people.

I think it requires a specific, unique approach, perhaps, to get at the problem.

I have no further questions.

Thank you.

Mr. **Bennett**. Thank you.

Senator **Mondale**. Mr. Commissioner, what is the policy of the BIA on local control of schools?

Mr. BENNETT. The policy of the Bureau of Indian Affairs on local control of schools is, upon the request of the Indian Tribe, if they wish to take over a school of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, they may do it in two or three ways.

No. 1, they may elect a local school board, even though the Bureau of Indian Affairs continues to operate the school. As I stated this policy was announced in January 1966.

Secondly, the tribe, itself, may contract and we have guidelines out to the tribes on how they may apply for operating the local school through contractual arrangement between the Bureau and the tribe or possibly a legal entity created by the tribe. This is the Rough Rock situation.

Senator MONDALE. You have made reference to the Presidential message of March 16, 1968, in which he declared "I am directing the Secretary of the Interior to establish Indian school boards for Federal Indian schools."

Would you say that the policy you have just announced is consistent with the directive of the President of the United States?

Mr. BENNETT. Yes, sir; he said to establish these boards.

Senator MONDALE. To establish school boards.

Mr. BENNETT. School boards and we have used the process of having the schools suggesting to the local community that they elect their school boards as a way of getting them established.

The second one is the direct contract with the tribe or subsidiary thereof—

Senator MONDALE. How many Federal Indian schools do you have, approximately.

Mr. ZELLERS. Approximately 244.

Senator MONDALE. How many school boards have been established pursuant to this direction?

Mr. BENNETT. So far, there have been two established because of the guidelines necessary to implement the President's message, so that we would have adequate representation made by the tribe and so that we could act upon it.

Senator MONDALE. One of them is at Rough Rock. Where is the other one?

Mr. BENNETT. Blackwater on the Pima Reservation.

I forgot to mention one other way in which this is done. This is where the Indian people, themselves, organize into a public school district. We have some of these on the Navajo Reservation.

And then a fourth way is where there is a combination school of the Indians and non-Indians in the school district such as we have at Eagle Butte, S. Dak., and Fort Yates, N. Dak., and other areas.

Senator MONDALE. At the present rate of establishing these school boards, two in the system, how long will it be before the President's directive is fully carried out?

Mr. BENNETT. In this area, we leave this up to the Indian people. We don't believe that we should go out and force them into school boards.

Senator MONDALE. Are they resisting local control? They don't want local control?

Mr. BENNETT. There is a variety of reactions. One reaction is that there are some that want immediate control. Others are going to more or less take a look at it a while and see how it works.

The third group at present has expressed no interest.

Our policy is not to force this upon them. They have the guidelines and the appropriate requirements for applying for the administration of their schools under the project known as "Tribe," and as soon as they apply, of course, we react.

Senator MONDALE. What is "Tribe"? Does that establish school boards with the traditional powers over schools or what does that do?

Mr. BENNETT. I would like Mr. Zellers to explain the details of this project for which we have set out the guidelines to the tribes.

Mr. ZELLERS. The guidelines for Project Tribe were sent out in December which is one of the reasons I think why there has not been a volume reaction at this point. But the process that would result from the use of Project Tribe would result in the constituency of a local currently federally operated school being placed under a board of education after the community had voted in favor of taking over that school for its own operation so that the contract which the Bureau of Indian Affairs would have with the local Indian board of education would be a funding contract; the entire operational responsibility for the local school would pass from the BIA to the local Indian board of education.

Senator MONDALE. Other than the two school systems that have been referred to, is there one other Indian school system which has been taken over in this fashion?

Mr. ZELLERS. Not take over at this time. There are several that are interested.

We have estimated perhaps as many as 10 might come under this system during the current and the succeeding fiscal year.

Senator MONDALE. Is it the intention of BIA that the so-called advisory boards come within the meaning of the President's directive?

Mr. BENNETT. No, sir; it is not. These are strictly people selected at large from the Indian community that advise us in the development of our educational policies and also our school operations. The advisory board is the host to the meeting that is going on this week in this particular area. Each person serves for 2 years and then other persons are brought into the advisory board. This is advisory at the national policy-making level.

Senator MONDALE. How do you determine whether a local community does or does not want to take over control of its own school?

I was very impressed by the pride and the involvement of the Board of Education at Rough Rock and of the parents in the community. If there is one thing I heard from everyone I talked to, it was their pride and delight, for the first time in their history of having something to say about the quality and direction and sensitivity in education of their own children, something which every other American has had for generations.

What is it about Indians that makes them any less eager than everyone else in this country for local control and for having something to say about the education of their children?

Mr. BENNETT. I don't think there is any difference. I think they have wanted to do this for a long time. This is why we have the present policy.

Senator MONDALE. Why has a century gone by and yet there are only two systems in the country where that is true?

Mr. BENNETT. It might be because of the fact that for many years American Indians did not accept an education program of any kind. It was only in 1946 that the Navajo Indian people decided they wanted to be educated under the American school system.

Senator MONDALE. Is it your testimony that the Indians didn't want their children educated?

Mr. BENNETT. My testimony is they evidently weren't satisfied with the education they were getting because they weren't sending them to school.

Senator MONDALE. I think that is right. I agree with that.

Mr. BENNETT. In 1946, the Navajo Tribe, in their council meeting, decided that they wanted their children to go to school. Up to that time, we had over 20,000 school age children and we had 10,000 school seats which were ample to take care of those who attended school or who could get to school.

Then when they decided to go to school in 1946, we immediately were behind in providing school seats and we had to go into a crash building program on the Navajo Reservation to adequately provide school seats.

Senator MONDALE. Here we have one instance, Rough Rock, in which regardless of what your outside surveys might indicate, the people in that community think it is a delightful and exciting experiment. I don't think some outside survey, whether its results are positive or negative, should be conclusive. If those people want to control their own system they ought to. That is true of all of us in our communities. It ought to be true of people regardless of color, including Indians.

Now, if this is a system which they established through their own initiative but with BIA help, and one which seems to be working very well, don't you believe that Indian parents generally want something to say about the education of their own children?

How do you decide this? Did you go into each community? The President said, "You shall establish school boards."

You put another amendment that is not in the President's message. You said, "We shall establish them if someone in the local community wants them."

The President did not put it that way but that is the way you construed it.

Do you go to the local community, as they do in every other school district, and let the people of the community vote on whether they want a school board and who they want on the school board? Who decides that?

Mr. BENNETT. The people in the community.

Senator MONDALE. Who makes that determination?

Mr. BENNETT. That determination is made in the most recent case by a referendum in a particular school district.

Senator MONDALE. How many referendums have you had?

Mr. BENNETT. Since the policy has only been in effect since March and since we have just gotten out the guidelines, I don't know how many have been held.

Senator MONDALE. How many would you guess that you have had?

Mr. BENNETT. I don't know of any besides the one that was concluded about 2 or 3 months ago.

Senator MONDALE. What did that say?

Mr. BENNETT. It was the Loneman School District on the Oglala Sioux Reservation where they voted against the school district.

Senator MONDALE. Where is that located?

Mr. BENNETT. Oglala Sioux Reservation, S. Dak.

This supports the idea that not all the school districts are ready to move into it. I think we have two things here. We have one where all the Indian parents wanted to have something to say about the education of the children and I think we have the other and that is the responsibilities that are entailed in connection with the operation of a school district. For this reason, we have included in our appropriation request funds to help the people train as they take over school districts. We have found this to be necessary as they become involved in local housing authorities, that they needed some management training and we set up courses for this.

We are proposing the same in our budget request, that they receive training in this area so that they can adequately manage school districts.

So, I think one is their interest in wanting to do it; number 2 is the concern about all the responsibilities that will be involved if they take this step.

Senator MONDALE. President Johnson ordered the creation of local districts. Such specialists as Dr. Roessel, the former Director of the Commission, Dr. Marburger, Assistant Commissioner of Education, and one of the Nation's recognized specialists in this field, and I think every witness who has testified before us has said you are not going to have quality education until you have invested the parents with the authority to control the education of their own children.

Would you agree with that?

Mr. BENNETT. Yes, sir; I certainly do.

Senator MONDALE. Then how do you expalin the fact that after a century of the BIA education system there are only two instances in which it is true? I don't want to be unkind but I find it a little bit puzzling that the policy you express here should be so little applied in the field.

Mr. BENNETT. This policy will be applied in the field. I think we have 122 schools involved. The education policy of the Federal Government originally was forced assimilation, forcing all Indian people to be educated so that they would be like everyone else. Some of the educational policies at that time were that it was a punishable offense to speak your own language in the school or on the school grounds.

Another is on the boarding school system. In order to be educated away from the Indian community, Indians were sent thousands of miles to boarding schools and the Government paid your way there and did not pay your return home for 4 years. So, you went to a boarding school for 4 years before your return home was paid for.

Even as late as 1940 when we tried to bring into the educational system Indian language and bilingual education, as I indicated in my testimony, there was an uproar in education circles about the fact that we were trying to teach Indians to be Indians, trying to keep them out of the mainstream, and charges of this kind.

As I have indicated in my testimony, we get swept around by the various winds and currents of the national policy.

Senator MONDALE. Right. As long as it is federally controlled, it will continue to be, won't it? In other words, if the Indian children of this country are going to be educated pursuant to the notions of the current white power structure that controls Washington, you are going to have winds of change for the next century just like you have had them in the last century. Isn't it about time then that we permit Indian parents to control the education of their own children and stop this nonsense?

Mr. BENNETT. Yes, sir; this is the basis of my policy statement of January 1966.

Senator MONDALE. And two school boards are now complying with that proposition. Why does it take so long?

Mr. BENNETT. There is certainly agreement between you and me that this government is pretty big and we are going to be looked at by other agencies of government as to how we are doing this.

Senator MONDALE. No other parents have that problem.

If you told the school district where I was educated that we had to have a handy-dandy new national policy which was going to be controlled from Washington completely in every detail—hiring, firing, curriculum and the rest—and that the Budget Bureau in Washington was going to determine through some unknown bureaucrat the nature of the education, you would have a revolution, you would have a war, and I think it would be a justified one. Yet, this has been going on for a century in Indian education.

I just spent 2 days, as you may know, Mr. Commissioner, on the Navajo. I observed two school systems, one controlled by the BIA, the other—Rough Rock—controlled by the Indians, themselves. In the BIA system, I found only two Navajo teachers, one of whom was a supervisor.

In the smaller Rough Rock school, I found 10 Navajo teachers and three more were coming on to the faculty.

In the dormitories in Tuba City, I found cold, really inhumane structures for these children, some of whom are 5 years old. There were no pictures on the wall, no paintings, and only two people monitoring dormitories of 100 or 130 people. The sign on the door of the two who were working there said, "Do not come in unless you need medicine," which is hardly a permissive environment, in my opinion.

Next door in Rough Rock was a situation where they let the children gather together with tables; the children were permitted to mark up the walls and put paintings on them. They tried to create little communities. They used the mothers and the parents in the community to live with the children so that they had a friend, a supporter, counsellor and adult, as every child needs at that age.

They had a permissive environment. The children were even urged to go home every weekend and most of them did. The parents were encouraged to sleep overnight with the kids. Wherever you went, Navajos were moving freely in and out of the classrooms. I didn't see any of that in Tuba City.

I saw an exciting bilingual program at Rough Rock, but not at Tuba City. I saw at Rough Rock the creation for the first time of some exciting Navajo textbooks deveoped by Navajo illustrators and under the supervision of Navajo leadership. I saw the creative use of local Navajo talents so that side by side with the white teacher or with the Navajo teacher there was a mother teaching arts and crafts and telling the traditional stories of Navajo lore.

I saw exciting adult education systems at Rough Rock, not at Tuba City.

I saw a system at Rough Rock where Indians hired and fired the teacher, where the school board determined the policy, and I saw very little evidence of that at Tuba City. As a matter of fact, what I did here was all to the contrary.

I saw a principal who was Navajo, not white, at Rough Rock. I saw little things like schoolrooms that were built as hogans, not the kind that some white architect would impose on these communities. I saw a corral so that the kids could ride horses, which I didn't see at Tuba City.

More than all of that and in an indefinable way, I saw a spirit and pride and excitement of people who realized for the first time they had something to say about their own lives. I think the difference was the difference between night and day.

I am not an expert in this field but I think I know how to assess human feeling. It was a difference almost between a semimilitary setting and a setting which was the kind that one would want to educate his own children.

I don't mean to be critical of you, Mr. Commissioner, because I know you are fighting some of these same things, as I am. But I think the nature of the opposition to this kind of local control is far greater than many people believe, given white attitudes and many other things.

I came away from Rough Rock committed to doing the best I could to tell the American people what I saw. I don't think there is any doubt that most honest Americans going there would return wanting local control. That is my judgment.

Perhaps you want to comment on that.

Mr. BENNETT. I don't have any argument at all with the Chairman because this is the same goal toward which we are working as far as the Bureau of Indians Affaiars schools are concerned. To the extent we can do this, of course, we will do it. We do have about 500 aides employed, tribal aides, employed in our schools throughout the country, and we have——

Senator MONDALE. How many of them are local mothers and parents?

Mr. BENNETT. Most of them are from the local community, who are able to speak the language but not necessarily mothers and parents. Most of these aides work in the classroom helping in the teaching of the English and Indian languages.

Senator MONDALE. Now, you have presented some materials that have been developed by the Bureau. The Bureau has been at this for a century. One of the things that I didn't realize until I looked at it, it is set forth in Dr. Zeller's testimony, is that two-thirds to 80 percent of these children come to school either with no appreciation of the English language or a totally inadequate one. They are taught, by and large, by white teachers, or at least English-speaking teachers who know no Navajo. They are taught with Dick and Jane and other kinds of traditional white middle-class textbooks, except at Rough Rock, where for the first time delightful little textbooks are being developed with your support, that teach them Navajo and English and stories out of their culture and these are some of the first textbooks of their kind developed in the country.

I noticed in the materials you presented here that the Herder series was developed in 1940. Nothing since that series.

That the "Navajo New World Reader" was developed in 1956; "The Navajo Life Series," 1949; "The Field Mouse Goes to War," 1944; "The Brave Against the Enemy," 1944; "The Aleut Language Series," 1944; "The Young Hunters of Picuris," 1943; "The Slim Butte Raccoon," 1942; "The Papago Indians of Aries," 1941; "The Northern Paiute Indians of California-Nevada," 1941; "The Indians of Southern California," 1941; "Who Wants To Be a Prairie Dog," "The Little Boy with Three Names," 1940.

How can it be said that an educational system is vital and warmly concerned about the children who are being taught who have these profound language and cultural value differences if this is a representative demonstration of the commitment of the BIA educational system to that objective?

Mr. **Bennett**. Well, in 1940, the public had not bought this concept. It was a very difficult struggle to even get as far as we did in this kind of education. The only criticism I could make of the Bureau of Indian Affairs is that they should have waited until the 1960's to do this rather than the 1940's. If we had made it in the 1960's, this would have been a thoroughly acceptable approach.

You are talking about the attitude on education by the public today and not what it was in 1940.

Senator **Mondale**. Right.

Mr. **Bennett**. I am quite positive that so far as the general acceptance of all of this is concerned we would have been much further down the road if we had waited 20 years for education to catch up.

Senator **Mondale**. Now where there are good bilingual education programs as you well know, these children learn immediatly in their own language; they learn the course work that is being taught them in their own language; and that in a real sense they learn English faster and better.

I am talking about bilingual education, not ESL, although there is some relationship. Yet, this approach is just barely beginning in the Indian education system.

In my State Chippewa and Sioux are practically dead languages because Indian children have never been taught in their own language. There is not a single document here in Chippewa. Yet it is our major Indian tribe in my State.

Don't all these things create a dismal picture—the paucity of life, lack of relevant teaching materials, the remarkably small percentage of Indian educators, the fact that we are just now talking about bilingual education—as a matter of fact, the Indians are not even eligible for bilingual education.

Did the Bureau of Indian Affairs come up and testify to have Indians included in the Bilingual Education Act?

Mr. BENNETT. I am not aware of whether they did or not.

Senator MONDALE. You see, that is outrageous.

Mr. BENNETT. We have continually presented this in our request for funds that we have Indian aides who could speak the language and help in education. We have made these presentations for several years, ever since I have been Commissioner.

Senator MONDALE. As I understand, to date, Indians in Federal Indian schools are not eligible for bilingual education opportunities. Am I correct in that?

Mr. ZELLERS. That is right. We are not included under that particular piece of legislation.

Senator MONDALE. Did the BIA ask officially to be included?

Mr. ZELLERS. We have just been informed, I was not here at that time, we have been informed that Secretary Anderson did testify.

Senator MONDALE. Anderson?

Mr. BENNETT. Assistant Secretary of Public Land Management of the Department of the Interior.

Senator MONDALE. You mean the Bureau of Land Management testified for bilingual education?

Mr. BENNETT. The Bureau of Indian Affairs is under the supervision of the Assistant Secretary for Public Land Management. It has been my recommendation over 3 years that there be a separate Assistant Secretary for the people's programs of the Interior Department. That recommendation was made shortly after I became Commissioner.

Senator MONDALE. Let us turn to the question of line control.

As you know, Dr. Marburger testified that in his belief the educational function ought to be transferred out of the BIA to OE, and that local control should be granted to these school districts. Dr. Marburger said he was utterly frustrated in efforts to communicate with educators in the local school system, that he had to go through several layers down the bureaucratic chute, most of whom were not educators. I talked to several persons in BIA school systems who were at the local level who testified about the same frustration in trying to send enough information upward. The man in Tuba City said, with his subagency superintendent sitting there, that in order to relay a request to Washington he had to communicate with the subagency Indian director who then reported to the subagency superintendent who then reported to the reservation superintendent or the regional bureau chief, neither of whom were educators, and then it filtered up to the national BIA office.

From what you tell me this morning, the request involving legislation finally goes through the Assistant Secretary of the Bureau of Land Management.

The man in Tuba City told me he was so frustrated that he is thinking of quitting because he said:

> I have no confidence that the things that appear to me as an educator to be so terribly important in the education of these children are even understood or that there is any sympathy for these programs up through these bureaucratic layers.

You have, therefore, this evidence from the local front line where they are trying to teach; you have had the past Commissioner of Education, who can be candid about these things, saying the same thing.

What are your comments in that area?

Mr. **Bennett.** First of all, I wish the past Assistant Commissioner for Education had stayed around long enough to find out how it actually operated. He was only on duty for 15 months.

Then I would also like to say that all Government agencies operate through some established procedure. I don't know of any agency that does not have local offices or regional offices.

Now, in terms of education of Indians, the same argument can be made for all of the activities of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. I think the same could be said for the housing progam. I am sure that the people who are building houses on Indian reservations would very much like to have a direct entry into the Housing and Urban Development to tell them some of the problems they have in building of houses.

I am sure that in any area or service that we give to the Indian people, that the local people who operate in the field, just as I do, have certain frustrations about what we are able to do in terms of the need.

I am sure that we could get from that point of view general agreement on the part of all the local people in the Indian communities that they would all like to have a direct pipeline to Washington and that they would like to all be funded in this manner.

Senator **Mondale.** Is there any other educational system in this country in which an educator is asked to work without a local school board, without any control over hiring and firing, where the people are hired on the national civil service roster and just arrived one day to teach there, where the physical facilities need and the rest of the local budget are determined remotely by the bureaucracy, where the teachinig materials and new programs are dependent on a remote bureaucracy and where the communications between the two go through several layers of bureaucratic overburdened people, most of whom are not educators?

Can you think of a single remote parallel to that?

Mr. **Bennett.** No, and that is not entirely true about the Bureau of Indian Affairs, either.

Senator **Mondale.** All right. You explain why it isn't.

Mr. **Bennett.** Because in the development of your curriculum material we have a committee made up of Indian people who are in the process of developing curriculum material and are in the process of writing. We also have under contract one of the outstanding Indian educators, Dr. Bryde, who is performing professional services on this with the involvement of Indian people from the local communities.

Senator **Mondale.** How many Chippewa materials is he working on?

Mr. **Bennett.** We don't have any responsibility in the State of Minnesota for education.

Senator **Mondale.** No responsibility?

Mr. **Bennett.** Except to provide funds under the Johnson-O'Malley Act. We operate no school in the State of Minnesota and have not for 30 years.

Senator MONDALE. Don't you think as Commissioner of Indian Affairs that you have a right to condition Johnson-O'Malley funds and 814 funds and the rest to require that these public school systems have educations which are appropriate and sensitive to the needs of the Indian children attending public schools?

Mr. BENNETT. We certainly do, and we are going to be doing it.

Senator MONDALE. What are you doing now?

Mr. BENNETT. We have added to our staff to work with the local school districts in the development of material. We even are assisting local school districts in some areas of the country to prepare requests for aid to education which they have not even applied for.

All of this is now possible. Ten years ago we couldn't have done it because of the States' objections to Federal interference with education.

Senator MONDALE. Do you have any guidelines which are set forth upon which Johnson-O'Malley funds are conditioned?

Mr. BENNETT. We enter into a contract each year with each State in which the guidelines are set forth. We are going to see that these guidelines are followed just as the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is now beginning to see that the guidelines of their grants to States are being followed.

We think that we can make a real impact on the use to which Johnson-O'Malley funds are put by the various States.

Senator MONDALE. What have you done thus far in Minnesota to assure that parents of Indians have something to say about the education of their children, that the teachers are given Chippewa teaching materials, that where possible Chippewas are hired to teach or are trained to teach, that the parents are given the same role in the education of their children as any other parents?

What are you doing right now that holds any prospect of improvement in that field through the use of Johnson-O'Malley funds?

Mr. BENNETT. What we are doing primarily is working with the State department of education because we work through them under the Johnson-O'Malley process.

We are bringing to their attention in every way possible, in conferences and what not, what we think the unique needs of Indian children are.

We are not in a position to dictate to local school districts whom they can hire or whom they can't hire or what they teach or what they don't teach.

Senator MONDALE. Couldn't you require, for example, that if a school district wants Johnson-O'Malley funds it should establish an Indian advisory board with some power concerning how their children are educated?

Mr. BENNETT. We certainly would like to do that.

Senator MONDALE. Couldn't you do that now?

Mr. BENNETT. I don't believe we can do that under our authority.

Senator MONDALE. If the State department of education does not cooperate, you have clear authority to send it to the Indian Tribe itself, do you not?

Mr. BENNETT. This is a question that we have now before the Solicitor of the Interior Department, about using the authority of Johnson-O'Malley Act funds to go directly to tribes.

This particular question has been raised by the Tama proposal.

Senator MONDALE. Doesn't the 1936 amendment clearly give you authority to send money directly to the tribes?

Mr. BENNETT. We think it does.

Senator MONDALE. Doesn't it say it?

Mr. BENNETT. There has been some question raised about it and we are in the process of getting this straightened out.

Senator MONDALE. It says it in the law, does it not?

Mr. BENNETT. We think so.

Senator MONDALE. It has been 33 years and we still do not know?

Mr. BENNETT. Again, when the Indian people come and want to have control of their schools we enter into arrangements with them. We do not believe in imposing any kind of program on Indian people, this is our new philosophy. And you have to be committed all the way on this. You cannot say that now you are going to take the initiative in one program but we are going to take it in another.

If the initiative is to come from the Indian people they have to be totally committed and you can't say that because I am interested in one area we are going to take the initiative, because you are interested in another area you can have the initiative. There has to be a total commitment.

Senator MONDALE. I understand. We agree on that.

I do not think as whites we know what is good for Indian children. I think the parents ought to have their own authority to determine those things.

What shocks me is that there are only two school districts in the country where that is true. Two-thirds of the Indian children are going to public schools and we do not condition Johnson-O'Malley at all to make certain that the parents have anything to say about the education of their children—despite evidence, I think clear evidence, that in most cases the boundary schools are the most prejudiced of all, that the Indians rarely have a single Indian on the school boards and where, if they try to elect Indians to school boards, the white community turns out en masse and defeats them.

School system after school system has neither an Indian member of the board or an Indian teacher even though in many cases 60 or 70 or 80 percent of the money that educates those children is designed to educate Indian children.

Yet, we sit back and say we have no authority. This is in effect stump money. We just put it on the stump and the local State commissioner of education picks it up and does anything he wants to with it.

I appreciate that this is the tradition of the Department. I recognize that of all the Commissioners, you have spoken out more clearly for local control than any of the others.

Yet I think what we see here, if I may say so, is a pattern of powerlessness; a pattern which has deprived the Indian, whether in the Federal-Indian education system or the local public school system; an environment in which he has nothing to say of any significance about who is going to teach his kids, what they are going to teach him, what language they are going to teach in, who is on the school board, or anything else. No other parent would tolerate that.

Yet, the Indians have had to tolerate it for a century. I just do not think that we have the sense of urgency that I think we should have if we are going to solve this problem.

Mr. BENNETT. I might say, Mr. Chairman, I could not agree with the Senator more.

Senator MONDALE. Good. We are making progress.

Now several people have testified that the real board of education for American Indians is the regional Bureau director. As a matter of fact, Dr. Marburger testified that equal with direct line control was his frustration with the Budget Bureau, which you have already referred to, which apparently is a kind of Genghis Khan operation, coming and going as it wishes, invoking its own ideas; and with what he called a civil service which lacks flexibility and creates a fantastic inbreeding that makes it nearly impossible for all but the most persistent applicants outside the system to join the professional staffs except at the beginning teacher level.

Would you comment on that?

Mr. BENNETT. Yes, sir. One of the reasons why we are so much in support of the concept of local school control is that when we contract with the schools and they do the hiring and firing, then they are no longer governed by the civil service regulations as we are.

Also, that the input of Indian teachers into the Bureau of Indian Affairs is going to increase dramatically in the next few years because the increase in scholarships which I have shown you is now reaching an acceptable level.

As a mater of fact, last year we could assist several hundred Indian students only for the first semester because we did not have enough funds to assist them for a whole year in college.

As a consequence, we did get a supplemental appropriation approved by the Congress 2 days before adjournment so we were able to continue these students in college for the full year.

In our discussions with them, many of them are indicating an interest to come back to the Indian community and be helpful to the Indian people.

Now this is a change in the educational attitude and policy because in their earlier days of Indian education you were educated to go away from the community and to participate in the society at large.

This was the forced assimilation policies of many years. Now the Indian people see that there is an opportunity to be of service in the local community. Many of the young people have indicated to me personally in my conversations and meetings with them that upon completing their education they do intend to go back into their own communities and be helpful to their people.

I think this is a growing trend in terms of better days ahead as far as the Indian people are concerned, and control of their own future and destiny.

Senator MONDALE. Do you find it significant that both the school at Rough Rock and the community college at Many Farms have a high number of Navajo teachers? Does that indicate desire on their part to work in a school system that is locally controlled?

Mr. BENNETT. It certainly does. One of the reasons why we favored this demonstration project is because it gave the local community Federal funds with which they could achieve a great deal more flexibility in operating a school.

And through this process which we are developing, if we can get the funds into the local communities then we believe there will be much more flexibility.

I might also mention as a corollary to that, the effort we are going to make beginning the first of the year to contract with Indian tribes, groups and individuals, for all of the services which the Bureau of Indian Affairs is now performing through Federal employees but which the tribes have indicated the willingness and capability to perform.

This will mean that the Bureau of Indian Affairs will become an advisory group to Indian people, with professional staff.

All of the programs relating to the care and feeding of children in the boarding schools on our reservation, all of the school bus routes, all construction, all maintenance of buildings, every kind of activity of that nature for which, upon application of the tribe, contracts will be entered into under the "buy Indian" act which authorized the Secretary of Interior to contract with tribes, groups, and individual Indians for goods and services to the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

We believe that by this effort, and by their control of the local machinery and the local facilities in Indian communities, not only will they have eventual control of their school system but they will also have control over all of the decisions made in the administration of the local community. Now in a great many of the Indian local communities, the individuals in the communities do not have any particular decisionmaking powers or control over what happens in these communities.

So we have a three-step program to bring this about. We anticipate that over a period of years, between 5,000 and 6,000 jobs that are now held under the civil service or by Federal employees will be held by tribal members through the contract process with tribes, communities, and individual members of the tribe.

Senator MONDALE. Has the Bureau ever asked Congress for authority to condition Johnson-O'Malley funds and other kinds of Federal assistance for public school education for Indians in a way that would require some control and some role be vested in the Indian parents concerning the education of their children, or in other ways assuring that these moneys are used locally in a way to educate sensitively and creatively the children of the Indians in the public school system?

Mr. BENNETT. The way the implementation of the Johnson-O'Malley Act has developed over the past several years has been that the local school district determines the budget for the education of the children in their school district.

We require under the Johnson-O'Malley Act that the local school districts acquire and ask for all the Federal aids that are available such as Public Law 874 and other aids.

If after the application of the local available funds and other funds there is still a need, then our contract is based upon this need.

However, up to now there have been none of these criteria established but the local school district has established the level of funding for the administration of the local school program.

It is upon the need after all known sources of funding have been determined by the local school district that we supply the supplementary funds but we have not imposed any of those kinds of requirements and leave it up to the local school district to determine its own program.

Senator MONDALE. You testified earlier that you did not think you had the authority to issue funds in that fashion.

Have you ever asked for the authority?

Mr. BENNETT. No, we have not asked for that authority.

Senator MONDALE. Dr. Osview, in testimony before this committee and in the report, said:

> I was shocked to find that the Bureau of Indian Affairs does not apparently, as a matter of policy, engage in any programmatic cooperation with public school systems of whose desire and willingness to do justice to their Indian students there can be no doubt.

He proposes a high priority be placed on programmatic cooperation with public schools.

He said no Bureau of Indian Affairs education function can be really responsible whose obligation does not go as far as the law allows in being directly concerned with all that happens to Indian children.

Will you comment on that?

Mr. BENNETT. Yes, we are certainly in favor of it. We are certainly in favor of the trend which does allow the Federal Government to have something to say about conditions in the local school districts.

We are going to take full advantage of that. We are adding additional staff to deal directly with the State education departments and local school districts and are coming up with satisfactory programs for Indian children because we think some of the public schools like ourselves have not met all of the unique needs of education that these young people have.

So we entirely support the idea of having more influence with the local public school districts.

Senator MONDALE. We have not discussed yet the issue of either boarding schools, dormitories, or the off-the-reservation schools.

I am sure that you are well aware that many people such as Dr. Robert Bergmann of the American Academy of Pediatrics, who works for the Indian Health Service on the Navajo, has said that:

> The most basic need in the Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding schools is to recognize that the life of the boarding school student outside the classroom is more important than his formal education and if the children are to grow up successfully away from their parents some substitute must be provided.

Programs stemming from this recognition are needed. I think you are aware of the high suicide rate. I think you are aware of the studies that show that children in these boarding schools have a much higher anxiety level than in day schools.

I think you are aware of some of Dr. Bergmann's testimony, and I think you are aware of the testimony Dr. Menninger, who said before this committee that the system of educating Indian youth through the boarding schools is virtually a barbaric one.

Would you comment on that?

Mr. BENNETT. As I indicated in my testimony, I would be very glad to see the day when we did not need Federal boarding schools for young Indian children.

The only alternative at the present time, until we make a real commitment for funding of roads, schools, and school buses and so on, is no education.

I think the whole issue deserves a little exploration. First, of all, we are committed to the principle of a public school education and to local schools where the children would be at home and attend these schools on a local basis.

Where we do have reservation boarding schools such as on the Oglala-Sioux Reservation, Cheyenne River, and some of the others, such as Standing Rock, children go home on weekends.

When I was the superintendent of an agency that had a reservation boarding school, those that lived in the local community went home on weekends. In this particular boarding school, it was a Bureau school and it was about a half mile from a public school, and during the short time I was superintendent this school system was full integrated. There was a local public elementary school downtown and the former Bureau school was the junior high school for the district and they also went to the senior high school.

Senator MONDALE. Do you think you have adequate dormitory personnel to provide counseling and friendship and personal relationships with the children in the boarding school?

Mr. BENNETT. No, sir, we do not, and we do not have the personnel that could add to the fullness of the program, such as recreational directors.

I think also it is very significant that we have in our boarding schools a substantial number of public school dropouts and that we have in our boarding schools many young people who come to us with severe problems, multi-problems, not only the problems of education but they have other problems and we think because we do have these kinds of students in our schools we should be able to give more adequate service to them than we do.

Senator MONDALE. What has the Bureau proposed by way of expanded personnel—dormitory instructional aides, I guess they are called—and by way of trying to bring the parents in the community into the dormitories?

Mr. BENNETT. So far, our cooperation with the Indian people on the reservation boarding schools has been generally through the various education committees set up by tribal councils.

Practically every tribal government has an education committee. Our school people work very closely with them in the boarding school situations.

For the boarding schools off reservation, we are starting a series of meeetings with tribal representatives from those tribes who have students in the particular boarding school.

We just concluded such a meeting in one of our boarding schools in March, where they spent about a week on the school campus taking a look at the school. The Navajo Tribe's Education Committee is very active and makes yearly visits to all the boarding schools that are attended by their students.

I also know that the San Carlos Apache Tribe has an Education Committee that visits all the off-reservation boarding schools to take a look at the situation there and that is true of the Hopi Tribe and some of the other tribes.

Senator MONDALE. Do you have a program for bringing parents in as dormitory aides?

Mr. BENNETT. We have a program of dormitory aides. We have asked for an expansion of this program. We have a need for more dormitory aides but it is not necessarily directed at parents. These may be parents of Indian children or they may be other Indians in the Community.

Senator MONDALE. They will be hired under civil service rules, will they not?

Mr. BENNETT. Yes, but the requirements for dormitory aides are much less than for the professional staff of counselors and guidance personnel.

We have also asked for social workers in our dormitories because quite often some of these young people are clients of the social worker in the local community and they follow up in their particular problem areas.

These are to be continued in the school to work with these young people.

Senator MONDALE. How do you explain the fact that Indians have the highest suicide rate in the country and there is only one psychologist in the whole BIA educational apparatus?

Mr. BENNETT. Well, getting to the problem of suicides, I would say that, of course, any suicide is a tragedy. However, I think we need to highlight this as a national problem. There will be 1,000 college students who commit suicide this year and there are 7 million students in the public school system in this country that have very severe emotional problems.

It is hoped that what is learned about these young people will be helpful to us who have these problems with Indian young people.

I might add that the number of suicides of young Indian people is not necessarily related to the Bureau of Indian Affairs and its education program because for some of the tribes and reservations which have been singled out for this high rate, we have not had a Bureau of Indian education program for 20 or 25 years.

Senator MONDALE. I am sure that is not the only factor, but an eminent psychiatrist, Dr. Menninger, has testified that the boarding school system is barbaric.

Dr. Bergman, who lived on the reservation, has said just about that.

The undeniable fact is that the suicide rate is about the highest in the country. Last year two Indian children were running away from school on the Navajo and froze to death trying to get home.

Every one of your schools has a very elaborate truancy program to catch these children and bring them back because they are always running away.

I went through these schools and I found the environment oppressive.

In other words, it looks to me like the Bureau of Indian Affairs education system is a system that is structured by the Civil Service and the professional career people. From time to time it consults with local Indians, but I do not find the same local control and need orientation and flexibility in this system that I think exists in every other school system in the country in all the ways we have talked about.

Let me give one other example. I understand there is a rule, perhaps imposed by the Congress, that has resulted in over 1,100 Eskimo children being found in the educational systems of the lower States, Bureau of Indian Affairs Federal-Indian schools.

Is that essentially correct?

Mr. **Bennett**. Yes, sir; that is correct.

Senator **Mondale**. Do those parents want their children taken away from their families up in Alaska and sent to Northwestern U.S. schools?

I guess some of them are even down in Oklahoma. And do parents of the 400 or 500 children who are sent from Oregon and Washington schools to Oklahoma and elsewhere want their children going that far away?

The chairman of our committee, Senator Yarborough, has arrived and we are delighted to have him.

Senator **Yarborough**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. You know I am very much interested in this subject. We have held hearings by this subcommittee in other States last year and I have attended some hearings where the late Senator Robert Kennedy was chairman.

The only reason I am so late is that I have been with the Select Committee on Malnutrition and Hunger which is holding hearings now under the chairmanship of Senator McGovern. I am a member of that committee, too, and unfortunately, they are both having hearings at the same time. They are two important subjects.

Mr. **Bennett**. In response to your question, there is no question in my mind that Indian parents, Eskimo parents, have the same feelings about their children as anyone else.

I certainly appreciate their feelings. This is why they have some very difficult decisions to make when the decision is either send their child this long distance to the school or there is no education for their child.

Senator **Mondale**. How many years have they been confronted with that alternative?

Mr. **Bennett**. The Eskimos have been confronted with that alternative only in about the last 10 years or so, because it was only at this time that the number of students entering schools exceeded the facilities that were available, particularly at the high school level.

Senator **Mondale**. Couldn't the Bureau have built adequate facilities up there rather than forcing these children to be flown a thousand or more miles away from their parents and culture?

Mr. **Bennett**. We have a backlog of construction of schools of $78 million, more than $84 million of which would be constructed in the State of Alaska.

We also have a program underway now to get clearance to build dormitories for secondary school students in population centers in the State of Alaska as a part of the State education program whereby the State will build the school facilities.

Under this program we hope that we can retain many more of the Eskimo children in the State of Alaska.

I might also mention that from the pure dollars and cents standpoint, we can transport Alaskan children to Oklahoma and Oregon, train them, educate them for a year and transport them back to Alaska for less than it costs to educate them in Alaska. So we have two problems.

Number one is to get the money to build the schools and number two, is to get the money to carry on the high cost of education and training in the State of Alaska.

Senator MONDALE. I suppose by the same standard it would be cheaper to round up all the Indians and educate them in one school, would it not?

Mr. BENNETT. It looks like we will have to do that unless we get more money to build schools in the local communities. We have $178 million backlog, as I said, and we have high school students attending classes in buildings where parts of the building have been condemned and they have had to be reinforced.

As far as the students from the Northwest not being sent to Chemawa and students from California not attending Sherman, when I became Commissioner this was the policy because these States had assumed the responsibility for the education of these children.

It is now evident that for a variety of reasons there is still need at the secondary level for some of these Federal boarding schools and this, I think, was indicated by the leadership from the Northwest when this comimttee held its hearing in Portland.

So we are beginning now again to open our doors of Chemawa to students from the Northwest, and Sherman Institute to the students from California, and also the Stewart Indian School to the students from Nevada.

Senator MONDALE. Senator Bellmon?

Senator BELLMON. On this point you just made, it is my understanding that at Fort Sill, Okla., the Bureau of Indian Affairs completed new dormitory space for 150 students and the old students moved in the new dormitory so that the old dorms are empty.

At Fort Sill about 25 percent of the students come from the State of Oklahoma. Most of them are brought in from Alaska or distant points.

Why did the Bureau decide to build the new dorms in Oklahoma where there is no local need?

Mr. BENNETT. There was an educational need, sir. Other Indian children, as you indicate, from other States.

Senator BELLMON. Why weren't the dormitories built in the States where they live?

Mr. BENNETT. The Fort Sill school was a school that was already in existence. Since this was a part of the total nationwide education program, these facilities were upgraded. We are now also in the discussion stage with the city of Lawton, Okla., to use dormitory space for students who need domiciliary accommodations, who attend the public schools of Lawton, Okla.

We hope to get this program underway in September.

Senator BELLMON. This still means transporting these children a long distance from their homes. It seems to me the Bureau should be aiming in the direction of building these facilities closer to where the students live rather than bringing them this long distance to be educated.

Mr. **Bennett.** You raise a very good point, Senator. We are doing this now in relation to all of the Federal boarding schools that need reconstruction.

Formerly, because it was traditional for a school to be at a certain location, as the plant became obsolete this particular school was rehabilitated and there was no real effort made in terms of looking down the road a long way as to whether this school should be here or there or some other location.

Now, before we make a commitment in relation to rehabilitating any school, the first decision we make is whether this is the place for the school, whether it is meeting the educational needs.

As a result of this, we make decisions. But for a long time for a variety of reasons, what has happened has just been an upgrading of the school because traditionally there has always been a school at this particular place.

Senator **Mondale.** Mr. Commissioner, this subcommittee obtained the services of a distinguished outside consultant from the University of California, Dr. Fogelman, to prepare a study of the Sherman Institute at Riverside, Calif.

He was impressed by the comparison between what the President declared to be the policy of Indian education in his message and what he found. He concludes in his study of late 1968, that it has "inadequate staff, qualitatively and quantitatively; inadequate administrative staff skill in budgeting and use of property, inadequate vigor in defending the interests of the students, inadequate admissions criteria, inadequate feedback of results, inadequate funding, inadequate identified goals, inadequate vocational training, inadequate buildings."

He says "the students rarely go into downtown Riverside, and, when they do, find themselves unwelcome in stores and establishments."

He says "generally speaking, the staff gives the impression of creaky old age; save for a few notable exceptions, an 'old settler' aura hovers over the Institute."

"Much staff interest was evident on subjects such as staff pay, travel funds and educational time. The lack of textbooks is appalling. Exceeding that is the helpless approach taken by the staff. Apparently the routine is that once it has been called to the attention of Phoenix—no further efforts are made."

He says "without attributing to the staff any conscious effort toward this image, a rapid survey of the institute produces the impression of a rigid, uncompromising, bureaucratic, authoritarian, noninnovative feudal barony in which the students are 'handled' and 'processed' rather than educated."

Would you comment on that study?

Mr. **Bennett.** It sounds like a report on some of the colleges.

Senator **Mondale.** Mr. Commissioner, this is the system of which you are in charge.

Mr. **Bennett.** That is correct.

Senator **Mondale.** This is a study by an outside agency. I regard it as a very serious and compelling indictment. I do not think it ought to be passed off in that fashion.

Mr. Bennett. I do not think so either, because as indicated all throughout my testimony, we have to meet the needs of these young people and we certainly have to have support in meeting these needs.

We started a rehabilitation program at Sherman Institute a few years ago. As a consequence of the criteria established by the State of California, because of the buildings meeting earthquake standards, we found practically our whole plant was obsolete.

The means to rebuild this plant to provide the kind of facility which will contribute to a good education program has not yet been made available.

We believe that the availability of proper facilities, the materials and curriculum center, and all of those things around which a good education is based will contribute much to the spirit of the school and to the morale of the staff.

It certainly is very demoralizing to staff, not having the proper facilities and not having the necessary equipment and supplies.

Another thing is that when I became Commissioner of Indian Affairs I asked the division of education to come up with what would be an exemplary school system—boarding schools for young Indian people.

Over a period of several weeks, we solicited ideas from psychologists, psychiatrists, social workers, educators, Indian people, architects, every one we felt could make a contribution to the development of an adequate school because we wanted to build a school and facility around an education program rather than to build a facility and try to fit the education program into it.

As a consequence of this development, we came up with a school requiring, in its initial construction, some $13 million. We are now building that school with $9 million.

Senator Mondale. Mr. Commissioner, we are going to submit for the record a series of these outside evaluations. You may wish to look at them and comment upon them. With your permission, I am going to submit some questions in writing to you which I hope you can answer for the record.

Mr. Bennett. Yes, sir; I will be happy to do so.

Senator Mondale. Senator Yarborough.

Senator Yarborough. Mr. Chairman, I will forgo questions at this time.

Senator Mondale. Senator Hughes.

Senator Hughes. I would like to ask two things which I believe can be answered rapidly, Commissioner.

Have you had any administrative restriction placed upon you by your appointing authority, or have you had absolute freedom, within the bounds of the financial structure, to do what you wanted to do under the authority you have?

Mr. Bennett. The system of appropriations to the Bureau of Indian Affairs limits the funds that can be used for certain purposes.

We do have some authority that we can get to change between line items in the same appropriation.

All of our construction is on a line item basis. In other words, funds are appropriated for a specific school in a specific amount and there are many of these kinds of restrictions in connection with what we can use our funds for.

For instance, in the funds that are now available to upgrade the education program we can get additional funds for specific purposes.

However, these funds cannot be used to upgrade the basic education program of additional books, supplies and equipment, and whatnot, because this comes through our regular appropriation.

These additional funds we get have certain limitations under which they can be used.

Senator **Hughes**. In your budget request since you have been Commissioner, has your own budget request been trimmed substantially by the Interior Department before it got to the Budget Bureau?

Have you had pressure put on you to restrict your own honest request for what you felt was essential in this area or has your request been basically honored by the Bureau of the Budget?

Mr. **Bennett**. As far as our budget request to the Interior Department, we have been treated very favorably. I believe as one of the Bureaus in the Interior Department, we hold more of our requests than do other bureaus in the Interior Department, so that within the extent of the Department's own allowance we have been treated quite generously.

As I have stated many times, this was still inadequate to what we think the needs are.

Senator **Hughes**. I have nothing else.

Senator **Mondale**. Senator Bellmon.

Senator **Bellmon**. Senator Murphy was called away to attend the meeting of the Senate Armed Services Committee. He has left two questions he wanted me to ask you.

First of all, Senator Murphy, earlier in testimony before this committee, said the most pressing need in California is for the restoration of Johnson-O'Malley funds. It has been many years now since California was cut off from this program and Senator Murphy is asking me to inquire whether or not you are prepared to support a recommendation or to have your views regarding the restoration of these funds to the State of California.

Mr. **Bennett**. Upon the request of the California delegation we have had a study made of a substantial number of the local school districts having a sizable number of Indian students in their school districts.

We find that many of these school districts have not applied for other Federal funds to which they are entitled.

Our first effort will be to work with the school districts having large numbers of Indian children to see that they apply for other Federal funds for which they are qualified. After having established their eligibility to obtain these funds then we will go into the question of providing Johnson-O'Malley funds, but we feel since our Johnson-O'Malley funds are so limited that the school districts should take advantage of these other opportunities first and we are working with them in this regard.

Senator **Bellmon**. Thank you, sir.

The other question is that you referred here this morning in your testimony to the UCLA study of the Sherman Institute at Riverside.

Senator Murphy has asked that you conduct a study of the charges that were made as a result of the UCLA work and make a report to Senator Murphy and this committee as soon as possible.

Mr. BENNETT. I do not know if we have a copy of the UCLA study. We will check and we will be happy to report on this study.

Senator BELLMON. The Senator or the committee staff will furnish you a copy of the UCLA study and would like your comment.

Mr. BENNETT. That will be fine. Thank you.

Senator MONDALE. If we could impose upon you, Mr. Commissioner, for a few minutes, to take Dr. Hughes out of order, from Oklahoma State University, and then we will return to Dr. Zellers.

Thank you very much.

Dr. Hughes.

Senator BELLMON. Mr. Chairman, let me make a couple of comments. This will be somewhat a change of pace. I have been impressed as I have attended the meetings of the subcommittee to realize how difficult it is to bring educational opportunities to the children of our Indian families and I am sure the same things are true of other minority groups.

It has shown me that we apparently have not made the best use of some of the new technology that could be available. I was very pleased when recently these gentlement came to my office and presented to me what was a dramatic observation which may have some application so far as Indian education is concerned.

I am pleased this morning to welcome Dr. Hughes and Dr. Basore, both of whom are actually electronic engineers and noted educators.

It seems rather remarkable to me that these men have put their talents to work in this field. I believe the committee will be interested in what they have to say.

Senator MONDALE. Dr. Hughes, I think you recognize we are short of time. We will include your statement as written and perhaps you could summarize it for us.

STATEMENT OF DR. WILLIAM L. HUGHES AND DR. BENNETT L. BASORE, PROFESSORS OF ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING, OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY, STILLWATER, OKLA.

Mr. HUGHES. We plan to, sir.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, you have before you our prepared statement which we submit for the record. In the interest of saving time we are deleting certain parts of it which are probably redundant with your previous testimony.

The problem we wish to deal with has to do with the education of the disadvantaged preschool Indian children as well as the disadvantaged children of other groups.

Centuries too late we have come to realize that educational privileges we enjoy must now be extended to all groups of people in the country, Indians, Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and Spanish Americans, as well as poor whites.

When our children first go to school they have a considerable amount of education already behind them. They have been taught by their parents to speak, listen, and understand.

Less deliberately but of equal importance, they have been taught other things, among them are security, affection, discipline, and self-respect, we hope so, anyway, rudiments of human behavior, and we give them the experiences of both success and failure.

This is the child, or perhaps we should say this is the privileged child, we bring to the first grade. In describing such a privileged child, we have already defined the underprivileged child.

We sometimes hear someone castigate the poor by describing how he rose from an impoverished background.

The person of humble beginnings whose parents or guardians struggled and sacrificed to educate him, and who may have struggled to educate himself must be listed among the most privileged.

He had both the opportunity, the adequate beginnings, the sense of purpose, and the tools to become a success. Such men are seldom failures, but also seldom do they fully appreciate the ingredients of their success.

We would define an underprivileged child as one who has never been read to, one who has seldom been loved, or has had real affection, who has known discipline only as punishment, who has not even been fed a nutritious diet.

This is the child who fails. He is little more than an intelligent animal because he never has been anything else.

When he destroys he does so because it is his way to communicate. He hasn't got the equipment to respond to reason.

Certain facts have become apparent in attempting to interface such children with the first grade. These facts, as seen from our perspective as engineers, are as follows:

1. The sphere of knowledge now encompassed by specialists in preschool and primary education is quite sufficient to bring the underprivileged preschool child of average intelligence to an adequate level.
2. These highly skilled people are in a competitive position which can demand and get much higher salaries and much more desirable working conditions than would be encountered on the reservations or in the ghettos.
3. Even if people with such high-level training could be persuaded to work where the need is greatest, the resources required to hire them will not become available in the foreseeable future.
4. It is clear that thousands of preschool training programs must either be newly established or expanded. The people who will most likely be available to staff these thousands of programs will not have high-level training. We believe such people must, nevertheless, be used and their efforts must be supplemented in every way possible.

The overall problem and the currently used acceptable methods are divergent. The result of allowing this situation to continue could be the ultimate dissolution of the family structure in major sectors of contemporary society.

Many feel that the destruction of the family in a high percentage of the population ultimately means the destruction of the society itself.

Any reasonable activity proposed probably should try to take what is known about educating the preschool child and their attempt to apply this knowledge in a framework that is many more times efficient in the use of available resources.

A corollary to this statement is that any method proposed must make effective use of the level of people available, and then supplement their capacities by other means.

Indeed, if such people can be taken from within the underprivileged environment, they will bring knowledge which may offset many of their deficiencies in formal training.

A basic premise, obviously not original with us, is that technological methods—such as close circuit television, audiotutorial aids, and so forth—can be used to fill tremendous gaps that would otherwise exist in preschool programs of massive scope.

It is our opinion that without these automated methods, the massive programs might succeed in individual cases but will, in statistical total, fail.

A multipronged attack on this most basic problem should be undertaken, bringing to bear the full force of modern communications technology.

If a child needs word-picture associations then we must build machines, easily operated at child care centers, that show cartoons in color with specifically designed sound tracks to build such associations. The same machines can show travel pictures designed for preschool children.

Does a child need to be read to at night? Let us build a box for him to take home from the child care center. That box can read to him.

If he brings it back intact the next morning, and we propose that it be rugged enough to make that a reasonable prospect, we will give him another box that will read something different to him.

Further, while the child is at the center, we can put at least one nutritious meal in his belly.

Some will label this attack as too impersonal. A child needs love and affection as well as knowledge, they would say, and we completely agree.

However, our assumption is that the child's mother or guardian is probably not equipped to give the child sufficient knowledge, and may not even recognize the child's full need for affection.

We can hire relatively uneducated adults to run the machines and boxes if they are correctly designed, and we can teach those adults of a child's need for care and affection. Really, there is no alternative.

There are not and will never be enough highly trained people and enough dollars to deal with the problem by conventional methods at the rate it is expanding in our reservations and ghettos.

A point of major concern is the reaction of the adults at home. Nature gives us a real break in this regard. Any knowledgeable sociologist can testify that these people care a great deal for their offspring and for their welfare.

The parent may be unequipped to do much about it, but if we design the material we send home to appeal to the mother also, we may help her in that regard.

In addition, we can design material to be sent home especially for the parent, and in these ways begin to make inroads on the adult education problem.

All this means that in the very near future we must apply technology to develop audiovisual tutorial aids that bear the brunt of the load of instruction.

The specific elements for developing this material are as follows:

1. The curriculum material, which we call software, must be developed, both aural and visual to span perhaps 2 hours for perhaps 250 days a year, and over perhaps 3 years.

In other words, some 1,500 hours of programs must be developed solely for the purpose of acquainting the child with the world in which he must live. Supplementary materials for class and home use must also be developed.

2. A training program should be developed, designed for people of reasonable intelligence but perhaps with minimal schooling who are chosen, as much as possible, from within a situation similar to that of the children.

These people should be taught how to run the audiovisual machines and perhaps even maintain them casually. (One can point to the success of the University of Alaska in training Eskimos to become electronic technicians. These technicians are then employed for maintenance of the DEW line (early warning radar system) in the Arctic.)

Most important, they must develop an understanding of a child's desperate need for the affection and personal concern of a mature adult (themselves).

3. An equipment selection program should be established which determines standards for the playback color television equipment in terms of cost, quality, maintenance problems, and so forth. It is most fortunate that a number of concerns are just beginning to develop and market equipment suitable for this program.

4. A number of child education centers should be established. These centers should: (1) have the capability of presenting the visual material; (2), have supervised play and recreation programs, to expand personal contact; (3), have facilities for providing at least one simple but wholesome and nutritious meal for each child per day.

Mothers would be encouraged to bring their children to these child care centers, initially if only because it feeds them and keeps them out from underfoot for part of the day.

It is extremely tempting to try to establish all details of the program at this writing, but we must not attempt it. That is for child development specialists, educators, software production experts from industry, and so forth.

However, several basic principles must always be in the forefront. We must be where the children are, not where the equivalent age children of the specialists are. That means that language problems must be dealt with in elementary form.

It means that the persons appearing in the films and tapes must be primarily from the same ethnic group as the children, instead of primarily white and only occasionally familiar as in current popular television. The achievements of that ethnic group must be emphasized.

For example, Indian children must develop great respect for themselves as Indians, for no man can respect the dignity rights, and property of others if he has none of his own to respect. The same can be said for other ethnic groups.

It is apparent that the use of video tape and/or film with magnetic sound tracks offers the opportunity tailor the audio portion of the audio-visual material directly for the community or region in which the material is to be used.

The visual portion would tell a story with universal meaning—the audio could then be presented in a familiar dialect to facilitate understanding, while at the same time allowing for the gradual introduction of the vocabulary the children will be expected to use in the public schools.

It is important to recognize also that currently existing electronic dubbing techniques can be used to insert special figures (Indians, Negroes, and so forth) into the existing visual material design to have universal meaning.

We must also remember the children must participate, not simply be mere passive observers. True leaning is never passive, it requires active participation and enthusiasm of the learner, just as will a successful life later on.

It should be recognized in passing, that if such a system should really succeed in preparing the disadvantaged child for our present established school system in some areas that system would be severely taxed. Where that occurs, obvious extensions of this kind of technology can possibly alleviate the problem.

It has already been applied in a number of situations around the country, and we believe its applicability throughout the entire educational system is a significant possibility.

Successful execution of this kind of program requires the intensive participation of many groups—industry, educators, and Federal, State, and local governments.

Let us recognize that the cost of education at all levels, carried on in strictly conventional ways, is presenting severe problems for State and local governments all over the country.

Therefore, it is fortunate that the development of software packages suitable for particular minority situations, if it is properly done, can assure that those same packages, with aural and visual modification already discussed are at least partially applicable literally anywhere in the world.

Thus the economies of large-scale production so cleverly applied in industry over the past decades, have great potential application here.

We expect that software development of the type and quality required will be quite expensive. Because of rather tremendous potential markets, however, we believe industry would be quite willing to enter into "share the risk" arrangements to expedite the development of such software.

Some enabling legislation may be required here.

In summary, we must use the people on the reservations and in the ghettos because highly trained people aren't available and it is doubtful we could hire them if they were. It is also possible that maybe there are very great resources in the ghetto and among reservation people themselves.

Secondly, we believe we can use reservation people effectively by equipping them with technological devices which will carry the load of instruction and to use these people to transmit human concern.

For hundreds of years we have been using the teacher for a learning machine.

The successful use of such technological devices has been demonstrated in the past by others.

The software we advocate would be designed for universal use with electronic dubbing of familiar speech and people to adapt the universal software to particular ethnic situations in the location of that ethnic situation.

The commercial markets opened up by such universal software usage should stimulate industry to help with this problem.

I would like to quote from St. Exupery's "Wind, Sand, and Star" on the problem of being afraid of the machines and the boxes.

He says that, "Little by little, the machine will become part of humanity. Read the history of the railways in France, and doubtless elsewhere too; they had all the trouble in the world to tame the people of our villages. The locomotive was an iron monster. Time had to pass before men forgot what it was made of. Mysteriously, life began to run through it, and now it is wrinkled and old. What is it today for the villager except a humble friend who calls every evening at six?"

The problem we are dealing with is somewhat more theoretical for me. My parents tell me I am part Iroquois. I was raised in western South Dakota. My father spoke the Oglala dialect and I count a number of Sioux among my close personal friends.

We are most grateful for your time and attention on this most important matter.

Thank you very much.

Senator BELLMON. Thank you. I am sure the subcommittee will give attention to your testimony. Perhaps we will find ways of applying this idea to some of the recommendations you make.

Mr. HUGHES. Thank you.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much for your statement which will be included as written, together with your summary.

(The prepared statement of Dr. Hughes and Dr. Basore follow:)

STATEMENT OF DR. WILLIAM L. HUGHES, PROFESSOR OF ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING AND HEAD, SCHOOL OF ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING, AND DR. BENNETT L. BASORE, PROFESSOR OF ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING, OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY, STILLWATER, OKLA.

TECHNOLOGICALLY AIDED EDUCATION FOR THE UNDERPRIVILEDGED

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, in the United States, a significant majority of the people have been able to achieve a material standard of living surpassing that anywhere else on earth. In the process of achievement by the majority, certain minority groups have been disenfranchised from participation in both the benefits and responsibilities inherent in a free society.

We believe it is mandatory that ways be found for children of these underprivileged groups to find, as they grow to maturity, full opportunity to share in the benefits and responsibilities the rest of us enjoy. We also believe that any society, regardless of its governmental system, must ultimately reward its most productive people. We must, therefore, provide for these underprivileged children an environment enabling them to develop their productive capacity to the utmost, for only in this way can they have full self respect, full rewards, and control of their own destiny in any kind of rational way.

The first problem we wish to deal with has to do with the education of disadvantaged pre-school children in the United States. The success of our nation has rested heavily on the education system (both public and private) established by our forefathers. Centuries late, we have come to realize that these same educational privileges should have been, and must now quickly be, extended to all groups of peoples in our country—Negro, Indian, and to some underprivileged whites.

What we have done for hundreds of years is as follows. A child comes to our school system at approximately six years of age. Among other things, we begin by teaching him to read, do simple arithmetic, and usually he is off and running.

We do not often think about it, however, but when he first comes to us, he has a considerable amount of education already behind him. He can take care of rudimentary items of personal cleanliness, he can speak, listen, and understand. How did he acquire these skills? He was, of course, taught many of these things by his parents deliberately.

Less deliberately, but of at least equal importance, he was taught many other things. Every time one reads to a child, he helps form vocabulary. Every time one talks to a child about the surrounding world, he helps form word-object associations. Every time one exhibits genuine affection for a child, he develops a little understanding in the child about personal relationships. Every time one gently disciplines a child, a beginning grasp of the practical limitations on human behavior begins to develop in that child. Every time one assists a little child to do something, no matter how trivial, the child begins to know and understand the differences between success and failure. While he must learn that both are a part of everyone's life, we believe it most important that he learn he *can* succeed.

This is the child, or perhaps we should say this is the privileged child, we bring to the first grade. In describing such a privileged child, we have already defined the underprivileged child.

We sometimes hear someone castigate the poor by describing how he rose from an impoverished background. Generally such a person is financially successful and came from an "undermoneyed" background, who has genuine ability and courage, but sees his own origin as among the disadvantaged of yesteryear. When one explores this background, however, he generally finds (1) a family structure, (2) that adults existed who cared for and instructed the individual, (3) that he lived on a farm or in a small town where personal associations were close and where nutritious though probably simple food was always available. The only lack our Horatio Alger endured in his youth was probably that his father didn't have an abundance of loose change. However, if the world is taken as a whole, he probably was among the upper few percent of privileged youths of his era. The person of humble beginnings whose parents or guardians struggled and sacrificed to educate him, and who may have struggled to educate himself must be listed among the most privileged. He had both the opportunity, the adequate beginnings, the sense of purpose, and the tools to become a success. Such men are seldom failures, but also seldom do they fully appreciate the ingredients of their success.

We would define an underprivileged child as one who has never been read to, or even talked to in accepted language; one who has seldom been loved, who has known discipline only as punishment rather than training, who may never have been helped to "success", who has not even been fed a nutritious diet. This child comes to the first grade and appears stupid, although, in fact, he may be quite intelligent. This is the child who fails, who becomes incorrigible, who travels in gangs. He is little more than an intelligent animal because he never has been anything else. When he destroys he does so because it is his way to communicate. We should not be surprised when he doesn't respond to reason—he hasn't got the equipment.

In our attempt to bring disadvantaged pre-school children in the United States to a cognitive level which permits successful competition in the first grade, certain facts have become apparent. Some of these facts as seen from our perspective as engineers, are as follows:

(1) Experience has shown that the sphere of knowledge now encompassed by specialists in pre-school and primary education is quite sufficient to bring the underprivilledged pre-school child of average intelligence to a level sufficient that the child may successfully interface with the existing public school system.

(2) That to perform this task successfully, people are required to have a rather high level of training and must participate in the instructional process as well as guide it.

(3) The highly skilled people in this most vital part of education are in a competitive position which can demand and get significantly higher salaries and significantly more desirable working conditions than would be encountered on the reservations or in the ghettos.

(4) Even if people with such high-level training can be persuaded to work where the need is greatest, the resources required to train an adequate number of such people will probably not become available in the foreseeable future, nor will adequate resources be available to pay them competitively.

(5) It is clear that thousands of pre-school training programs must either be newly established or expanded. The people who will most likely be available to staff these thousands of programs will not have high-level training in child development or in pre-school and primary education. We believe such people must, nevertheless, be used and their efforts must be supplemented in every way possible.

One concludes that the overall problem and the currently used acceptable methods are divergent. The result of allowing this situation to continue could be the ultimate dissolution of the family structure in a major sector of contemporary society. Many feel that the destruction of the family in a high percentage of the population ultimately means the destruction of the society itself.

Since currently known successful methods do not seem possible to implement, and if it is accepted that the problem must still be dealt with, then any reasonable activity proposed probably should try to distill the essence of what is known about the problems and methods of educating the pre-school child, and then attempt to apply this knowledge in a framework that is many more times efficient in the use of available resources. A corollary to this statement is that any mehod proposed must make effective use of the level of people available in current and projected programs, and then supplement their capacities by other means. Indeed, if such people can be taken from within the underprivileged environment, they will bring knowledge about that environment which may offset many of their deficiencies in formal training.

A basic premise, which should be accepted, is that technological methods (such as closed circuit television, audio-tutorial aids, etc.) can be used to fill tremendous gaps that would otherwise exist in pre-school programs of massive scope. It is our opinion that without these automated methods, the massive programs might succeed in individual cases but will, in statistical total, fail.

A multi-pronged attack on this most basic problem should be undertaken, bringing to bear the full force of modern communications technology. If a child needs word-picture associations then we must build machines, easily operated at child care centers, that show cartoons in color with specifically designed sound tracks to build such associations. Between ages two and six, a child absorbs such associations automatically if he is exposed to them in any reasonable environmental situation. The same machines can show travel pictures designed for pre-school children. Does a child need to be read to at night? Let us built a box for him to take home from the child care center. That box can read to him. If he brings it back intact the next morning, and we propose that it be rugged enough to make that a reasonable prospect, we'll give him another box that will read something different to him. Further, while the child is at the center, we can put at least one nutritious meal in his belly.

Some will label this attack as too impersonal. A child needs love and affection as well as knowledge, they would say, and we completely agree. However, our assumption is that the child's mother or guardian is probably not equipped to give the child sufficient knowledge, and may not even recognize the child's full need for affection. We can hire relatively uneducated aduts to run the machines and boxes if they are correctly designed, and we can teach those adults of a child's need for care and affection. Is there any real alternative? There are not and will never be enough highly trained people and enough dollars to deal with the problem by conventional methods at the rate it is expanding in our reservations and ghettos.

Another point of major concern is the reaction of the adults at home. However, nature gives us a real break in this regard. Any knowledgeable sociologist can testify that these people care a great deal for their offspring and for their welfare. The parent may be unequipped to do much about it, but if we design the material we send home to appeal to the mother also we may help her in that regard. In addition, we can design material to be sent home especially for the parent, and in these ways begin to make inroads on the adult education problem.

All this means that in the very near future we must apply technology to develop audio-visual tutorial aids that bear the brunt of the load of instruction. The specific elements for developing this material are as follows:

(1) The curriculum material, which we call software, must be developed, both aural and visual to span perhaps two hours for perhaps 250 days a year, and over perhaps three years. In other words, some fifteen hundred hours of programs must be developed solely for the purpose of acquainting the child with the world in which he must live. Supplementary material for class and home use must also be developed.

(2) A training program should be developed, designed for people of reasonable intelligence but perhaps with minimal schooling who are chosen, as much as possible, from within a situation similar to that of the children. These people should be taught how to run the audio visual machines and perhaps even maintain them.* They must also know how to use the supplementary materials, and most important, they must develop an understanding of a child's desperate need for the affection and personal concern of a mature adult (themselves).

(3) An equipment selection program should be established which determines standards for the playback color television equipment in terms of cost, quality, maintenance problems, etc. Two basic kinds of equipment are visualized. The display equipment used during the day program, and the simpler and more rugged equipment to penetrate the home environment of the individual child. It is most fortunate that a number of concerns are just beginning to develop and market equipment suitable for this program.

(4) A number of Child Education Centers should be established. These centers should: (1) have the capability of presenting the visual material; (2) have supervised play and recreation programs, primarily for the purpose of enabling the staff to develop personal relationships with the children; (3) have facilities for providing at least one simple but wholesome and nutritious meal for each child per day, that meal being fortified with whatever is deficient in the dietary habits of the area. Mothers would be encouraged to bring their children to these child care centers, initially if only because it feeds them and keeps them out from underfoot for part of the day.

(5) An evaluation program should be established to determine the effectiveness of these programs, as well as to determine how they might be improved. This evaluation program should be closely associated not only with the initial pilot programs, but with following up evaluation of the "graduates" of the program in their continued performance in the school system.

It is extremely tempting to try to establish all details of the program at this writing, but we must not attempt it. Panels of child development specialists, educators, software production experts from industry, etc. must perform that function, so that the software package and the training programs are most effective. However, several principles can be stated which must be kept in the forefront of all of the planning. In the development of all of the software, we must begin *where the children are*, not where the equivalent age children of the specialists are. That means that language problems must be dealt with in elementary form. It means that the persons appearing in the films and tapes must be primarily from the same ethnic group as the children, instead of primarily white and only occasionally familiar as in current popular television. The achievements of that group must be emphasized. For example, Indian children must develop great respect for themselves as Indians, for no man can respect the dignity rights, and property of others if he has none of his own to respect. The same can be said for the software packages for Negro's, Spanish Americans, Puerto Ricans, etc.

It is apparent that the use of video tape and/or film with magnetic sound tracks offers the opportunity to tailor the audio portion of the audio-visual material directly for the community or region in which the material is to be used. The visual portion would tell a story with universal meaning—the audio could then be presented in a familiar dialect to facilitate understanding, while at the same time allowing for the gradual introduction of the vocabulary the children will be expected to use in the public schools. It is important to recognize also that currently existing electronic dubbing techniques can be used to insert special figures (Indians, Negroes, etc.) into the existing visual material designed to have universal meaning.

Another factor in the development of software is that the children must participate, not simply be mere passive observers. Learning is never passive, it requires active participation and enthusiasm of the learner, just as will a successful life later on.

It should be recognized in passing, that if such a system should really succeed in preparing the disadvantaged child for our present established school system in some areas that system would be severely taxed. Where that occurs, obvious extensions of this kind of technology can possibly alleviate the problem. It has already been applied in a number of situations around the country. Its applicability throughout the entire educational system is a significant possibility. It fact, many cases of similar technology being applied have received wide attention in the past few years.

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*One can point to the success of the University of Alaska in training Eskimos to become electronic technicians. These technicians are then employed for maintenance of the DEW line (early warning radar system) in the Arctic.

Successful execution of this kind of program requires the intensive participation of many groups—industry, educators, and Federal, State, and Local governments. Let us operate on the premise that pre-school, primary, secondary, and higher education are best carried out when they are the primary responsibility of state and local governments. Let us also recognize that the cost of education at all levels, carried on in strictly conventional ways, is presenting severe problems for those state and local governments. While they are currently more severe in certain areas of the country than others, it must be realized that the basic problems are general. Still another factor must be considered. The development of software packages suitable for particular minority situations, if it is properly done, can assure that those same packages, with aural and visual modification already discussed are at least partially applicable literally anywhere in the world. Thus the economies of large scale production so cleverly applied in industry over the past decades, have great potential application here.

We expect that software development of the type and quality required will be quite expensive. Because of rather tremendous potential markets, however, we believe industry would be quite willing to enter into "share the risk" arrangements to expedite the development of such software.

We believe that talent in many of the U.S. industrial concerns could contribute greatly, and we believe they should. But the kind of risk-sharing development we contemplate may require amending existing legislation. For example, private profit-making concerns cannot now receive support from the government under title IV, the research and development portion, of the Education Act of 1965.

Let us not fear or reject the machines and boxes. In his book *Wind, Sand and Stars*, Saint Exupery says "Little by little, the machine will become part of humanity. Read the history of the railways in France, and doubtless elsewhere too: they had all the trouble in the world to tame the people of our villages. The locomotive was an iron monster. Time had to pass before men forgot what it was made of. Mysteriously life began to run through it, and now it is wrinkled and old. What is it today for the villager except a humble friend who calls every evening at six?"

Senator MONDALE. Mr. Commissioner, you may return.

Dr. Zellers, you have a long statement which you prepared. I have read it. We accord to every witness the option of reading the statement or summarizing. It is now noon. Since it is not fair to you, to bring you on at this late time; I will say to the Commissioner and to you, that this committee, as you know, is planning a tour in the Alaskan area, to see the Aleut, Eskimo and Indian education structure there.

As you may know, we hope to have you back before us to compare our observations and to discuss them with you, so that this will not be the only occasion on which the notions we develop in the course of testimony can be assessed as your background and policy.

Mr. BENNETT. Having spent 4 years in Alaska visiting the same communities you probably will, I will be delighted to come back to the committee after you finish your Alaskan trip.

Senator MONDALE. Dr. Zellers, how do you prefer to proceed at this point? Do you want to read your statement or summarize? We can include the statement as written or you can summarize and take questions; whichever you prefer.

STATEMENT OF DR. CHARLES ZELLERS, ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER FOR EDUCATION, BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Dr. ZELLERS. In the interest of the time of the committee, what I would like to do is—at some time at your convenience—have a total presentation made, because we do have a very interesting slide presentation with voice tape, which I think addresses itself in three areas: First, to the general problems with which the Bureau is confronted from strictly an educational point of view;

Second, it identifies some of the things which the Bureau is doing about these problems;

Third—and I think most importantly—it outlines some of the very extreme needs which the Bureau of Indian education programs have.

Many of them fall in the fiscal area. I will proceed at your discretion. If you wish, ask me questions today or have me come back at some future date.

Senator MONDALE. Dr. Zellers, if it would be all right in view of the time, why don't you make those observations you think might be appropriate, summarizing as you see fit. Perhaps we can have some questions and answers with the understanding that on another occasion you can return to the committee for presentation in context.

This is a program which directly affects you, and in all fairness to you, and I think in fairness to the committee and the programs which we are dealing with, I think it is important that you be permitted full rein in your presentation.

Mr. ZELLERS. I think, Mr. Chairman, rather than attempt to summarize the full 35- or 40-minute presentation I would like to make observations in two areas.

In the first place, as you know, I have been with the Bureau approximately a year and a half. So, whatever its achievements or advancements over the last 10 or 100 years have been, they are not to my credit. Whatever its deficiencies over the same period of time have been, I hope most of them are not to my debt.

But I think having been in the Bureau for approximately a year and a half, I do have an objective approach, which puts me in a slightly different position from most of the other individuals concerned.

I would like to say briefly that I found a school system when I came here that I think is characterized by more than its share of problems, even when compared with other hard-pressed school systems.

I think that one of the major problems which this school system must confront itself with is the attempt to provide a sound education system for what from time to time we refer to as primarily a first generation group.

In other words, Indian students, who are not in public schools, or who are not in private schools, or who cannot be served by those schools, are the ones who end up in Bureau schools.

These are the ones with the greater problems. Therefore, this is a system which must operate almost entirely on a specialized education program basis.

I think to further compound the problem the system has more than its share of policy ambiguities, indecision and buffeting and uncertainty.

For example, I think this is the only school system in the country which is supposed to be working its way out of business. This is not particularly a good morale factor for the staff. It is not always conducive to constructive long-range planning.

Secondly, I think that there are many conflicting points of view at different levels, both within government and without government, and I think that many of these factors have prevented the system from appearing to have a single straight-forward trust at all times.

For example, there has not always been agreement on the nature and use of the Indian language. The question of whether or not there should be boarding schools, and, if so, whether those boarding schools should be operated under one pattern or another.

The question of, for what the students should be prepared has been one which has caused great concern for the educational people because at various times—if I interpret some of the history appropriately—there has been great emphasis upon relocation. At other times, there has been great emphasis upon attempting to train the Indians to stay on the reservation and make a living at that level.

There has been ambiguity and uncertainty about the admission criteria, which should be applied to the various schools.

As you heard testimony from the Commissioner this morning, and as your questions and answers have gone into great depth, there has been the question of the transfer of Bureau schools and Bureau students to the public school realm.

This has been coupled with—if you will excuse the expression—more than the usual amount of second-guessing which is not particularly contributive to overall continuity.

Then, I think there has been perhaps an ultimate indignity, in the form of a constant reiteration of lofty goals and purposes, statements of noble objectives, and talk about the opportunity for an exemplary school system, and mandates for it on the one hand, but when it comes right down to the means by which this can be done, this has not been provided.

As I see it, this is a school system with a full 100 percent obligation and a 50-percent capability. By this I literally mean that for every dollar that is needed, there exists about 50 cents. Of course, everything can't be cured by money or by increased funding; but without adequate funding, I can assure you that the job will not be done.

Now, earlier in your questioning of the Commissioner, there was considerable discussion about the inadequate staffing at the boarding schools and other parts of the program. Of course we feel that we are trying to operate schools with something less than half a sufficient staff.

For example, you talked about the dormitory aides. Our present ratio of dormitory aides in the schools varies from 1 to 24 to 1 to 32 per school.

Senator **Mondale**. Would you yield there?

You mean, if you took all your dormitory aides, and divided them into the students in the boarding schools, you would come out with that figure?

But how many dormitory aides do you have at any given time?

Mr. **Zellers**. The total number which we have in the service at the present time is about 1,400.

Senator **Mondale**. My point is, that these people have to work around the clock. While you say the ratio is 1 to 30, at any given time it is likely to be 1 to 100 or 1 to 120, is it not?

Mr. **Zellers**. That is right.

Senator **Mondale**. Isn't that the more meaningful figure?

Mr. **Zellers**. Perhaps it is. I think a simpler way to make a comparison is to show the overall ratio should be approximately 1 to 15.

Senator **Mondale**. At the Chilocco Boarding School in Oklahoma the ratio is 1 to 350 students.

Mr. **Zellers**. This is right. Because there is not an adequate staff, I think we not only have a serious problem with respect to the activities of the students; but we really create for ourselves a physical safety hazard.

I think this can only be cured by the recruitment of additional aides and the provision of funds with which to pay them.

Now, if I may refer to another point which was brought up this morning—a question in connection with the Rough Rock program—the question was raised: Does the Bureau of Indian Affairs use parents in any manner or any form?

Within the past year and a half, we have started what is known as the "Moms and Pops" program on the Navajo reservation. This year there are approximately 200 parents involved in 30 schools. Provision for their transportation and their other requirements is paid for out of title I, Public Law 89–10.

One of the reasons why this program is not bigger is that we have neither the monetary resources nor the physical facilities to accommodate large numbers of these people.

We certainly subscribe to this type of involvement. In our revised planning for the construction of future schools, if we do build any more boarding schools, there will be provision made for the housing of parents.

Reference was made in some extensive degree as to the types of instructional materials which are produced. I think the Commissioner explained very well why some of those dates apply but I would like to elaborate a little further about some of the things that are going on now.

The Northwest Regional Laboratory is developing an Alaskan counterpart of Dick and Jane. I believe it comes in 11 units. The first three or four units are already being tested in 10 Bureau schools and 10 public schools.

It is expected that this development will be completed by 1972 so that at least Alaskan native students will have appropriate material.

Senator **Mondale**. What percentage of Indian children in elementary school are greeted by teachers of their tribe speaking in their language?

Mr. **Zellers**. A very small percentage. There are 16 percent of the Bureau teachers of Indian descent.

Senator **Mondale**. That figure can be very deceiving, can it not, because you may have an Indian from Oklahoma teaching a Navajo. He might as well be a Hottentot as far as the language is concerned.

That is why I ask how many Indians of that tribe speaking that language, and familiar with that culture and its values, and thus with the capacity for communication and psychological strengthening and all the rest, do you have?

Mr. **Zellers**. I do not know, but it would obviously be considerably less than 16 percent for the reason you have given because they are not all assigned to their own tribes.

Senator Mondale. It might be less than 5 percent?

Mr. Zellers. Conceivably. I do not have the percentage.

Senator Mondale. Don't you think that fact is eloquent testimony to the lack of power by the local community? Do you think if the Indians had control over the past century over the hiring and firing that they would have a teacher who teaches a foreign curriculum in a foreign language?

Do you think that they would be just now thinking of bilingual education?

Mr. Zellers. Senator, I do not know that I have been in the Bureau long enough to venture a guess as to what might have happened 50 years ago or 25 years ago.

All I can say now is that certainly the time is ripe.

Senator Mondale. For local control?

Mr. Zellers. Yes, sir.

Senator Mondale. You talk, and I think accurately, about the indecision, the uncertainty, the vacillation in policy, as to the schools, languages, objectives, boarding schools. You talk about the winds of change. We run in one direction and then we turn around and run in the other direction.

Don't you think that so long as we have a policy which centralizes everything at the top in terms of Indian education, which is subject to the change in attitude of the Congress and the President; an attitude that of necessity must be ill informed, in my opinion, which further has the psychological insult of a white instructional program being imposed on them, that so long as we have that, we will see a continuation of this erratic, uncertain, inconsistent program—coupled with powerlessness that these parents feel concerning their own people and the kind of manifestations that Dr. Menninger and others have described?

Mr. Zellers. I think, Senator, there are three things which contribute to this. As I said a few minutes ago, the Bureau school system not only has more than its share of difficult problems, it probably has at least a double dose compared with any school system to which I have ever been exposed.

Secondly, we are involved in a great number of layers of second guessing and involvement from the top right on down.

Then, thirdly, we get back to the original question. I think without more local involvement there is bound to be a certain amount of instability which results from that point alone.

Senator Mondale. I sense when I talk to the Indian educators, many of whom are trying very hard, a defensiveness about the system, as though they have to justify it.

For example, at Tuba City, we went to the public school. All they presented to me were their problems—they did not have enough money for this and that; they are doing bilingual education; they are short of facilities, and so on.

I thought it was a good school system but they were in my opinion, defensive. They wanted me to know the worst in the system as well as the unblemished aspects.

I sensed in many of the professional Bureau of Indian Affairs educators a defensiveness. As an uninformed outsider, I think one of the big troubles is that they are trying to justify a system in which the control rests with them or with the structure and the establishment. And it is not going to work.

They ought to just let loose and let Indians hire their own teachers and govern their own affairs and make their own mistakes.

Surely, money is a great part of the problem. We talk about boarding schools at $1,200 a year. A private citizen would not send his kid to a boarding school unless they were spending $4,000 a year. I recognize that.

Doesn't the fact that so little has been done on the curriculum, so little has been done to hire and train a teacher in the dialect, so little has been done so spasmodically in teaching material, all these other things that we have discussed today, make local control really the number one objective of Indian education?

Mr. **Zellers**. I think it is the number one objective. I am not sure it is the response to all the criticisms which you have leveled.

I think a lot of the rigidity which you find in these schools is not necessarily a matter of preference on the part of staff. I think it comes again from the fact that when there is not enough staff, there is a tendency to line people up and make them get into lock step so that you know where they are. It is not because you want to do it that way. It is frequently because that is the only choice.

Senator **Mondale**. We found in Rough Rock that bringing in parents and involving them was a very inexpensive thing to do. They speak their language. They work with sensitivity.

The parents can deal with their children. In their bilingual education course they would bring in the mother. She was not an educator. But she spoke Navajo and she would read Navajo tales. It did not cost much.

To my mind, it made a tremendous difference. What was important was that they felt it was good education; they thought things were being done. It was their kind of education.

I just wonder whether as long as we keep coming up with our notions, our schemes—even if they are good—whether they are going to work. There is a sort of colonial psychology, which may not be intended but which is inevitable when a school system is imposed upon them.

Maybe I could change the subject now. You talked about the level of decisionmaking in the Bureau.

Mr. **Zellers**. I was not just referring to the Bureau. I was referring to the entire governmental hierarchy and the structure both inside and outside the Government.

We are probably second-guessed at more levels from more points of view than any other school system in the country.

Senator **Mondale**. That is correct. What is unique about it is that it is the only educational system that operates in this way.

Commissioner, what is your annual budget?

STATEMENT OF HON. ROBERT BENNETT—Resumed

Mr. **Bennett**. Right around $265 million.

Senator **Mondale**. Is that the total budget?

Mr. **Bennett**. Yes.

Senator **Mondale**. For all purposes or just education?

Mr. **Bennett**. No; that is the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Senator **Mondale**. The total bureau?

Mr. **Bennett**. Total Bureau.

Senator **Mondale**. How much of that is education money?

Mr. **Bennett**. On a percentage basis all of the human development programs come to approximately two-thirds, between two-thirds and 70 percent of our appropriation.

Senator **Mondale**. Can you define it more specifically as to education?

Mr. **Bennett**. Dr. Zellers can give us the amount that is appropriated for education.

Mr. **Zellers**. The specific amount which is before Congress at the moment for my division for 1970, and we have had the hearings but we do not know what we will come out with, is $110 million.

Senator **Mondale**. What did you have in the past year?

Mr. **Zellers**. All the programs are not operated in my division. The Commissioner has the larger figure——

Senator **Mondale**. Could you make a rough estimate? Did you say $280 million, approximately?

Mr. **Bennett**. $265 million.

Senator **Mondale**. Approximately how much of that goes to education, would you say? What would be a rough estimate?

Mr. **Zellers**. My programs are $110 million. I do not know whether Mr. Carmack is still here or not to explain his program.

Senator **Mondale**. Let us just start with that, your $110 million. Does that include construction money?

Mr. **Zellers**. No; this is operating money.

Senator **Mondale**. That is the educational aspect?

Mr. **Zellers**. Yes, sir.

Senator **Mondale**. That is about 45 percent, essentially, if I have it figured right. It is about 42 to 45 percent of the total budget.

How many professional educators do you have on your staff?

Mr. **Zellers**. Here in Washington?

Senator **Mondale**. Yes.

Mr. **Zellers**. We have staff here in Washington of 84 people and about two-thirds of them are professional and the others would be clerical.

Senator **Mondale**. You have about 60 educators on your staff?

Mr. **Zellers**. Between 50 and 60; yes, sir.

Senator **Mondale**. You have 80 employees in your Education Department?

Mr. **Zellers**. There are 84 here in Washington.

Senator **Mondale**. That is what I am talking about, here in Washington.

Mr. Commissioner, how many people do you have in Washington on your Bureau of Indian Affairs staff? What is your total personnel number?

Mr. **Bennett**. That is in the neighborhood of 300. Thirty percent of whom are Indian people here in the Washington office.

As Mr. Zellers has indicated, we do have a few people who are located in the field but are a part of our Washington office staff.

Senator **Mondale**. You have 45 percent of your budget in education as you have defined it, and 80 out of 300 in the national Bureau working on education.

Would you say that is a disportionately low allocation of human resources to education?

Mr. **Bennett**. That is correct, Senator, when I became the Commissioner of Indian Affairs it was lower than that. Not only that, but the Division of Education was just a branch in the Division of Community Services. One of my first acts was to elevate this branch into a complete division status.

So the actual buildup of the Washington staff has occurred pretty much since then.

Senator **Mondale**. I am sure there has been that buildup as you have testified, but the ratio of educators, people in the Education Department, to the total Washington personnel structure, is strikingly lower than the ratio of education funds to your total budget.

Would you say that that is a fair characterization and, if so, why?

Mr. **Bennett**. In the Washington office. However, it changes as you get to the lower level. I think you will find in many areas the education percentage of both money and staff is much higher in education than the other types of people and services.

Senator **Mondale**. If that is so, and if you wanted to make a judgment about one of the Navajo Indian schools, what chain of command would you go through?

Mr. **Zellers**. I think that depends on the nature of the judgment. If it is an individual daily operating item, I probably would call the assistant area director for education on the Navajo and discuss it with him. Either call him or write to him.

If it is a significant policy matter, then it will involve, of course, the Commissioner and the area director. I am not sure whether that resopnds to the question.

Senator **Mondale**. As you know, Dr. Marburger raised this as one of his key frustrations, that there was no line relationship between those of you who were professional educators in Washington and the educators in the frontline.

I think you implied as much when you talked about these layers through which you have to go. It may not be unique in the Federal bureaucracy but I think it is unique in American education.

Can you comment on that Dr. Marburger's statement?

Mr. **Zellers**. I think my comment would have to be limited to this. You, I believe, raised the point earlier that traditionally in public education the line of command does go directly from the superintendent to the local schools but there is no public education counterpart of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and in the Bureau of Indian Affairs there is an attempt to make, and I think appropriately, a package approach to solve as many of the Indian problems in a matter of continuity as possible, so that the structure of the Bureau of Indian Affairs is presumably created for that purpose.

I think it is rather difficult to make comparisons with what we do, what we attempt to do and the contraints under which we must operate, with those of any other school system in the country.

Senator **Mondale.** The way it is presently structured, I would agree with you. Are you saying that you are satisfied with the relationship that exists between your office and the local school?

Mr. **Zellers.** From the strictly educational point of view, I would prefer a direct line relationship.

Senator **Mondale.** How important do you see that issue?

Mr. **Zellers.** It is important in any education system.

Senator **Mondale.** Do you see it as an important unachieved objective in your Bureau?

Mr. **Zellers.** That is a very important point.

Senator **Mondale.** As you know, some years ago, the Public Health Service took over the Indian health program. It was pulled out and made a part of HEW. I talked to Dr. Van Dusen and others and they thought it was working much better now because you have now a chain of professional doctors to which you go rather than going through these layers of nonprofessionals.

Do you think that there might be a parallel between the two?

Mr. **Zellers.** Are you asking, do I think the Bureau of Indian Affairs Indian education program would be better served if it were in HEW?

Senator **Mondale.** That is part of it. You know education is a profession. A person needs a great deal of training to become a good educator. He spends a good deal of his life on the frontlines of education, in the classroom.

It is virtually impossible, I would think, to try to shift the subtlety and sophistication that a good teacher has up through several layers of nonteachers.

Would you agree with that observation?

Mr. **Zellers.** I would agree with that. I think maybe we are talking about two different things here. The question of whether our program is better served in one department or another——

Senator **Mondale.** I haven't asked that question.

Mr. **Zellers.** I had better wait for you, then.

Senator **Mondale.** Do you see that as a serious interference?

Mr. **Zellers.** Obviously, the number of layers through which any administrative structure must work is inhibiting. They work like a sieve. At each layer something is taken out.

Senator **Mondale.** Let me say this: I talked to a principal of a Bureau of Indian Affairs school who I thought looked like a committed, hard-driving, effective man. He is desperate. He says he does not know anybody in the present structure to whom he can bring to bear the full force of his views on what he thinks necessary for the education of the children attending his school.

This is a candid statement by a professional who I think knows what he is doing, who is trying very hard. He is thinking of leaving the service because he says by the time he gets through the zig-zag up and down the communications structure he thinks some nonprofessional may decide that bilingual education isn't worthwhile or necessary.

He may not even know what bilingual education is. He may not believe in dormitory aides.

Is his attitude unique or do you think this is a must? He sits down there and he wants some teachers. He does not hire teachers like every other superintendent in the country. Some teachers arrive one day, having been hired from the civil service roster. Don't you find that that sort of environment is a destructive one for a professional educator or for a sound system of professional education?

Mr. **Zellers.** Let me say several things, if I may. The first may sound facetious but bear me out, because it is not.

One time in a conversation I had with a psychiatrist after a lecture he gave, we were talking about frustration thresholds and the implications of them.

He says:

> You know, people are rather peculiar. If you cure their present set of problems they will find another set just as big to replace it.

I think in our system we have our set of problems. I think we have more than our share of problems and I do not think they all come from the structure to which you refer.

I think this principal is frustrated partly because of the organizational structure, partly because of the geography of our system, partly because of its size and I think if he sifted it out he would probably say at least half of it comes about because he does not have enough resources to work with.

So that I think all of these things contribute.

Senator **Mondale.** What is more expensive, a bilingual education system that starts children learning immediately or one which requires at best three years trying to get an English-speaking white teacher to be understood by them? Which costs more money?

Mr. **Zellers.** Probably to train the teacher.

Senator **Mondale.** But it is not being done. I am willing to spend on education. I would spend every dime of the ABM commitment on education. I agree. I know the sense of desperation you are talking about.

I think that there are things that are commonsense and inexpensive that would have been done a long time ago if the Indians had something to say about their own children.

I think this is the kind of hangup in cost that you have. I find it incredible that the bilingual system of education does not apply to the Indians. Someone is not talking for those Indians.

I think the answer is that they do not have a chance to speak for themselves. I am not being critical. I know you agree with what I have just said.

Suppose a person is a young, creative teacher. Can he look at the Bureau of Indian Affairs Indian education system and feel that his creativity is going to be rewarded or would it be fair to say that elevation in the Bureau of Indian Affairs education system is primarily a civil service roster method?

Mr. **Zellers.** I think the civil service pay structure under which we operate was never designed with the idea of trying to run a school system within it.

I think at the present time we are making the maximum flexible use of that system but it is not getting the full job done.

We have been able to elevate certain teachers for outstanding service or outstanding duty from one pay grade level to another. But in regular public school systems there is quite a hierarchy of pay levels which will encourage the teacher to go from one degree level to the next.

Now we can do a little of this within our system but we can't do nearly as much of it as I feel should be done.

Senator **Mondale**. What you have is a principal of a Federal school that receives teachers that are hired on the Federal civil service roster, who just arrive without any real training for this unique position. I know you are trying to step up sensitivity training, but he just arrives.

The principal does not hire him. He is hired from this roster. How that teacher performs and his chance for elevation in the service does not depend upon that principal in the main but how his civil service file looks over the years. Isn't that correct?

Mr. **Zellers**. This is part of it. I would like to tell you, too, in that connection how frustrated I am by that system. We are attempting to see just how far we can go within the present civil service system by setting up a pilot project at White Mountain Apache this year whereby the tribe through its education committee will have an opportunity to interview the respective teacher candidates before they are hired. This is not an easy process to set up.

I am not sure what we will learn about it. I think among other things, we are going to learn that there will be a lot more tribal satisfaction.

Senator **Mondale**. Now let us examine development of the budget for Indian education. Would it be fair to say that you really have control over the development of that budget and how it is spent in the field?

Mr. **Zellers**. I guess the answer to that depends on how you define control.

I am not sure how much any Federal administrator completely controls his own budget. A lot of it is done on a line item basis. Cuts are made at a variety of levels for a variety of reasons.

Within a certain framework, of course, we can move money from one purpose to another. From an educational point of view, I would be less than honest if I didn't say that we would like to have a lot more flexibility.

Senator **Mondale**. Do you handle Johnson-O'Malley funds in your office?

Mr. **Zellers**. Yes, sir.

Senator **Mondale**. Are you satisfied with the authority that you have to condition these funds on requiring local school districts to establish systems of education which are sensitive to the special needs of the Indian children?

Mr. **Zellers**. I am not entirely satisfied but let me tell you how I view it. As you probably know, I spent 7 years in the Office of Education where I had a good opportunity to view State and local school systems and to find out directly how little muscle the Federal Government actually has even though it carries a big wallet.

I was much interested in the exchange that the chairman and the Commissioner had on this point. I think we have gone through a process of evolution and I think it is speeding up.

I can think of a situation I was involved in 4 years ago which rather facetiously I used to describe as one State "seceding" from the Federal aid program primarily because the Federal Government attempted to go in and dictate how that money was to be spent beyond what the State felt was its prerogative.

That State happens to be the Johnson–O'Malley program. I think we have made a lot of progress in the last 4 or 5 years in the Johnson-O'Malley program in that State but not by threats. We did it by education, maybe coercion in some cases, but I don't think we can really use our money as a club.

Now, the one point you did bring up in particular, can we have local Indian people involved in decisionmaking on Johnson-O'Malley programs. I think we have now reached the point where this is not only acceptable but it has been proven by other Federal programs.

Senator **Mondale**. That is not now being done?

Mr. **Zellers**. This is not now being done in a formalized manner. Now in some local public school systems, of course, there are Indians on the board of education and in few cases the public boards are all Indian.

Senator **Mondale**. That is right?

Mr. **Zellers**. This is a minority situation.

Senator **Mondale**. We have a school district in Minnesota where something like 60 percent of the children in school are Indians, somewhat less of a ratio of funding from Johnson-O'Malley.

Two years ago, they tried to elect an Indian member to the school board and the white community showed up in unprecedented numbers and defeated him. Indians do not have a single representative on the school board.

They once had school board districts within the district which would have assured the election of at least one Indian school board member. They have changed that so they are all elected at large and there is only one Indian teacher in that system.

Two years ago, the Indian tribe wanted to know what the dropout rate of Indian children was. They were told it was none of their business and they could not have access to their files.

Now I suspect that this is something that happens rather frequently around this country. If it were not for the Johnson-O'Malley funds and construction money, the district would blow away.

Can't we insist, as a condition for these funds, that there be developed by each school district a program that involves parental advice and counseling, at least parental advice and counseling on faculty selection? At least this school district has been trying to get a public school counselor to work with the Indian school children.

The official of the school said none was available. One of the Indian women is a professional counselor in the community with a master's degree. She applied for the job and has yet to hear from them.

Yet, all the while, these Johnson-O'Malley funds were coming to them for their educational system. Two-thirds of the students, the Commissioner testified, are in public school. I have already said I do not think the performance in the public school system is much better by and large, if you look at the statistics than the Federal Indian schools.

I am wondering whether we do not need an entirely fresh creative look at Johnson-O'Malley funds to require the achievement of this sort of objective.

Mr. ZELLERS. I think the precedent for the chairman's suggestion has already been well established through the community action programs. It would seem to me that some version of that would be workable in the local public school situations where Johnson-O'Malley funds and Indian students are involved.

Senator MONDALE. Senator Hughes.

Senator HUGHES. I would like to ask you a question.

I am wondering about the political processes up there, in line with this. They have 60 percent of the children and the white community turns out and overwhelmingly defeats them.

Does the Indian community participate in the political process?

Senator MONDALE. This is one where Indians tried to organize. As I say, the district was restructured so that they could not elect their own. I suppose part of the answer is that they did not turn out in enough numbers. So it is partly political.

Of course, this is a case where you have the majority of Indians in a district. But suppose you have 40 percent? This money is designed for Indian education. There ought to be a system by which the school districts are required to feed into their system sensitivity regarding faculty, curriculum, language, and the rest.

Senator HUGHES. I do not disagree with that at all, Mr. Chairman. My experience in my State on school board elections is that about 5 percent of the people vote and if the teachers vote and the board members and their families vote that is about the extent of the vote. The general public is not participating in the election of school boards or in the direction the curriculum takes or in anything else in the public schools as well as in the Bureau of Indian Affairs schools.

I made the recommendation to have our school board elections set on the same day as our primary elections so that if the people were there to vote for something else they might also vote on the school issues. That was defeated about 10 to 1 in our general assembly so it did not get anywhere. Apparently, they did not want people to vote in school board elections. I make these observations because we have a crying need for participation in the school systems publicly as well as privately.

I think we have had general agreement from these gentlemen and I comliment them on their forward-looking views at this particular point.

I am hopeful that these hearings may help to build the public support for you men that is going to be essential if you are going to do the job that all of us feel is necessary in these areas.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you.

Senator Bellmon.

Senator BELLMON. Mr. Chairman, I have a couple of questions I would like to ask Mr. Zellers.

First of all, you do assign teachers through your office to the schools where they will serve. Is this right?

Mr. ZELLERS. Yes, sir. If I understand your question, the answer is "Yes."

Senator BELLMON. You handle the recruiting of teachers as well?

Mr. ZELLERS. The Bureau has its own recruiting staff which is a part of the personnel service of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Senator BELLMON. My question is, In your assigning these teachers, do you prepare them in any way by giving them any kind of sensitivity training which will equip them to teach and understand the students in the particular community where they are going to be assigned?

Mr. ZELLERS. We are doing as much of this as we can. I think because, again, we have funds from such sources as Public Law 89–10, which is comparatively new to us, we are doing more of it than we did in the past. But to go on a minute, and this, I think, bears on your question. Because a great many of our teachers come from middle-class background, trained in middle-class colleges, to require that the job be done effectively it would require more than 1 week, 2 weeks, or even a 6-week summer preservice training program in order to get them completely prepared for the type of service they are expected to render.

Senator BELLMON. Under the terms of the Civil Services rules under which you are operating, are you able to recruit teachers from the communities where they will serve?

Mr. ZELLERS. Of course, they can apply. Most of our recruiting for new teachers is actually done at 200 or 300 colleges scattered throughout the country.

We encourage where at all possible, of course, the increasing number of Indian college graduates. Last year in the scholarship program that the Bureau operates, there were 182 college graduates and 92 of them went into education. Ninety-two does not go very far toward filling our vacancies but that is a healthy percentage of the total number of graduates.

What we have to do, I think, is increase that number of Indian people who not only go to college but who go into education.

Senator BELLMON. In designing the requirements that the applicants need, are you able to specify that they will need an understanding of the conditions?

Mr. ZELLERS. We operate under certain limitations which are approximately the same as those of other Federal agencies. Of course, our requirements are more in the educational area than they are in other professional areas.

We were able to make some changes this past year by working with the Civil Service Commission in setting up the hiring standards for kindergarten teachers because it seemed to us that the usual educational pedagogy was not necessarily the preparation that these people needed in order to be able to reach the 5-year-old children.

So we were able to set up our own standards and have them approved by the Civil Service Commission, for kindergarten teachers.

We still have problems in other areas, however.

Senator BELLMON. Are the problems resultant because there are not enough people with Indian background to fill your needs?

Mr. ZELLERS. I think, by and large, it comes from two sources. One is that very few colleges are doing much in their teacher training programs that relates directly to Indians.

Secondly, I think it is possible sometimes to hire people who can reach Indian students who do not necessarily have a lot of credentials on paper, but we have to give recognition to a sizeable quantity of formal credentials.

Senator **Bellmon**. On another point, it has been mentioned here this morning that there has been somewhat of a change in white attitudes toward the involvement of Indian adults in education.

I have been able to notice what seems to be a lack of understanding of the importance of education among Indian adults.

Do you notice parents are becoming more interested in seeing that their children go to school?

Mr. **Zellers**. I think they are. I think we are doing a lot to encourage it. When we started our new kindergarten program we immediately involved parents in it. I just met for 2 days in Ogden, Utah, with this group of some 250 Indian people from 70 tribes where an entire week's workshop is being devoted to Indian involvement in education.

I made the statement there, and we discussed it at some length, that the direction in which we have to go is to extend the community into the school and also extend the school into the community.

I think we have to go in both directions. I think there has been too much cleavage in the past and I think when parents are not involved and do not understand what the programs are in the school they are less likely to encourage the students.

If the parents become a part of the program even if it is only through observation, they will tend to be more likely to reinforce the students' attendance at school. This is the same as in any community or any neighborhood.

Senator **Bellmon**. Does the Bureau carry on any planned effort to, I guess you would say, convince Indian adults that their children should be kept in school?

Mr. **Zellers**. Yes, sir. I can't recall the details of it, but I sat with some of the people on the Navajo Reservation about 6 months ago when they were planning a very complete campaign to try to get every student possible in school in the fall. They had a poster campaign. They were on the radio, they were in the newspapers, there were home visitations.

Particularly there were home visitations where a student had not been in school the prior year or where his attendance had been poor.

I use that particular reservation as an example, but I think all tribes are thrusting in that direction in one form or another. We, in turn, are doing what we can to fortify these types of actions by preparing materials which we think might be either suggestive or helpful by making it possible for interested Indian parents and citizens to have a forum where they can get together and on their own initiative can discuss these problems and attempt to solve them.

Senator **Bellmon**. It has occurred to me as we have conducted the hearings and different witnesses have testified that we have only the white standard by which to measure the success or failure of education among the Indians. As the Indian adult attains a greater role in their own educational process, does the Bureau plan to use any different way of measuring whether or not the system is working?

Mr. **Zellers**. We are exploring that at all times. Personally, I have always been somewhat frustrated by the conglomerate testing system that exists in schools generally. I think that the validity of much of what is being done, not just in Indian schools, to test children, but in all schools, can be questioned. I think what we have to do is attempt to make our operation in that particular area as scientific as possible and I hope that as time goes on more and more tests with particular Indian validity can be designed.

There are a few that are in process of research at the present time. There is one being developed by a group of specialists in California which is intended to measure with more specificity the language deficiencies of Indians in terms of their own people, not in terms of somebody else, but in terms of themselves.

This will be tried out shortly and if it works or at least works better than anything else we have, then of course we will use it. Valid tests are one of the more difficult things to come by.

It is true most of the tests being used now are prepared under white standards. They become tests which are largely a test of verbal ability and to the extent that anyone, not just Indians, but anyone who has a low level of English verbal ability will not show up well regardless of whether or not he has a high IQ.

Senator BELLMON. The reason for my asking the question is that if the Congress does make it possible for the Bureau of Indian Affairs to follow the policy both the Commissioner and yourself have mentioned, of giving Indians a larger voice in running their own school systems, then I am of the opinion that if we use the current standards, a few years from now you will be criticized because these schools are not producing the sort of results you may want.

It seems to me it will be very important that we have a way of measuring the results.

Mr. ZELLERS. I think two or three things will happen. In the first place, we are placing more emphasis on early childhood education which is not only an excellent way to bridge the type of gap you are talking about, but also I think it becomes our most effective dropout weapon.

I think that through this and other means it will be much easier for an Indian in the future to be tested by some more general standard or more general scale than he is now, and show up reasonably well in terms of his own ability.

Secondly, I think as the control does begin to pass to local Indian boards of education, many of them are going to aline themselves with one or more local universities where the university can address itself specifically to the problems of that particular group.

You know, it is not enough just to say that tests that we administer are not particularly valid for Indians, but the one that is valid for Navajos is not going to be valid for Sioux. So, one of the advantages of a local control situation would be what I have just referred to with respect to alignment with universities, professional organizations, and other groups which can bring specific help to bear on individualized local problems.

Senator BELLMON. One of the questions I have to ask relates to the same problem. If you succeed in giving the Indians a larger voice in the education decisions relating to education of Indian children, how is this going to work in a situation such as we have in Oklahoma where we have no reservations and where most of the Indian children are in public schools and in many cases the percentage is very small?

Perhaps only 5 percent of the total enrollment will be Indian. How will we ever design an educational system that takes care of the particular needs of the Indian students without raising a degree of opposition from the white community?

Mr. ZELLERS. The project that the Commissioner and I referred to earlier known as Project Tribe which provides for the Bureau of Indian Affairs to contract with local Indian boards of education is not intended to relate to schools which are already public schools. We have no jurisdiction in that area. I would be surprised if any currently operated schools that are being operated as public schools would ever be brought in under this particular system.

The project which we are promoting is one which will take Bureau of Indian Affairs schools and place them under local boards of education of Indian people. I am not sure whether that completely addresses itself to your question.

Senator BELLMON. I am referring to the public schools, not boarding schools, the schools where the percentage of Indian students might be very low.

Mr. ZELLERS. But these are public schools?

Senator BELLMON. Yes. But they do get Johnson-O'Malley funds.

Mr. ZELLERS. I think some of the other techniques that were discussed earlier would have to be applied. In other words, greater efforts have to be made to have Indian people vote when school board elections are held to at least obtain a reasonable proportion of representation on the local boards.

Again, I would say I do not see any public schools being removed from the public realm and placed under this contract arrangement.

Senator BELLMON. How about a situation such as we have, we will say, at Riverside in Oklahoma, where the students come in—this is a boarding school—where the students come in from great distances? How would the BIA plan to have a board of education to counsel the educational program of a school like this?

Mr. ZELLERS. These are the more difficult ones, but I think we are making a beginning in that direction. I am not sure about Riverside, but Chilocco has set up an Indian advisory education board.

Senator BELLMON. Indians from where?

Mr. ZELLERS. One is from Alaska. At least one is from Navajo. I am sure there is an Oklahoman on there. I think there are five all together and they probably come from five different States. It may be possible for this type of activity to mature into a full operating board of education.

The Phoenix Indian school is beginning to take the same steps. Again a board of five members or maybe seven will be selected from a wide variety of geographic locations in the country representative of the student body. For example, at the Phoenix Indian school I know one of the advisory members will come from the White Mountain Apache which is fairly close. Others may come from Washington or Oregon.

Senator BELLMON. These board members are brought in at BIA expense for school board meetings?

Mr. ZELLERS. Yes, sir. We have a small amount of money that we can use for this purpose. Again a large part of it comes from Public Law 89-10 funds.

Senator **Bellmon.** How frequently do these board members get together?

Mr. **Zellers.** This is at their discretion. I don't know whether it is more than two or three times a year.

Mr. **Bennett.** We plan to have them meet at the beginning of the school year and once during the middle of the year, probably at the semester break, and then once toward the end of the year. One would be to determine and have an input into the kind of program that will be offered. Another would be the middle of the year to make an evaluation of how it is going and make other suggestions and then at the end of the year this meeting would be for the purpose of evaluating what has taken place over the year and suggesting changes for next year.

In relation to the teachers in the public school system, I believe that there is an increased interest being shown by public school teachers and teachers in the mission schools to attend the various training sessions that are put on by the Bureau of Indian Affairs for BIA teachers. I think there is an awakening interest on the part of public schools that have a substantial number of Indian students in their school enrollments to upgrade the ability of the teachers to deal with Indian students.

We see an increasing participation, particularly at Fort Wingate, N. Mex., Flagstaff, Ariz., and other places where we have these training institutes.

Mr. **Zellers.** The Senator may be interested particularly because many Oklahomans will be involved. This summer there will be two sets of institutes or inservice training programs operated by the Bureau under contract and there will be something more than a thousand, something over a thousand participants of which approximately 240 will be from the public schools.

The demand on the part of public school teachers for participation in these workshops has been three or four times the number of spaces available.

Senator **Bellmon.** It is going to be very difficult for a school board made up of members who may live hundreds or even thousands of miles away from a boarding school to ever administer it completely. Is this your feeling? How do you plan to have a board like this have a voice in the—

Mr. **Zellers.** I think this is true. If we can get some construction funding and other money, we won't have such an across-country mix of students as we have right now. If we can back off into Alaska and have the 1,100-plus students, who are now educated in the lower 48, educated in Alaska, it will make it possible for us to use some of the schools that are in the lower 48 for Indian students located closer to where the schools are located. This is our objective.

One of the purposes is to educate Indian students as close to their home as possible. We don't like the fact that some of them, the Washington and Oregon students, travel to Oklahoma. We don't like this any better than their parents do.

Senator **Bellmon.** Thank you.

Senator **Hughes.** Senator Mondale asked me to apologize because he had to leave for a speaking engagement and to express our deep apppreciation for your willingness to undergo such a lengthy examination this morning and for your willingness to return when we can take more time to go thoroughly into your complete display and your suggestions.

The committee is interested in having your suggestions and recommendations in addition to exploring the areas of concern that we jointly have. So, I would like to ask you in addition to this, on behalf of the subcommittee, to submit for the record a copy of the BIA evaluation of Chilocco Indian School in Oklahoma and to thank you very kindly this morning, and we will notify you when it is time to return again. (This material can be found in the appendix.)

Mr. BENNETT. Thank you very much.

Mr. Zellers, we will place your prepared statement in the record at this point.

(The prepared statement of Mr. Zellers follows:)

PREPARED STATEMENT OF CHARLES N. ZELLERS, ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER FOR EDUCATION, BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

The Bureau of Indian Affairs is aware of the on-going revolution in American education. Not only is it aware of it, it is in tune with it. It is specifically in tune with this nation's discovery, however belated, that disadvantaged children and culturally different children have unusual needs which can be met only by extraordinary means. It is important that early in our remarks we give our assurance that the Bureau of Indian Affairs has this awareness and this concern. Much of what is being said these days about the education of American Indians is anachronistic—rooted in the frustrations of the past. The Bureau proposes to attack old problems with new insights and new programs. We know a great deal today about the problems of the disadvantaged child—problems that no one understood very well a decade ago. Little is to be gained by spending our time or our energy in either defending or denigrating the past efforts of Federal, public, or mission schools. Let it suffice to say that some of the efforts were not as good as they needed to be.

American Indians are among America's more disadvantaged citizens. The nature and dimensions of their economic and social disadvantage have been well documented and publicized. However, for purpose of review, Indian adults, on the average, have two-thirds as many years of schooling as the United States average. At birth, life expectancy for Indians is 63.9 years as compared with 70.2 years for the United States average. Housing is typically substandard. The unemployment rate among Indians is nearly forty percent. Approximately fifty percent of Indian families have yearly incomes below $2,000. Seventy-five percent have incomes below $3,000.

Approximately fifty-three percent of Indian youth graduate from high school as compared to seventy-one percent for the general population. At the college level, a still greater disparity exists between enrollment levels of the general population and Indian youth. Indian pupils' academic achievement is somewhat higher than most other minority ethnic groups. However, it is well below the national norms. As is true of other disadvantaged youth, the farther they go in school the further they are behind their more privileged contemporaries. Progress has been made, but all too slowly.

What, in the light of the foregoing, are the reasonable and relizable educational goals of Indian people? American Indians will not settle for less than that which is available to other Americans. They expect: (1) open-ended opportunity to go as far in school as ability, interest, and effort, aided by superior educational programs, will allow; (2) at the earliest possible time, parity with non-Indians in educational attainment, both in terms of years and in the quality of their educational experience; and (3) full involvement of Indian parents and Indian communities in the control of their children's schools. Given, then, the present education status of American Indians and the goals to which they aspire, what are the constraints which complicate moving from here to there? Briefly, these are the major hurdles in this obstacle course:

First, most Indian children must learn English as a second language after they start school. Today's research shows that two-thirds of Indian high school students in Federal schools and half of those in public high schools come from homes in which English is not the normal language of communication. The Bureau of Indian Affairs recognizes that the mother tongue is an integral and precious part of a culture, that it must be respected, and that initial instruction may best be carried on in the native tongue. It is equally true, however, that the Indian student must master the English language if he is to be successful in school and is to succeed on the job. Indian students are keenly aware of and concerned with this problem.

Second is the fact that most Indian children have grown up in geographic and dominant-culture isolation. As they start to school, most Indian children have never had the hundreds of experiences which the middle class, non-Indian child takes for granted. Often public school personnel tend to assume that Indian children have had a variety of traditional experiences, and they plan their public school programs accordingly. Experience is a requisite to learning. Lack of progress in school often relates to a lack of home and community experiences. Schools must make up the deficit.

Third, to bridge two cultures, the Indian student must be helped to understand cultural interrelationships as well as his relationship to his own community. He needs to feel pride in his cultural origins and to believe in his own individual worth. Personal identification and cultural identification are inextricably bound.

Fourth, often educational opportunity is not presently available near Indian homes. Consequently, in 1968, some 32,000 Indian children were enrolled in Federal boarding schools.

Fifth, Indian people have not yet had an effective voice in the management of the schools. In fact, Federal laws and regulations make it difficult to share school management responsibilities with Indian parents. Federal bureaucracy, at times, lacked imagination in finding ways to improve the situation. In many public schools, Indian children comprise such a minority segment of the enrollment that Indian parents feel no obligation to become involved in school affairs. When in majority status, Indians, through diffidence, often let such matters go by default. In other words, Indians lack experience on a continuing basis in the management of educational programs.

At least two-thirds of the Indian children in this country are receiving their education in public schools. This, of course, is in keeping with the basic pattern of education in the United States. For years the Bureau of Indian Affairs has taken the position that the basic responsibility of education for all children rests with the states, even though Federal responsibility is substantial. Most Indian lands are exempt from state and local taxation. Often states with a large Indian population have limited financial resources. Subsequently, public schools with a total enrollment of over 63,000 Indian children last year received Federal financial help through the Bureau of Indian Affairs under the authority of the Johnson-O'Malley Act. They also received Federal funds through programs administered by the United States Office of Education; namely, Public Law 81–874, 81–815, 89–10, and others. The Federal government, at the direction of the President, has moved to coordinate the efforts of its relevant agencies in support of the education of American Indians. The educational problems of Indian students are extraordinary and will not yield to ordinary, conventional programs—even those which are well financed. When such programs are underfunded, as they typically are in schools enrolling Indian students, the problem is compounded. The application of conventional public school standards and funding levels as yardsticks for Bureau of Indian Affairs program development has little or no validity. Public school systems have been criticized for their failure to provide those additional compensatory programs which disadvantaged children must have if they are to catch up.

Before presenting plans aimed at reducing the educational deficit of Indian people, we must discuss the subject of the Federal Indian boarding school. Indian boarding schools are controversial in nature. The idea of Indian children, especially the younger ones, attending boarding schools at locations far distant from home and family is anathema to many people. Whatever were the purposes and policies of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the past, boarding schools are used today as a matter of necessity and not as a preferred alternative. In this emotionally charged area, and in the interests of objectivity, additional information may be helpful.

Most Indian children who can attend on a day basis are enrolled in public schools. The great majority of the remainder reside in isolated areas where school facilities are available only on a boarding basis. Over ninety percent of the children, ten years of age and under, enrolled in boarding schools, are Navajos. They, as a group, employ a widely dispersed living pattern and suffer the absence of an all-weather road system. In Alaska, where most of the Aleut, Eskimo, and Indian people live clustered together in widely-separated, small villages, elementary day schools are feasible. Few young children are forced to leave home for educational reasons. Because adequate high school programs are not feasible in each of the small villages, the State of Alaska is building a number of regional boarding high schools. Many Indian children are enrolled in boarding schools because of disorganized home situations or delinquent parents. Evidence is developing that, due to a greater concentration of learning experiences, boarding school pupils may be learning more in their school subjects. Finally, we are intrigued by the fact that the greatest outcry against boarding schools seems to come from non-Indians and not from Indians themselves.

Bureau policy clearly favors day schools over boarding schools, bringing us face to face with the problem of searching for viable alternatives.

An adequate analysis of all the alternatives is not possible here. Only two are listed. One is the establishment of a large number of reservation day schools—ranging in size from the one-teacher multigrade to the multiteacher school. This alternative would involve the development of a very extensive, all-weather reservation road system, unless one dares to dream of a fleet of helicopters airlifting children to school. The other alternative is the organization of very large numbers of foster homes into a home boarding system. This alternative would still require that the children live away from their own homes. Little or no involvement of Indians in school affairs could be expected. It could be said that a third alternative would be some kind of combination of the first two. The Bureau of Indian Affairs is giving a great deal of thought to boarding school alternatives. Suggestions are welcome, but hard and unpleasant realities must be faced.

In cooperation with Indian people, the Bureau's Office of Education provides an educational program designed to meet the challenges being faced by Indian people in an advanced technological age. In brief review, then, these are the special burdens which Indian children typically bear as they start down the educational road: the necessity for learning a language different from their own; the effects of isolation; the painful process of bridging two cultures; the lack of a school near their homes; and the need for meaningful involvement of their parents in the life of the school they attend. But analyzing a problem is not solving it. What is the Bureau of Indian Affairs now doing and what does it propose to do to help equalize educational opportunity for Indian boys and girls? It is already in the process of breaking sharply with the past and moving into some relatively unexplored areas. The programs which will be described hereafter are all focused on the problem areas listed a moment ago. Moreover, the Bureau is mindful that while it has a primary responsibility for the education of Indian people, many groups and agencies, including tribal governments, public and private schools, the United States Office of Education, and the Office of Economic Opportunity, are also actively involved in this field. The Bureau, therefore, intends both to draw upon the expertise and resources of other agencies as appropriate, and to render the fullest cooperative support to tribal efforts and to states and public schools within the framework of existing law.

Illustrative of the new approaches being made is Project Tribe (Tribal Responsibility in Better Education). In this program, a tribal community group which is committed to doing so can, under contract with the Bureau, assume full responsibility for the operation of its school with the Federal government providing the funding. Two such ventures, Rough Rock on the Navajo Reservation and Blackwater on the Gila River Reservation, are already under way. Guidelines now developed will permit others to follow. Also, if an Indian community does not feel that it is able to take on complete responsibility, Project Tribe provides not only for the formation of advisory school boards but also for training prgrams to increase their effectiveness. Such training will be available also to Indian persons who reside in public school districts and who serve either as school board members or in a liaison capacity with the public schools. Of special significance is the National Indian Education Advisory Committee, a sixteen member all-Indian board which counsels the Commissioner and the Assistant Commissioner for Education concerning the interest and wishes of Indian people and, in turn, interprets to Indian communities the educational efforts being made on their behalf. During its two-year life, the advisory committee steadily has become more effective.

In another crucial area, consider, if you will, the plight of a non-Indian teacher facing for the first time a classroom full of bright-eyed, but shy, Indian first graders in the heart of the Navajo Reservation or on the Alaska tundra. They speak little or no English, have never seen a city or even a large town and unless the teacher is one of the sixteen percent of Bureau teachers who are of Indian descent, they have probably been reared with a set of customs and values different from the teacher's own. Nothing in her professional training will have prepared her for this; the demands put upon her are too unique. To meet this situation, the Bureau is developing a large scale program of in-service training which gives her, if not competence, at least appreciation for the Indian tongue. It also acquaints her with the history and traditions of the people she serves, and helps her to understand the values and aspirations of the people of her new community. Nor will the effort stop there; arrangements will be worked out with some teacher training institutions for this kind of preservice training of teacher candidates who feel a call to work with Indian youngsters.

There is impressive evidence that the early years of childhood are critical ones in which to avoid the accumulating educational deficit which afflicts economically and socially disadvantaged children. The success of the Head Start Program throughout the nation has been hailed. During the current school year, the Bureau has, for the first time, opened kindergarten units for five-year olds and has specially recruited and trained kindergarten teachers. This is but a beginning. It is planned that within the next few years kindergartens will be made available in nearly all Indian communities on a day-attendance basis, either in connection with Bureau schools or in public schools with Bureau funding support. This effort meshes effectively with Head Start Programs which can then concentrate their efforts and funds on three and four-year old Indian children.

On the assumption that education is a continuing function and should not stop when summer comes, summer programs are being used to augment the Indian child's learning year. It is believed that this is particularly important for disadvantaged Indian children. Summer programs include: (1) academic work of a remedial, makeup, or accelerated nature; (2) enrichment activities; (3) work and work-study programs; (4) recreation, camping, scouting, and sports; (5) educational tours; (6) leadership training; and (7) orientation for preschool children and precollege students.

There is a mounting insistence today that all schools make their curricula and their teaching relevant to the life needs of the students they serve. The young of today, regardless of their ethnic identity, are demanding the establishment of a stronger relationship between what they study and the world outside the school, between their current school activities, and what they see on television and on the reservation. Nowhere is this need greater than with Indian children; the Bureau is seeking to provide relevance in every instructional area. For example, there is great beauty in the lives of American Indians. They are adept at expressing it in their own way. The Bureau has started a program which will bring dignity to the art products and will provide an avenue of expression in which they naturally excel. The Institute of American Indian Arts at Santa Fe is playing a leading role in this effort. The growing technological nature of the American society places pressure and strain on Indian communities. Their tradition has not prepared them to handle the situation. Innovative work has started in mathematics and science which will place the Indian child's curriculum on a par with the best programs in the country.

The social studies curriculum has traditionally been basically one in which students have been required to learn the ideational and symbolic equipment and physical skills believed necessary to carry on the chosen way of life in the dominant culture. It has now been quite clearly established that this is not enough. The social studies curriculum must help Indian students acquire an understanding of analytical processes and problem solving tools. The curriculum must be designed to help students ask relevant questions and examine critical data and to arrive at logical conclusions based upon this process. The social studies curriculum must help students comprehend their experiences and find meaning in life and to participate in the dynamic life of their society regardless of the society or societies in which they may choose to function. The educational needs of Indian children are basically no different from the educational needs of the children of other people. The educational tools for meeting these needs for Indian children, however, may differ. For example, teaching for specific understandings in economics or political science should begin with an analysis of the economic and political systems of the students involved when making the study. This is an example of the direction of the social science program for Bureau operated schools. Likewise, the American history component of the social studies curriculum will be revised to emphasize both pertinency and relevancy to the Indian culture. The Bureau is currently involved in a major curricular project for these purposes. This effort involves the participation and contribution of both lay and professional Indian citizens.

Throughout most of the history of Indian education there has been a heavy emphasis on vocational education. This has mainly been of the "how to do" or skill variety which served very well in a simpler time. In today's highly complex society, however, the teaching of concepts assumes major importance and the student must see himself in relation to the total technical world. This awareness should be fostered throughout his entire school career. From this kind of base, the student can make a more intelligent career choice. It is along these lines that the Bureau is rethinking its vocational-technical curriculum. The Bureau's new postgraduate school at Albuquerque, now in the bidding stages, will, in addition to its vocational and technical curricula, have an academic track at the junior college level. A similar academic program is to be introduced at Haskell Institute, which is the Bureau's long established vocational-technical school. Junior college accreditation will be sought for both of these institutions.

It has been commented that upwards of two-thirds of the children in Bureau schools come from homes where English is not the normal language of communication. In certain communities and schools, the proportion is much higher. To meet this situation, the Bureau has launched one of its major new programs, ESL or English as a second language. Drawing upon the principles of linguistic science, it is developing teaching approaches, techniques, and materials which most effectively help students to learn English while still respecting the mother tongue. UCLA, the University of Southern California, the University of Arizona, and the Center for Applied Linguistics are currently consultants to the Bureau. The program has so far reached its highest development in Navajo schools.

If, as we seem to expect them to do, Indian children are to take giant strides in catching up and keeping up with children who do not share their disadvantages, Indian children must have a great deal of personal attention, much of which must be at a professional level. They must be provided individualized assistance to help them cope with personal problems. They must develop their own individual interests and talents and have an opportunity for education in spite of physical handicaps or learning disabilities. To provide this kind of specialized help, heretofore largely lacking in Bureau schools, the Division of Pupil Personnel Services has been established. It provides psychological services which help solve individual learning problems and improve mental health; social work services which more effectively link home and school together; guidance services which, through counseling, aim at personal and career development; and special education which identifies children with special handicaps such as visual, speech, and hearing problems or mental retardation, and seeks ways to surmount them.

The list of new approaches being put into effect is a long one; some can only be mentioned here.

A newly created service center evaluates, adapts, and recommends new educational media which are being developed, trains education personnel, provides library services, and reproduces and distributes education materials.

Schools are experimenting with flexible or modular scheduling to more highly individualize a student's program of study. Experiments with computerized learning have been conducted. Better year-round use of school facilities is being studied.

A new set of educational standards for Bureau school construction are being developed which are aimed not only at deinstitutionalizing the school setting but also providing movable walls which will permit flexible use of space, wiring systems which will accommodate closed circuit television, and instructional materials centers which will facilitate use of the full spectrum of educational media.

In cooperation with the Division of Pupil Personnel Services, the Phoenix

Indian School has undertaken a program designed to augment the basic guidance program with the introduction of comprehensive pupil personnel services. This project, identified as COPE (A Coordinated Optimal Program Effort) embodies an interdisciplinary approach, utilizing the specialties of guidance and student activities, psychological services, special education and school social work, to enable each student to achieve to the maximum of his potential. Increased self-understanding on the part of students and greater staff awareness of the developmental needs of all students are among the goals sought in this project.

The Bureau has made a modest beginning on establishing for the first time a research and development capability. Through its own efforts, or through contracts with the regional educational laboratories and other consultants, studies have been made or are in process on teacher characteristics, high school and college dropout, achievement patterns of high school students, and cost effectiveness and management information systems. The expansion of the research and development program has a very high priority in Bureau planning.

The Bureau is developing an expanded program of scholarship grants for college study. Because of the generous interest of the Congress and the burgeoning aspirations of Indian youth, the program has grown from 963 grantees in 1963 to an estimated 3,000 this year. The dollar value has grown from $564,000 to $3 million. The size of the average grant has grown from $586 to an estimated $1,000. Even with this rapid growth, there is no sign of the supply catching up with the demand. By virtue of a recent amendment to Federal law, the Bureau can now, for the first time, award scholarships to students attending sectarian schools. Throughout the history of the college grant program, it has been necessary to limit the beneficiaries, living on or near reservations, to undergraduate students, pursuing four-year degree programs. There is an urgent need for funding of candidates for graduate degrees and for more adequate funding of married students.

One project in which the Bureau is involved deserves special mention because of its innovative character and because of the wide publicity it has received. This is the Rough Rock Demonstration School to which a passing reference was made earlier. Rough Rock is an elementary boarding school on the Navajo Reservation near Chinle, Arizona. It was built by the Bureau of Indian Affairs about three years ago and the Bureau contracted with a tribal corporation, Dine, Inc., for its operation. The corporate officers and a local, all-Navajo school board have complete control of the school and its program. The funding of the school has been a joint enterprise between the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Office of Economic Opportunity. The Rough Rock experience is now undergoing evaluation and it is too early to say how effective its methods have been with respect to the usual kinds of school learnings. It seems quite safe to say, however, that the school has charted new courses with reference to such important matters as community control of a school by an Indian constituency, involvement of parents and other adult community members in the life and program of the school, and the preservation and dignifying of Navajo culture. It is true that a funding level almost double that available to comparable Federally-operated schools was necessary to achieve these results.

For the past three years, Indian students in Federal schools have shared in the benefits of Public Law 89–329, as well as Titles I, II, III, and VI, A of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, and Public Law 90–575. For the last two years, the level of participation has been somewhat in excess of nine million dollars. This additional input of funds, particularly under Title I, has permitted the Bureau to do a number of things which it had not been able to do before. Prominent among these has been the hiring of local people, most of them bilingual, to serve as instructional aides to work with teachers and guidance workers in giving individual attention to students in both classrooms and dormitories. Much has been accomplished in the special training of teachers and the development of special instructional materials. School libraries have been improved. Some local communities have been encouraged to seek innovative solutions to their perplexing educational problems. Sixty thousand dollars is now available for education of the handicapped.

In additon, the Bureau participates in a Teacher Corps project on the Navajo Reservation and is eligible for limited help under two titles of the National Defense Education Act. It is not as yet eligible for participation in the Vocational Education Act, the Bilingual Education Act, or the Education Professions Development Act.

The lift to morale, which the programs made possible by these funds have given to Bureau schools, both students and staff, is hard to exaggerate. It is to be hoped that they are continued and expanded.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs is mindful that two of every three Indian children are educated in public schools and is concerned that public schools be supported in their efforts to make the same kind of improvements in their programs that we have been discussing. The Bureau's avenue for doing this is the Johnson-O'Malley program. Such funds are made available only if state, local, and other Federal funds are shown to be inadequate to provide for the extraordinary and exceptional needs of Indian students. Bureau representatives who provide liaison with the public schools are working in two administrative areas and others will be added as funds permit. The Bureau has held highly successful meetings in several states, bringing together representatives of tribal, state, and Federal interests. Last summer a meeting, including the chief state school officers of states with significant Indian populations, was held.

Indeed some strides have been taken and some accomplishments have been realized. However, we are fully cognizant of the fact that we have only inched forward. We are aware of those steps of greater magnitude that lie before us as we move to initiate and implement a quality program designed to fully meet the educational needs of American Indian youth.

To illustrate some of our needs, we would like to present for your consideration a conceptual vehicle employing an imaginary school of 500 students. Caution must be expressed regarding the use of this proposed unit in projecting specific total costs for our program, since it allows for only gross predictive determinations.

Before we get into the various facets of our proposed unit, it is imperative that we study momentarily our present and proposed staff/student ratios, since this is a major part of the rationale underlying our hypothetical school.

At the present time in both day and boarding schools, we employ a 1-to-30 instructional ratio. We hope to move toward smaller classes of 20 youngsters with a more expeditious use of teachers, aides and educational technicians. Hopefully, this staffing, combined with newer educational techniques, will resolve some of our specialized educational problems.

Similarly in the case of pupil personnel services, it is obvious that we cannot do justice to our youth under current conditions. Less than half of one percent of Indian youngsters have been identified as handicapped and in need of special education, while we know that at least 15% require those services.

Specifically in the area of emotional disturbance, at the present time we have one psychologist employed in the entire Bureau of Indian Affairs system. Yet we know we need at least 100 well-trained psychologists to help our youth in the resolving of mental health problems.

Now that we are aware of the proposed staffing needs and the divergence between current and ideal ratios, let us proceed to our 500-student unit concept. By way of introduction, we shall attempt to build a model school while concomitantly comparing it to our current situation. We shall do this by examining the various components: administration, instructor, and the like.

The administrative component of our hypothetical day school is comprised of categories pertaining to personnel, training, travel, and supplies. Our current expenditure is *approximately* $34,558, while our proposed projected needs cost is $79,710. Similarly, our boarding school administrative cost currently runs at $34,558 as compared to our need for $79,710. In short, in order to do an effective administrative leadership job in both our day and boarding schools, it is necessary that we more than double the present costs.

Viewing the instructional component which can be inserted into our model, applicable for both day and boarding facilities, it can be seen that our funding, if we are going to provide a comprehensive program, needs to be tripled. Our current expenditure is approximately $139,000, while our proposed needs are $458,600.

Concerning our Pupil Personnel Services component for day schools, at the present time, we do not provide any substantial program. To offer a desirable pupil personnel program, it will require a cost of $296,591.

Similarly in our boarding programs, our current costs for 500 youngsters is approximately $170,659. Yet our projected cost for a comprehensive program is estimated at $590,610, more than three times the present expenditure.

The next component of our model is termed auxiliary services. This is comprised of two distinct operations, namely: Food Services and Student Transportation. Studying these in detail, we see the day school food services requiring an increase from $76,850 to $86,075, while the transportation needs remain constant at $60,000. Our overall total from current to projected needs is $136,850 to $146,075 for our day schools.

Surprisingly in our boarding schools, we find only a slight increase necessary for auxiliary services from our current expenditures of $283,600 to the projected $318,250.

While at the present time, Instructional Materials Centers exist only on an extremely limited basis in the Bureau schools, the concept of the center represents one of the most significant educational developments in recent years. Herein are instructional materials located in one central area. In the center are printed materials, visual aids, recordings, programmed learning materials, and closed circuit television. The media is specifically developed for and beneficial to Indian children. Such a center is used by students and teachers alike, as a resource center for study, preparation, and research at the development of instructional materials for use in teaching-learning situation. To initiate such a center, an increase of $33,710 is required.

In addition to the aforementioned cost factors, there are recurring charges for plant operation. These continuing costs are charged to the educational budget. Currently in day schools, the plant operation expenses average out to approximately $60,000 for 500 youngsters and similarly in boarding facilities to $113,000 for the same number of students. Again these present operating costs are minimal. In the projected day school, plant management costs would increase to $138,000 and in the boarding school to 0280,000 for the 500-unit plant.

In summary, our current approximate costs to maintain a day school program for 500 Indian boys and girls is $386,658. In actuality, we need a program that will require three times as much, namely $1,167,686. Similarly in our boarding schools, we currently expend somewhere near $755,817 for 500 students, while we should be spending some $1,775,880.

Obviously, the aforementioned costs, since they are operational and recurring, disallow the inclusion of construction and basal equipment. In addition to school plant construction, the building costs must make provision for housing for all staff servicing that school.

In short then, using this comparative cost concept, we can clearly view our needs, and the gaps we should fill in order to provide a quality education for Indian youth in our modern society. While it is true we have made some gains, we have a long way to go.

We anxiously share the common concern for the problems associated with the education of American Indian youngsters. Culturally different and educationally disadvantaged though they may be, Indian citizens have realistic and achievable goals.

Difficulty with the English language, geographic and cultural isolation, a poor self-image, inadequate day and boarding facilities and programs, inadequately trained personnel, and inexperience on the part of Indian people in the management of educational programs are but a few of the bone-chilling educational obstacles facing American Indian citizens.

We are convinced that extraordinary steps must be taken to meet these unusual needs. As noted or implied, the Bureau proposes, in cooperation with the Indian people themselves, to solve these long-standing, hard-core problems through thrusts of innovative programs, additional and better personnel, motivated by new insights gained through careful and continuing analysis of American Indian problems.

STAFF RATIOS, 500-PUPIL UNIT

	Day		Boarding	
	Present[1]	Proposed	Present[1]	Proposed
1. Instructional personnel:				
Supervisory teacher	1:800	1:125	1:250	1:125.
Classroom teacher	1:30	1:20	1:30	1:20.
Teacher aide	1:1,500	1:teacher	1:1,500	1:teacher.
Education technician	0	1:3	0	1:3.
Clerical	0	1:250	0	1:250.
2. Guidance and counseling:				
Supervisor	0	1:school	1:500	1:school.
Counselor	0	1:250	1:500	1:125.
Counselor aide	0	1:250	0	1:125.
Clerical	0	1:4 staff	0	1:4 staff.
3. Student activities:				
Director	0	0	0	1:2 schools.
Recreation specialist	0	1:500 pupils	0	1:250 pupils.
Clerical	0	1:4 staff	0	1:4 staff.
4. Special education:				
Supervisor	0	½:500 pupils	0	½:500 pupils.
Special education teacher (ratio to special education pupils).	0	1:10	0	1:10.
Aide (ratio to special education technicians).	0	1:3	0	1:3.
Clinical specialist (ratio to special education pupils).	0	1:40	0	1:40.
School health specialist	0	1:school	0	1:school.
Clerical	0	1:4 staff	0	1:4 staff.
5. Psychological services:				
Psychologist	0	½:500 pupils	0	½:500 pupils.
Psychologist assistant	0	do	0	Do.
Psychometrist	0	1:500 pupils	0	1:500 pupils.
Clerical	0	1:4 staff	0	1:4 staff.
6. Social development:				
Senior school social worker	0	0	0	1:school.
School social worker	0	1:500 pupils	0	1:500 pupils.
School social worker aide	0	do	0	Do.
Clerical	0	1:4 staff	0	1:4 staff.
7. Environmental living personnel:				
Environmental living specialist	0	0	0	1:school.
Environmental living aide	0	0	1:24 pupils	1:15 pupils.
8. Administration:				
Principal	1:school	1:school	1:school	1:school.
Assistant principal	0	2:school	0	2:school.
Administraive assistant	0	1:school	0	1:school.
9. Auxiliary services:				
Cook	1:95	1:175 pupils	1:75	1:140 pupils.
Cook helper	1:350	1:125 pupils	1:125	1:50 pupils.
Bus driver	1:120	1:90 pupils	1:500	1:250 pupils.
10. Instructional materials center:				
Education specialist (instruction media).	0	1:school	0	1:school.
Library technician	0	do	0	Do.
Library aide	0	do	0	Do.
Graphics artist	0	do	0	Do.

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[1] With few exceptions, existing personnel in these categories are not available in sufficient numbers to represent a significant ratio.

ADMINISTRATION—DAY SCHOOL (500 unit)

	Staffing comparison	Current	Required increase	Projected cost
Personnel:				
Principal	(1)	$15,590	0	$15,590
Assistant principal	(0–2)	0	$26,350	26,350
Administrative assistant	(0–1)	0	9,160	9,160
Clerical	(3–4)	16,668	5,552	22,220
Recommended professional salary increase		0	2,790	2,790
Total		32,258	43,852	76,110
Travel		1,700	700	2,400
Supplies		600	600	1,200
Total		34,558	45,152	79,710

BOARDING SCHOOL (500 UNIT)

	Staffing comparison	Current	Required increase	Projected cost
Personnel:				
Principal	(1–1)	$15,590	0	$15,590
Assistant principal	(0–2)	0	$26,350	26,350
Administrative assistant	(0–1)	0	9,160	9,160
Clerical	(3–4)	16,668	5,552	22,220
Recommended professional salary increase		0	2,790	2,790
Total		32,258	43,852	76,110
Travel		1,700	700	2,400
Supplies		600	600	1,200
Total		34,558	45,152	79,710

INSTRUCTION—DAY AND BOARDING SCHOOL (500 UNIT)

	Staffing comparison	Current	Required increase	Projected cost
Personnel:				
Supervising teachers	(0–4)	0	$44,200	$44,200
Teachers	(16–20)	$120,900	30,100	151,000
Teacher aides	(0–22)	0	136,500	136,500
Education technician	(0–8)	0	49,600	49,600
Clerks	(1–2)	5,600	5,600	11,200
Recommended professional salary increase		0	13,200	13,200
Total		126,500	279,200	405,700
Travel (teachers)		0	5,400	5,400
Supplies		7,000	5,500	12,500
Summer programs		2,500	22,500	25,[illegible]
Textbooks		2,000	3,000	5,000
Enrichment programs		1,000	4,000	5,000
Total		139,000	319,600	458,600

PUPIL PERSONNEL SERVICES—DAY SCHOOL (500 UNIT)

	Staffing comparison	Current	Required increase	Projected cost
Personnel:				
Guidance counselor supervisor	(0–1)	0	$13,172	$13,172
Guidance counselor	(0–2)	0	22,080	22,080
Counselor aide	(0–2)	0	15,107	15,170
Recreation specialist	(0–1)	0	7,550	7,550
Special education supervisor	(0–½)	0	6,586	6,586
Special education teacher	(0–8)	0	88,320	88,320
Clinical specialist	(0–2)	0	18,320	18,320
School health	(0–1)	0	11,040	11,040
School psychologist	(0–½)	0	6,586	6,586
School psychometrist	(0–1)	0	9,160	9,160
Psychometrist trainee	(0–½)	0	3,775	3,775
School social worker	(0–1)	0	11,040	11,040
School social worker aide	(0–1)	0	6,200	6,200
Clerical	(0–6)	0	33,420	33,420
Aides to special education teachers	(0–3)	0	16,710	16,710
Recommended professional salary increase		0	11,945	11,945
Total		0	281,011	281,011
Travel		1,250	3,250	4,500
Supplies		0	1,390	1,390
Equipment		0	4,690	4,690
Student travel		0	5,000	5,000
Total		1,250	295,341	296,591

BOARDING SCHOOL (500 UNIT)

	Staffing comparison	Current	Required increase	Projected cost
Personnel:				
Guidance counselor supervisor	(1-1)	$13,172	0	$13,172
Guidance counselor	(1-4)	11,040	$33,119	44,159
Counselor aide	(1-4)	7,550	22,664	30,214
Student activities director	(0-1)	0	11,040	11,040
Recreation specialist	(2-2)	15,107	0	15,107
Supervisor specialist education	(0-½)	0	6,586	6,586
Special education teacher	(0-8)	0	88,320	88,320
Clinical specialist	(0-2)	0	18,320	18,320
School health	(0-2)	0	22,080	22,080
School psychologist	(0-½)	0	6,586	6,586
School psychometrist	(0-1)	0	9,160	9,160
Psychometrist trainee	(0-½)	0	3,775	3,775
School social worker supervisor	(0-1)	0	13,172	13,172
School social worker	(0-1)	0	11,040	11,040
School social worker aide	(0-1)	0	6,200	6,200
Clerical	(0-8)	0	44,560	44,560
Aides to special education teachers	(0-3)	0	16,710	16,710
Environmental living aides	(22-32)	122,540	55,700	178,240
Environmental living specialists	(0-1)	0	9,160	9,160
Recommended professional salary increase		0	17,489	17,489
Total		169,409	395,681	565,090
Travel		1,250	10,050	11,300
Supplies		0	2,670	2,670
Equipment		0	6,550	6,550
Student Travel		0	5,000	5,000
Total		170,659	419,951	590,610

AUXILIARY SERVICES—DAY SCHOOL (500 UNIT)

	Current	Required increase	Project cost
Food services:			
1. Personnel	$48,700	0	$48,700
2. Food	27,400	$8,600	36,000
3. Supplies	750	625	1,375
Total	76,850	9,225	86,075
Student transportation:			
1. Personnel	36,000	0	36,000
2. Equipment	12,000	0	12,000
3. Supplies	12,000	0	12,000
Total	60,000	0	60,000
Grand total	136,850	9,225	146,075

AUXILIARY SERVICES—BOARDING SCHOOL (500 UNIT)

Food services:			
1. Personnel	$94,300	0	$94,300
2. Food	135,000	0	135,000
3. Supplies	1,500	$1,250	2,750
Total	230,800	1,250	232,050
Student transportation:			
1. Personnel	12,000	0	12,000
2. Equipment	4,000	0	4,000
3. Supplies	4,000	0	4,000
4. Common carrier	25,000	0	25,000
Total	45,000	0	45,000
Dormitory supplies:			
1. Clothing	7,800	3,400	11,200
2. Other	0	5,000	5,000
Total	7,800	8,400	16,200
Parental involvement	0	25,000	25,000
Grand total	283,600	34,650	318,250

INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS CENTER (500 UNIT)

Current	$15,000
Required increase	33,710
Projected cost	48,710

PLANT MANAGEMENT (500 UNIT)

	Current	Required increase	Projected cost
Day school operation	$60,000	$78,000	$138,000
Boarding school operation	113,000	167,000	280,000

SUMMARY (500 UNIT)

	Current	Required increase	Projected cost
Day school	$386,658	$781,028	$1,167,686
Boarding school	755,817	1,020,063	1,775,880

Senator HUGHES. The hearing is adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 1 p.m., the subcommittee recessed, subject to the call of the Chair.)

INDIAN EDUCATION, 1969

FRIDAY, APRIL 11, 1969

U.S. Senate,
Subcommittee on Indian Education
of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare,
Fairbanks, Alaska.

The subcommittee met at 7:30 p.m., pursuant to call, in the auditorium of Alaskaland, Fairbanks, Alaska, Senator Kennedy (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Kennedy and Mondale.

Also present: Senator Stevens and Representative Pollock.

Senator Kennedy. The subcommittee will come to order. I welcome you to the public hearing of the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education. The hearing this evening brings to a close three arduous but rewarding days of field investigation in the State of Alaska.

The central question before us this evening is, what must be done to provide an equal and effective educational program for all Native students. In searching for answers to that question, we have traveled thousands of miles across your State, visiting Federal, State, and public schools in large and small native villages.

Some people have seen fit to call this effort political. It is not. The weather has done its best to stop our travel. It has not.

The problems we have seen firsthand are clearly of grave concern—totally inadequate housing, polluted water supply, extremely severe health problems, malnutrition and hunger, massive unemployment and incredibly low incomes. Is it any wonder that educational programs often fail? Yet it is also clear that little has been done to shape educational programs in such a way that they can be successful in the face of obstacles. What is needed is greater vision, substantially increased resources and the leadership and assistance of people such as those who will be appearing before the subcommittee this evening. We welcome your testimony in helping us to shape a set of far-reaching recommendations.

I want to welcome to this committee not only the permanent member of the subcommittee, Senator Mondale, who has been a part of this subcommittee since its inception over a year ago and has participated in the many undertakings of the committee in its extensive field hearings in the Lower 48, and has been particularly interested in the problems of Indian education not only as they related to his own State of Minnesota, but to all of the United States; but also to extend a word of welcome to the distinguished Representative of the State of Alaska, Representative Pollock, who has been extremely kind and generous with his time and energies in traveling with the subcommittee during the past 3 days and providing us with an insight into the problems of education here in the State of Alaska and has been a constant source of strength to the members of this subcommittee. Senator Stevens has been traveling with us during the past 3 days and was extremely helpful in the development of the itinerary of this committee and in the suggestions of the witnesses that will appear before this committee and will be joining us very shortly. He's not a member of this subcommittee, but the subcommittee has benefited, once again, from his insight into these problems and we're hopeful that as a result of the extensive hearings of last year and the continued studies which have continued through our Senate hearings in the early part of this year and will continue on through the next several months, we will be able to benefit in the drafting of legislation, from his counsel and advice.

So, at this time, we will proceed with the witness list. We have an extensive witness list this evening. I think that the members of the subcommittee and the full committee will benefit from your insights. We are hopeful to keep it moving along so that we'll have as much chance for questions as time will permit. We've asked the witnesses who appear to file their statement and then summarize it, then we will proceed with the questioning. If the evening moves along with some dispatch, we are hopeful that, perhaps for at least a limited period of time, if there are those who are here this evening who would like to express themselves in the limited period of time that we might have available, on matters which are relevant to the conduct of this investigation. I always like to welcome those comments. Time will have to be a guiding factor but we'll try to the extent that we can to solicit whatever testimony we possibly can. For those who were unable to testify, we'll welcome your written comments and we'll get a chance to review those when we return to Washington.

Our first witness this evening will be Mr. Emil Notti, who is the President of the Alaska Federation of Natives and William Hensley, the State representative from Kotzebue. We must say that both of these men have been extremely helpful to us. They have traveled with us during the last 3 days; we find them eminently knowledgable and understanding and we welcome them this evening and I'll ask them if they would be kind enough to take the witness chair.

I might ask Representative Pollock if he would like to add a word since he knows both these gentlemen.

Representative POLLOCK. Well thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'd like only to welcome everyone here and to indicate that I think you will note, as you already have, that when you see these gentlemen testify, they are Natives of great ability and anyone who feels that our Native people do not have some leadership, should have this idea dispelled when you see them. We've had a number of very outstanding Native leaders testify from time to time before the Senate and House Committees in Washington and in Alaska, and I think these two gentlemen are outstanding.

Senator KENNEDY. Thank you very much. Mr. Notti.

STATEMENT OF EMIL NOTTI, PRESIDENT, ALASKA FEDERATION OF NATIVES

Mr. NOTTI. Mr. Chairman, distinguished committee members, it is my pleasure to be here tonight.

I was born and raised on the Yukon and I'm a graduate of the Bureau of Indian Affairs School at Mt. Edgecumbe. I won't recite statistics of the problem. I think we all agree that there are plenty of problems, they have been studied and documented, the bad high school achievement level, the drop-out from high school, the low percentage of college graduates, the health problems, the employment problems and housing problems.

I would like to move right in to some suggestions where I think we might make some gains at moderate cost and I think they are steps that we can implement in the very near future.

One of them I would like to suggest is, first of all, I think we need a kindergarten or Headstart program in all our villages, and because of the less structure and the teaching methods, I think the Headstart might be preferable. Secondly, I think we need a hot lunch program in all of our schools, State and BIA schools, and right here, I'd like to say that I think the State has primary responsibility, but I'm not going to distinguish between the State and Federal Government here. I think, if we are going to get anything done, it's going to take cooperation between State and Federal agencies.

I would also say I don't think the Federal Government should underwrite the State without having local involvement and having the local people have some say in what happens in the programs. Thirdly, I think we need a bilingual teacher aid in the early grades in all of our schools. The benefits from having a bilingual aid, I don't think, can be disputed. The pupils, I think, progress much faster. Fourth, I'd like to see a demonstration project in some selected area where the school boards have full power, rather than merely being adviser school boards. I heard a story the other day, while we were out in the Kuskokwim area where someone said, "Well we could turn the program over to the local people and in a few years, it would be all messed up." But, I don't think that's entirely true. We would certainly have problems, but it we're going to make progress, I think we've got to give the local people responsibility. And, another thing, if we had local school boards that had problems, where the parents were involved with the policies of their children, I think we would prevent the thing that's—the outrageous stories that are coming out of the report on Chiloco. With parental involvement, I think these could be prevented.

Fifth, I'd like to see the State and Federal Government move to implement a regional high school program as the Alaska voters authorized, and with that, I think we should expand the boarding home program. I think it's a crime to separate parents and children for 9 months out of the year. And have the parents thousands of miles away. Such a program is loaded with problems as seen in the report that was entered into the Senate record by Senator Metcalf of Montana. The sixth point I would like to make, I think we need an adult training program. I've had people tell me, "You show me a trained Native, and I'll be glad to put him to work." But before we can train the people, we've got to get them to a level where they can be trained, and I think I'll illustrate that with something here that Willie Hensley can expand on, that's the AVEC, Alaska Village Electric Co-op. The 10 people they trained for village maintenance and electricity had a third-grade level for an average, but with proper counseling and motivation, they had 95 percent attendance and 92 percent of them graduated. In that sense, I think the villages are being skimmed off with the relocation program that's in effect, now called the employment assistance. With the jobs that are expected in a very short time with what's happening on the North Slope, we have to start training now so that we can get the village people on to the jobs.

We have lead time to prevent what's happened in the South and I think we should take advantage of it and to do it, we need an expanded program in job training, and coupled with training adults for work, high school graduates can move right in on that because now, a person getting out of high school is not equipped to go back to the village. They haven't learned the ways of the village and they're not equipped to make a living on the job market, so we need post-high school training specifically for jobs. But I don't think all our emphasis should be on that and, as a final point, I think we need an expanded program for college students to encourage more youngsters to go to college, and more counseling to encourage them to stay on. We can make some gains there. The above points were what I think we could do at modest cost and I think we should try to implement them as soon as we can. What we can do to make great strides, I think, is only limited by the amount of money we can dump into—put into a program, and by our imagination, there are all kinds of things that we could do with sophisticated teaching methods and satellite communications and television and radio and teaching machines, but these, I think, are in the future. I've also been asked, "What do we train people for? Do we train them to stay in the village or do we train them to go to the city?" I think there can only be one answer to that. We give them the best education we can and they'll decide for themselves what their future will be and they'll have the tools to make the free choice. As we travelled around the village, you can feel what the older people feel about their land. There is a very close tie to the land and that brings up—that leads into the land problem. It's a vital problem to the villages.

The whole future of the native people is hinged on the land problem. I think we need an early solution to the land problem for all of Alaska and especially for the native people, and I won't say we should have a fair and generous settlement. I think if we had a fair settlement, that would solve many of the problems. In closing, I would like to say your presence here brings hope to the village people and to Alaska, that you are concerned with our problems and it speaks highly of your dedication to your duty to America. I'm not an expert in education, but I've expressed my feelings on where I felt there could be changes and I appreciate the opportunity to appear here.

Senator KENNEDY. That's an excellent statement, Mr. Notti. Very concise and precise, first rate.

Mr. Hensley, would you care to make some comments and then we'll come back to some of the questions?

STATEMENT OF HON. WILLIAM HENSLEY, REPRESENTATIVE, ALASKA STATE LEGISLATURE

Mr. HENSLEY. Mr. Kennedy and members of the committee, Mr. Stevens and Mr. Pollock. We are pleased that you have taken the chairmanship of the subcommittee and have come to Alaska to fulfill the promise of your brother to visit our State and see for yourself our style of life and to investigate education as administered by the BIA, in particular. As we have traveled throughout the State, you have seen that the education of the Eskimo and Indian students in the villages is only one facet of the wider problems we must confront. Housing is deplorable, unemployment is rife, safe drinking water is often unavailable and health care needs great improvement. As you saw for yourself, the people of the villages have hope. We feel that one of the keys to a successful life in Alaska of today and tomorrow is an education. The parents of village children are willing though reluctant to send their sons and daughters thousands of miles away for what is hoped is an adequate education. We have reason to believe that it is not under the present arrangement. I'll be specific, and many of my recommendations naturally fall in line with some of Emil's remarks, and I think you will find this throughout the evening, that we want an immediate implementation of the regional boarding high school program. We'd like an intensive program of seeking out young Eskimo and Indian people for training in education and it should be operated in Alaska.

The State Department of Education and the BIA should join together to develop materials and textbooks keyed to the native children's needs. You might not know, but the Bureau of Indian Affairs does have a program, or at least a rather feeble one, designed to come up with a program of social science textbooks. It's called Project Necessity. It has a very ostentatious name. It's called Project Necessities of the National Education Committee for the Effective Social Science Instruction and Teaching of Indian and Eskimo Students. Now this is rather new and it's supposed to come up with a social science program, an interdisciplinary program, which I think would be a very good one. However, I see this years in coming, it would take a teacher training program to get it off the ground and I think perhaps if the State and the Bureau could get together on this kind of a curriculum project that it would be very beneficial to the children of the villages. The Alaskan Reader is a Northwest Regional Laboratory product with some Alaskan assistance. I think the University of Alaska possibly should have taken a look at this problem right in their own back door quite some time ago. I think advisory school boards for BIA and State schools should be given greater authority and powers in their school involvement. As you well know, it's taken over a hundred years to even get an advisory school board and they're just only a couple of years old, and this is one of the reasons, I think, that we've had some failures in our educational program. The parents have not been involved to any great degree in the education of their children. This has created a great gulf between the parents and their children, besides having to take them a long way from home.

The feasibility of utilizing the native languages should be explored for various regions of the State and, if found to be a spurt toward a child's educational development, should be implemented. We've heard that, from the Bureau and from the State at times, that this is an impossibility because of the various dialects. I think we have two major regional Eskimo dialects and I think it could be possible to develop a program utilizing the language. It's very tough on a child to have to start in the first grade without any knowledge of English. This is not true in every village, but in many, many of the small communities this is true, therefore they have perhaps 1 or 2 years, or even 3, in order to get through the first grade.

The BIA's line of authority for education should be investigated and be made flexible so that new ideas and techniques can be used in the schools without having to go through a tortuous bureaucratic process. Quite often you have people making decisions in the field of education that are completely incapable of making a decision—are nothing more than administrators.

As Emil said, I think Headstart and kindergarten should be expanded and implemented where they don't have them. They have been found very helpful in getting the children used to the school environment and in many cases, particularly in the Headstart program, the women of the village, or men, are involved in teaching these children, and the children feel quite at home.

I believe that the learning abilities of the native population have been seriously underestimated, particularly by the Bureau in the past. Many students who are college material are in trade schools. The native student, because of the cloistered life in isolated BIA dormitory schools often does not fully understand his true capabilities until he has finished high school and finds someone with the right attitude who encourages him. Emil mentioned this AVEC program, the Alaska village electrical program. Our first class was about 20 and many of them had hardly been to school. They had a very good man leading the program, interested in their welfare, and interested in them as human beings, and challenged them and they were able to learn more than just how to wire a home. They learned a bit more about themselves in the process.

And Emil touched on the land claims issue. We've talked about it a little bit. There are questions about it. It appears that perhaps in 2 years, if all goes well, we'll have a settlement, and this is for the benefit of all the State, however, this is going to mean increasing responsibility for the native people. It means that we'll have to have trained people. We'll have to have every able-bodied man and woman who's got any ability whatsoever, and I think this is really the great challenge before us. We have to have an intensive program in education, and not just the trades, although I don't knock the trades because many of them are going to have to go into the trades, but I think that once we give a lot of these students from the villages the dignity that they need, and let them know that they are not inferior because they are native, that they have as much opportunity to grow in the world as anyone else, then I think we'll have licked a great portion of the problem.

I am also chairman of the Health, Welfare, and Education Committee in the House and I do understand that we have to come to some accommodations with the State and the Bureau system. Our constitution calls for a single system of education and we've been moving toward that end by the transfer of schools from the BIA to the State, and this is a rather unclear thing to me at this point because I'm not sure to what extent the local community will have a say in whether the school should go to the State. We know that the State at this point has been financially limited and the BIA does a good job, generally, of building a building. The facilities you saw were generally in pretty good shape. The State does not have that kind of money. Quite often we feel that it would be much easier to get to the State, we being part of the State and involved in the political process, in order to get changes in our rural schools. One of the things that clouds that is, we don't know how long we are going to have a voice in Alaskan politics. Twenty years from now there may be a million people in the urban areas and just the same number in the small villages and we will have very little economic or political power at that point. It's a choice of whether we're going to "take the daddy that's got the most sugar" and see whether we can effect their program, have them come out with the kind of educational program that we need. Thank you very much.

Senator KENNEDY. Well, Mr. Notti and Mr. Hensley, I think your comments and statements before this committee are absolutely superb. I think you've outlined briefly, what I think, at least, from our hearings prior to coming up here and what I was able to observe during the last few days, have been the areas of crucial and critical need. I want to commend both of you for your comments and observations here, this evening.

Both Mr. Notti and you, Mr. Hensley, talk about, in Mr. Notti's terms, as one of his points, bilingual teacher aids in all schools. I'd be interested in comment from either or both of you as to the importance that you place on developing a program, either at the State or supplemented at the Federal level for teacher grants to young native Alaskans who are prepared to return to their villages or communities. A kind of program that might provide incentives for young natives would be perhaps a scholarship program that provided some forgiveness in terms of their obligation to pay the scholarship if they spend a certain period of time teaching in the rural areas with the idea, I suppose, of eventually having developed a whole group of native school teachers. With an understanding of local dialects and local traditions, they would be able to help many of the younger children who are trying to acquire the English language, who, at least from my observations, have a very difficult time in those early years, and often repeat year after year. What kind of priority do you place on that kind of a program?

Mr. NOTTI. Well, when a kid starts into school and they don't understand the English language, and this is common, particularly I think in the Lower Kuskokwim, Lower Yukon area, more so than the rest of the State. The kid is immediately a year behind unless he learns English. I think we should try to implement a program where we start out with teacher aids and encourage these young people to go on, upgrade them. In summer school, they take a year off and go on in to get their teacher's credentials. Such a program is being implemented this year, I think at least in the planning stages, at the Alaska Methodist Univeristy. They are looking for 24 students who are sophomores or beginning their junior year this summer. That's a beginning but I think we need to expand the program to where we have these in all of our schools.

Senator **Kennedy**. One of the things that we noticed is the broad range of ages in many of these classes. For example, as we saw today at Point Barrow, there was a 5-year age spread in those that were attending the seventh grade and in talking with the schoolteachers, most of them would respond that this was primarily due to the fact of language problems during the early and formative years. What you're recommending is that we really develop a program that would be able to work, particularly with the younger people, kindergarten, the first year in giving them a sort of a bilingual experience. Would you feel that this would be extremely helpful?

Mr. **Hensley**. Yes, I do, Senator Kennedy. I think we have to keep in mind that in some communities in Alaska, they are just two or three generations, practically, out of the stone age and when you consider the difficulties of trying to adjust to a completely alien world, you are bound to have some educational difficulties and a lot of the students that have been in school have, in some instances, missed several years of school, perhaps, because of living in camp at times and maybe having illness and dropping out and not being able to catch up. But I do feel that a program such as the one at AMU or with some kind of scholarships, because most of the students from the villages are quite poor. I mean, by the time a student gets out of high school, he's barely had enough change in his pocket to buy toothpaste with, and his parents are quite often just on the subsistence level like many of the parents you saw in the villages. And the difficulty we have, we have in the State. I think 15 scholarships that are available to native students and there's been 15 since, I guess, the program was implemented, but the problem is, of course, that we can't discriminate and, although we do have the program, and when you base it strictly on need, there are so many more others who need it too, and you really have to try to tailor a program for these village children, or students.

Senator **Kennedy**. You also talked of the importance of permitting the local parents to have a significant voice in the development of the educational program for their children, and both of you, in your testimony, talk about the development of effective advisory schoolboard organizations. As we've seen in the past few days, these groups are permitted to advise, but that's all. They are unable to hire or fire schoolteachers or really help develop a curriculum or have a real voice in the development of a quality education. Is it your belief that the parents of these children ought to have a stronger voice in the development of the running of the school and educational affairs of that community and you think that this would be helpful and in no way handicap, but strengthen the educational experience of these children? Would you respond to what role you think the parents ought to be playing?

Mr. **Notti**. Undoubtedly, in some of these places there has to be an educational process to get an effective board, but I think the people are very capable of becoming effective board members, especially when children are involved. And there will be a very short period of time, I think, in years, where we have an effective board. I don't think that it would hurt the school system. I think it would strengthen the school system to get the parents involved. Personally I'm not worried about whether they can do the job or not. They're going to grow with responsibility and the only way they have to grow in responsibility is to have it thrust upon them. I think they will rise to the challenge.

Senator **Mondale.** Well, Mr. Notti and Representative Hensley, let me say how deeply impressed I am by your statements. I think you put your finger on the key issues and the key reforms that are needed and more than that, I think you, perhaps more than anything else, give us hope for reform because of your youth, your understanding, your maturity ,and your willingness to serve as leaders for reform. I think the fundamental issue here, as it is wherever you find heartbreaking human deprival, is powerlessness. Now, you've listed about 15 points of common sense: long overdue reforms such as Headstart, hot lunch programs, local control of schools which everyone else has had for 150 years, bilingual programs which are widely found around the world but not in Alaska, and many other programs that are so obvious that one wonders why we would meet in 1969 and have to discuss them any longer. I think the answer is, as you put it, that those who direct and control the educational systems, and those who control some of the other programs, simply are either unwilling or unable to understand the needs of those for whom these programs have been established in the first place. We've seen many, many, examples of this throughout our trip. We haven't seen a single Eskimo or Indian teacher. I can't believe that would ever be true if Indians and Eskimos ran their own schools.

We've seen communities in which people's health is in jeopardy because of contaminated food and water and within a few steps, good, clean water was available to a Federal institution or a Bureau school, but not made available to citizens of the community. We've seen one community where the cost of water was prohibitive. We've seen Federal facilities, and others, employing a large number of people but a very small number of community natives, who so desperately need that employment. We've seen people who've lived on land for centuries pleading for the right to reassert control over that land. We saw one school district, and I'm sure there were others, where teachers told us that the children came to school hungry. Some of them came to school with no sleep, unable to stay awake because of malnutrition and hunger, and yet the school district said they couldn't afford a lunch counter to feed those children. We saw libraries serving Eskimos and Indians with not a single textbook or history book or any other piece of written material that even remotely speaks of their history or of their pride or of their culture, or anything that would cause them to feel pride or understanding in themselves. We know that many of these children start school with no understanding of the English language and are taught by teachers who have no understanding of the Eskimo or the Indian language, and I think any educational psychologist or any good teacher will tell you that that is a guaranteed formula for human wreckage, and that's what we're doing, wrecking humans.

Now, all of this leads up to my question. How do we restructure the control of these institutions so that they are controlled by those they serve and are sensitive and responsible to those who are to be served? One of your suggestions, which I think is long overdue is local control of the school districts. Do you have any other suggestions about how we might condition Federal aid or State aid, shape other programs, OEO, sewer and water programs, employment programs, economic development programs, to make certain that they do what they're supposed to do, work for those who need the help and not for others somewhere along the line?

Mr. **Notti.** I can't speak for what may happen in the rest of the United States, but I think, in Alaska, that the OEO programs have done a great thing for the reason that they have involved local people. They have encouraged us in the rural areas to make decisions on economic development, on health, on education, involving Headstart, involving projects that the villages consider important.

Senator **Mondale.** And it was significant, was it not, that every Headstart program we saw was run by the natives of the community, Eskimos and Indians, and that the white teachers were saying the children were coming to school far better prepared in the first grade?

Mr. **Notti.** When I say that, and I hear all kinds of stories about what OEO is doing in the States, but in Alaska, I think, in my opinion, it has been very good for Alaska in that, when we involve Federal money in the State of Alaska, I think we ought to have these boards, involve people. When we talk about regional or local school boards, from these local boards they should get regional boards and from the regional boards they should be moved into the State school board. In that way I think we'll get the village people represented on the State school board where the decisions are made for education in Alaska. I just say involve the local people some more.

Senator **Mondale.** Do you have any comment on that, Mr. Hensley?

Mr. **Hensley.** Well, you went a little bit beyond education.

Senator **Mondale.** Wouldn't you agree that you can't separate education from health or housing or employment? It's all tied together?

Mr. **Hensley.** Yeah, I agree. In fact, that was one of my points. I was thinking in terms of involvement of the people in the villages in the field of education through the school boards, naturally, but if you're going to go beyond that, I don't know exactly—your understanding of what a native group is, is somewhat different, I think, you realize at least when it applies to Alaska. Those Indians in your State, they have existing tribal councils with some income and their own land or at least land in trust for them and there they have the authority to operate whatever programs are in their community. Here in Alaska, all we have is a recognized village group with no income, quite often, unless it's their own self taxation and no land base to speak of or no industry, and in our proposed claim settlement we are asking for recognition of regional associations which are not necessarily tribal groups as such, but are business corporations. And we feel that, at least if this entity is funded through this claim settlement, then that would give us the control over the finances and perhaps even the programs that some of the Federal agencies have within that region. Of course this couldn't be done completely and imediately by the people alone but we feel that there are enough existing institutions that would assist us. Some of the foundations and there are many Federal technicians that are within the various agencies of both the State and Federal Government that we could use to assist us. But you hit it right there. As part of our problem has been that we have been powerless and we have pretty much almost come to the conclusion that province of doing anything that means anything is the white man's. Of course, we all know this is fallacious, it's just that we've been used to a different style of living, but I think most native people in the villages and in the cities are not averse to change, but if it's going to be changed, then it's going to be some change on our terms, too.

Senator MONDALE. Thanks very much, Mr. Hensley.

Senator KENNEDY. Senator Stevens, do you want to say anything?

Senator STEVENS. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman. I think time is short and rather than question our own people, I'd just as soon wait.

Representative POLLOCK. May I make one comment, Mr. Chairman? In addressing our attention to the matter of college education for natives, it's abundantly clear, I think, to everyone on the committee who made the trip that, while there's massive unemployment in the villages, there's one job requirement in every village that is uniformly necessary and it's almost universally that persons filling these jobs are imported from the "outside." Of course, I'm talking about the teachers. In every case, we hear people say that once they get an education, it's a problem whether they'll return to the village or not because they have nothing to do. There's no job for them to go to. But there is this job, and it seems to me an obvious need, Mr. Chairman, that we have to make some kind of an intensive assault on this particular problem and it occurred to me during the day today, after this thing coming up over and over, that perhaps the legislation for the native land claims settlement should involve a provision for a specific grant for native teacher training. Perhaps with the proper incentives that you indicated, Mr. Chairman, where, after they serve a particular time, the loan would be eliminated. As Senator Mondale said, we found not one Eskimo or Indian teacher in any of the villages we went to. Several obvious things would happen, of course. Those people who would get the training and knew they could get a job in the villages, would have an incentive to return home, which is something we don't have now, and they could provide the bilingual training that really, no one else is capable of doing. They could because they would be interested enough to teach the history and the heritage and the language which would be one of the things I think we found very desirable. And I think one of the obvious factors is that there would then be a low turnover rate. Right now, we have a very high turnover rate of teachers going out into the "bush." And, I guess, lastly, one of the most important things that would follow, is that there would be an incentive for those children who are in the village to see someone who did become a success, who developed a profession and who was doing some good in the village and it would give them some incentive to emulate them. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Senator KENNEDY. A very helpful comment.

Mr. HENSLEY. Well, Senator Kennedy, we've always thought that there is going to be a settlement of this land issue, that the people would take care of those problems that felt were very serious and I am sure that practically every area of the State would be concerned about what Mr. Pollock is concerned about, that is of getting native teachers and this would be a priority item. It would not necessitate the earmarking of any funds for this and I think, perhaps we'd probably be favorable toward no earmarking of funds for anything. That means we could set the priorities.

Senator **Kennedy**. But, of course, you're not suggesting that we ought to wait—we're all hopeful that those land claims are worked out and worked out expeditiously, but certainly we don't want to halt the kinds of programs that have been identified or suggested here and make them dependent upon the outcome of proceedings which, as you pointed out to me so eloquently during the course of the last few days, have taken such a long period of time already.

Mr. **Hensley**. Well, Senator, we're kind of like the State in a way. You know the State's got all these vast plans they'd like to see implemented when the oil money starts coming in, and of course, we don't want to wait on the settlement of this lands issue. It might be more than a couple of years, it may be another 30 years. But, since we do have a great deal of Federal money coming in, you are correct. There must be some better ways to spend this money and I think some policy changes could be made by the subcommittee that would implement some of the goals that we would like to reach.

Senator **Mondale**. I just want to make one comment about encouraging native Alaskans to teach, and that is that I think it's partly making it financially possible for them to obtain these educations and to motivate them, I think that's obvious. But also, I think it's a part of creating an educational institution that they think is worth teaching in. I noted at Rough Rock, which is, I think, the most remarkable experiment in Indian education in the country today and which is controlled by an elected all-Navajo board, only one of whom can speak English, that they now have 11 Navajo teachers at their school. These teachers had left the reservation, the "bush," it's kind of a dusty bush in the Navajo, but they left it. They didn't want anything to do with it. And the big BIA schools there were unable to attract more than one or two Navajo teachers at best, with faculties three and four times the size. But because Rough Rock is an educational system of integrity which is consistent with their traditions and their language and the cuture of the Navajos, their own system, the young Navajos who have completed high school and college want to come back and help their people; and partly because, for the first time, it's going to make a difference. They didn't wait for the Federal Government for bilingual education. As a matter of fact, the Federal Government has decided they are not eligible. They went ahead and developed their own bilingual education. They have developed more Navajo teaching textbooks in 2 years than the BIA has developed in a hundred years, because I think they know their problems a lot better than we do, and I think you know your own a lot better than we'll ever know them.

Senator **Kennedy**. Thank you very much.

Mr. **Hensley**. We want to thank you for coming up and I think Alaska is very happy to see that you are interested in some of its most serious problems.

Senator **Kennedy**. The next witness, Mr. Peter John, is president of the Village Council, Village of Minto. Well, Mr. John, we want to welcome you to this committee. I wish you would tell us very briefly about yourself.

STATEMENT OF PETER JOHN, PRESIDENT OF THE VILLAGE COUNCIL, VILLAGE OF MINTO, ALASKA

Mr. JOHN. I was born in Minto. I am 69 years old. Never went to school and I've been on the board of directors off and on since 1938 at Minto and I've been living there all my life.

Senator KENNEDY. How many children do you have?

Mr. JOHN. Quite a few.

Senator MONDALE. Mr. John, Senator Kennedy understands that.

Mr. JOHN. I got three living with me right now. I lost all my kids. The reason why was, in 1936 and 1938 there was no nurse and no doctor in Minto before that time. That's when I lost all them kids.

Senator KENNEDY. How many children did you lose?

Mr. JOHN. I lost about eight.

Senator KENNEDY. Why did they die? Is that from disease?

Mr. JOHN. Yes, it is a lot of kind of sickness they die from. Not only one kind. Mostly with whooping cough and measles all together. It hit them at one time and that way they die.

Senator KENNEDY. We welcome you to this committee and we're interested in your comments.

Mr. JOHN. Well, I come here to testify and I really didn't know just exactly what this meeting was going to be for, so I really didn't know what I was going to say or what was going to happen so. I am really interested in more education for the younger people today. The school started in Minto in 1938 and since that time, why is it that the village down there just about 30 minutes from Fairbanks, yet there's no kids attend the university in Fairbanks, here. There is four students that attended the university and had to drop out. Now the BIA went an awful long ways to try to finance them to the teaching for the children down there, but all the kids that go into high school, except that one time out at Anchorage, during—we testified before the Jackson Committee.

At that time I said that, when the kids come back, graduates from high school, they don't know any better than I do. Why? Why is it that the kids can't learn? Somebody's got to crack these things in order for the native people to get ahead some way, and I think that's very important today that the native people get some kind of assistance through this education as much as we can. There are a lot of reasons why I think the kids lack education in the village. Because a lot of these kids never went to school in Fairbanks or Anchorage or places like that and mixed with the white kids, and I think it makes it awfully hard for these kids to try to get into the college for higher education. Instead of that a lot of them can't make it or they had to drop out. And I think the thing more important is the grade school where they start from in a little village like Minto. Not only in Minto but a lot of places throughout the State of Alaska, the same thing is happening to the kids. All these people that are going to college—all these young people that are going to college, they went to grade school among the white kids. I think this is why they started. But not the native kids out in the village like Minto. There is—I asked a lot of people about how—they say, "Is there any way to correct these things?" But I never got an answer from anybody and I think that it is very important to the native people. Without education I think the native people will be back where they started from and somebody's got to correct this right now. It might take years but then there is some way you can find a way to correct it.

Senator KENNEDY. Mr. John, do you believe that the native people themselves want a good quality education?

Mr. JOHN. I think so. I do.

Senator KENNEDY. And what you're suggesting is that that is not being provided for them under the present system, is that true?

Mr. JOHN. That's right.

Senator KENNEDY. And you're further suggesting that, in order for them to be a part of a growing, expanding, and developing Alaska, that this kind of quality education must be made available to them?

Mr. JOHN. Yes, sir.

Senator KENNEDY. And that this is the kind of quality education that we're trying to make available to all of the citizens in other parts of the United States and that we ought to be able to—the Congress of the United States, the State of Alaska, and the local community working together.

Mr. JOHN. That's right.

Senator KENNEDY. And I gather from what you've suggested here, that in your own broad experience and background, you find the native people, the local people, are sincerely interested and want to participate and want to develop this kind of quality education.

Mr. JOHN. Yes they do, but then I think the only way to correct these things is right in the grade school like in Minto down there before they get into high school. I think that the trouble is there. Because a lot of times kids go to school in a village like that down there. They got a white teacher down there. You find that a lot of times it's awful hard for the kids to go to school because some teachers got something that the kids don't like to hear and yet they say it in front of the kids.

Senator KENNEDY. Thank you very much, Mr. John. Senator Mondale?

Senator MONDALE. I have no questions. I wish to congratulate you, Mr. John. A very fine statement.

Mr. JOHN. Another thing I would like to bring up right now, while I have a chance—I have something to say, is that I've been trying to get this—talk about the native, local people that fight fires in the summertime and yet the native people, not only the native people, who never take out their social security payment on what they earn except when they get their check. I'd like to see that happen because a lot of times a person is really up against it and then couldn't draw his social security on account of not putting in much money during this year's working. And I brought that up two times last summer, the year before that, to see if there is any way that that can be handled. The only answer I got was "too much paper work."

Senator KENNEDY. Thank you very much. Mr. Richard Frank who is the chairman of the Education Committee of the Fairbanks Native Association. Mr. Frank, we welcome you to the committee. You may proceed in whichever way you care to.

STATEMENT OF RICHARD FRANK, CHAIRMAN OF EDUCATION COMMITTEE, FAIRBANKS NATIVE ASSOCIATION

Mr. **Frank**. The upgrading of education shall be brought about by proper curriculum at the correct levels, by proper orientation of instructors and motivation. The people should strive for better education, by better school facilities and more instructors and finally by sufficient financing of programs which would be submitted by the State of Alaska where the ultimate responsibility lies. Gentlemen, that is my statement—written statement, and I'd like to add more to it.

By the grace of God you people ran into some bad weather down in the Lower Yukon and you visited my friend who is the Chief of Pilot Station, Clyde Francis, and he said, he's an old crusader himself for his own people, just like me, and he said that if we can speak to someone—when we speak to someone, we look to our white father in the White House. Now, here is a chance that we have an opportunity to sit at a table and negotiate our problems. And you know, as well as I do, in Pilot Station they are having the school in a log cabin in a public building with practically no heat and your main reason here is for education, although we have many other problems beside education and we are trying to attack the problems of education. My personal idea of attacking it would be full support of the headstart program, but I think the main thing, the seat of the whole problem is that we must educate the parents themselves. All in the past years we are trying to educate the subject, the young fellow, and there is a total lack of communication between the parents and the teacher whoever it may be.

And here is an opportunity for any agency, not specifically named out, that we can't play with this on a political matter. When we do, gentlemen, you are not going to be hurting yourself or maybe your party or whatever it may be, but you're going to be hurting the seed of the United States of America, the general citizen, the minority group. I would say that we have funds to educate the adult folks right at home so that they can understand the subject, that's the main interest of education—the smaller folks. I think this is where we can attack the problem as a stepping stone. In the post—I've experienced this myself—I went to the third grade and the rest, I did it on my own. I can't communicate with my teacher and my folks. They didn't fully understand it and it's still existing today. We've go to get to the seat of the problem, right at home, not only to the doorstep, when we go to the child. I think we must enter the child's home and have a training program in adult education and I'm pretty sure many other citizens in the minority groups that understand the problem would open the door for suggestions and they would also help anyone who funded. It is a highly opportune time, gentlemen, to speak on behalf of the native people of Alaska. When I say the native people, I call them the minority group and I'm one of them.

Senator **Kennedy**. As a matter of fact, in that classroom, in talking with the teacher, he said that in January, I think it was the 22d, he said that the warmest they could get their classroom up to was zero. I wonder how you expect children to even think about reading any kinds of books or concentrating or studying at zero degrees in the classroom. We want to thank you very much. Senator Mondale?

Senator **Mondale**. I have no questions, but I wish to join with the chairman in expressing my appreciation to you for your very fine speech.

Senator **Stevens**. That's one of my old friends who's very articulate and I'm happy he's here, Senator.

Representative **Pollock**. Thank you very much for coming, we appreciate it.

Mr. **Frank**. Thank you, gentlemen.

(The prepared statement of the Fairbanks Native Association follows:)

Prepared Statement of Fairbanks Native Association

INTRODUCTION

In 1962, the Fairbanks Native Association undertook, among other projects, the monumental task of unraveling or consolidating fifty years of fact, fiction and enigmas of Alaskan Rural Education. Personal interviews, polls, other associations (such as the Tanana Chief's), Federal and State agencies, authoritative documents, and the personal experiences of Fairbanks Native Association members, most of who were educational institutes raised in the villages, all went into the effort. This effort culminated in a presentation in 1966 which galvanized the State Legislature and many other agencies, Federal, State and local, into action.

Although our efforts were directed mainly towards secondary education because of the lack of those facilities and their corresponding quality, we nevertheless gained profound knowledge of the over-all rural education in Alaska.

GENERAL FINDINGS AND ASSOCIATED COMMENTS

The following findings and comments are directed toward the elementary school level.

In general, classrooms are too crowded in relation to the number of instructors. Add to this the multiple grades per room aspect, and the learning opportunity is greatly decreased. The village of Akiachok as of December 12, 1968, had an enrollment of 78 pupils but only 2 instructors. It is a B.I.A. school.

Curriculums were found to not be standardized or properly implemented. This resulted not only from the teaching material, but from the way the material is presented. Because the instructor is almost autonomous in the village, he often emphasizes what he feels is appropriate, not what is actually prescribed.

The type of curriculum used also presents problems, especially in the areas of English and Social Sciences.

Motivating the pupil to study and accept teaching presents a complex and subjective area which was found to present a block in the paths of many students' educational future.

Many teachers in the village become apathetic towards their teaching duties. Very seldom is any homework for the student given. All too often, classes are dismissed early, or school is held for only half of the prescribed time. To escape the unused to solitude and boredom of village life, many teachers become more interested in dog teams, snow-mobiles, camping, etc., than they do with their prime reason for being there teaching.

Perhaps one of the most important findings was the unpreparedness of instructors to understand or cope with the people among whom they reside. This misunderstanding results in superficial acceptance but deep rooted resentment and contempt by the people.

Another important factor was the paternalistic or overbearing attitude of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and their instructors towards the students and people. The master-slave relationship which has developed through B.I.A. envolvement has overlapped into the field of education. Instances are known where only B.I.A. teachers, Vistas, or other village VIP's, could use clean well tap-water when the rest of the village drank from polluted rivers, even though the water supply from the B.I.A. well was sufficient for the entire village as drinking water.

PROPOSED SOLUTIONS

Classrooms

More money for more classrooms and adequate lower teacher pupil ratio.

Curriculum

Standard curriculums to be adhered to with emphasis on English and basic sociology. This can be implemented by communication satellite, I.T.V., by new techniques that have been researched within Alaska. It must be remembered that English is the primary language.

Motivation

This should not only be impressed on the pupil, but on the parents, and can only be done by active participation of the community in the school. This can be done by P.T.A., school projects, dances, etc., making the school the center of village life. It can also be done by implanting in the youngsters mind that there will be a need for educated people, many of whom will be future leaders, to return to the village, either for social or economic reasons.

Instructors

Teachers in the outlying area should be of the highest quality, not only with ability to teach, but the desire to teach. There should be an intensified formal preparation for instructors, to learn the socio-economic area they are going to. They should also know the foods, and the basis of the language of the area they are going to. This should include a screening as to why persons want to go to the villages. It should also include motivating the instructors to teach students as ethnic equals, thereby instilling in the minds of the students that their own values and heritage are important; that they know who they are and that that knowledge will give them the self confidence to continue and excell.

Regional high schools

The formation of regional high schools in urban areas which would provide the rural student with the highest standards of education in the state. Smaller regional high schools in less populated areas should be built as "stepping stones" or Junior High schools.

(Please refer to former papers, both FNA & State on this subject.)

CONCLUSION

Education in Rural Alaska has been mishandled, abused, underfinanced and generally misunderstood. This must and will be alleviated, now that Alaska is no longer the "forgotten" frontier but has become the shining North Star of the future.

Although critique has been and still is severe, there are many from bottom to top in both the State and B.I.A. systems who are dedicated and have done fine jobs. Also, the recent recognition of many of the problems has encouraged both systems to begin the arduous task of correcting them. Yet, for the most part, the problems still remain.

Senator KENNEDY. Mr. Robert Willard, our next witness, is the Chairman of the Education and Scholarship Committee of the Alaska Native Brotherhood.

STATEMENT OF ROBERT WILLARD, REPRESENTING THE ALASKA NATIVE BROTHERHOOD

Mr. WILLARD. Honorable Chairman, distinguished members of the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education, my name is Robert Willard. I am a Tlingit Indian from the village of Angoon. I am here representing the Alaska Native Brotherhood (ANB) as I have served as the chairman of the Juneau ANB Scholarship Committee for the past 2 years. I now reside in the city of Anchorage where I am employed with the State commission for human rights.

I wish first of all to convey my gratitude for your presence in my great State of Alaska. Your presence indicates an interest in regards to Indian education; I would hope your interest develops into a deep concern. It follows that concern is not enough; as we need follow-through and followup in a concerted effort to alleviate what we portend to be a problem, not so insurmountable, but apparently little understood.

Ostensibly, you will hear, or you have heard, testimony in support of the regional high school concept. I can only concur. If further elaboration is of necessity, I shall be glad to address myself to this subject. We have previously advocated that there be studies as a prerequisite to the implementation of regional schools, to assure ourselves that the supporting elementary schools are geared to that particular regional school.

In the Alaska Native Brotherhood we have long been involved in the field of education. My personal drive has been in the field of higher education. Recently, we initiated a drive that resulted in a three-quarter million dollar congressional supplemental appropriation to the Bureau of Indian Affairs grant-in-aid program that assisted over 700 Indian students on a nationwide basis. We have sponsored legislation in our State legislature and we are on record in support of the Headstart program. We detest any toning down of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

As pertains to education in general, the complexities of Indian education cannot be exemplified enough. There are many problems and apparently they are little understood.

For example, we have found that in the administration of the State scholarship program, of which there are only 15 scholarships available for Alaska natives at the University of Alaska, there is developing a problem in that the State is requiring my child to maintain a two point zero grade point average to remain eligible for State assistance. When he drops below the eligibility criteria, the State immediately drops him. We take exception to this policy and suggest that the State retain him for at least the first year, notwithstanding any grade average. A problem? I submit that it is a serious one. You must recognize that there is a language barrier to begin with. When he enters, he is at a disadvantage from the very beginning, not only emotionally, but also socially, emotionally and economically. While he is attempting to resolve the language problem, he finds his other grades suffering; and then he finds himself chopped off by the State policy. He has recognized his own language barrier, but apparently the State has not.

An education, proper and total, is vital to the advancement of my people in a society that is altering its course and quickening its pace. You are all cognizant of how an education in an integrated institution assists in developing the social mannerisms so vital to effectuate an education to its fullest extent. An education can only assist in the social adjustment and I am sure you are aware of this. There can be no compromise in the field of education.

As pertains to curriculum, in our larger urban schools in particular, there are problems in that it would appear that curricula are geared to the press for higher education. This is good—if all the graduates continued on to college. I feel confident, however, that this is not the case. All too often a native high school graduate is thrust into the mainstream of our society not knowing how to implement his 12 years of schooling. How do we rectify this? I suggest the implementation of the talent search program that is sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education on a statewide-regional basis. This program will identify the potential college student and provide him with all the technical assistance required to get him into college. To those who are not college material, we should provide the technical help to gear his education toward a vocational trade. At present, with the curriculum geared expressly for higher education, we are not providing a meaningful education to those who are not continuing on to college.

Accordingly, there needs to be an expanded guidance counseling program for our school systems. In my inquiry, I found only one out of 13 rural high schools that had a counselor at all. This is despicable in my judgment. If such were to be provided, I would hope it would be on an individual basis. The counselor-pupil ratio must be kept as low as possible. Some of our educators argue that national studies reveal that counseling is not needed. I submit that studies conducted in the south 48 are not conducive to our situation here in Alaska.

We need heavier concentration on higher education. The national policy of providing $25 million for vocational training and only $3 million for higher education is in itself testimony of what our Nation envisions for our native youth. We are concentrating too heavily on making barbers, clerks, and not enough on making doctors, lawyers, and professional people. Therefore, although we are now saying there needs to be greater emphasis on higher education, we are also advocating establishment of vocational training centers. A close look is not needed to find that there is not one training center in Alaska. It takes no close examination to find that many of the so-called technicians are being shipped in from the outside under the guise of technicians. With the developing oil and timber industries, it appears that this is where we can now focus in the training field.

But again, in our efforts to steer qualified natives into college, we have found that the vocational training programs are competing with those of us who are advocating the continuance in college. These officials are tempting my children with an 18-month program over 4 years of college. All they are doing is selecting the "cream of the crop," so to speak, which represents the most potential candidates, to make their program work in paper. And all at the expense of my children.

If it be within your power, as makers of our national policy, I ask you to let my people go. Let us receive the full attributes of an education before life passes us by. In the past 2 years, we are seeing a dramatic change in all levels of social, economic, and physical environment. Prudhoe Bay, the North Slope, and other areas being developed are written indelibly in the minds of financiers; and the State anxiously awaits the infusions of revenues therefrom. It will come; and, when it does, there will be opened up opportunities that never existed before. Opportunities mean positions. Positions mean jobs. Jobs, today, mean an educational background is needed. An educational background means schooling. And yet, our own legislature is reluctant to pass on a bill that would increase the number of scholarships for natives at the University of Alaska. It has been suggested that there is no money to finance an increase. It has been suggested by a Department of Education official that the bill itself is discriminatory and should not be acted on. Call it discriminatory! Call it prejudicial! But, also, call it a helping hand for an unfortunate student, who by no fault of his own, does not possess the financial nor the means to earn to finance his formal education.

Too long we have lived as second-class citizens in our own country. Too long we have waited for meaningful innovations. Too many times we have asked our legislature to act on a bill, such as a scholarship increase, and faced utter defeat and frustration.

We cannot discount the relativity of the deplorable housing situation that exists as an adjunct to the problem analysis. We must expand the rural housing program that was initiated by our beloved Bob Bartlett. You cannot begin to imagine what it is like to live in such conditions. It is entirely relevant to say housing is part of the problem analysis.

I would recommend the following for your consideration:

1. Increasing the BIA grant-in-aid program budget for Alaska to $250,000.
2. Expansion of the guidance counseling program for all schools; and professionalize this field of service.
3. Establishment of vocational training centers, with Mount Edgecumbe considered as a possible site.
4. Continuance and expansion of the Headstart program.
5. Upgrading of curriculums clear across the board. It was called to my attention that in one school, 10 of 14 eighth-grade graduates had to take the eighth grade all over again upon arrival at the new school. I suggest closer supervision of teachers in the field.
6. Full-scale assault on native housing with the $10 million appropriation that was authorized in Senator Bartlett's bill.
7. Involvement of natives in developing plans as pertains to education.
8. Reallocate funds of BIA programs with regard to employment assistance and grants-in-aid to higher education. As I stated, there is an imbalance.
9. Launching of the regional high schools and expansion of the boarding home program.
10. Implementation of the talent search program.

Mr. Chairman, with all due respect to your colleagues, your late brother, Robert, had pledged to hear my people and to bring about long-awaited innovations. We sincerely believe the Senator would have done so. I would hope that this pledge would be carried out. The Senator was well aware of the crisis in rural education that exists. We can no longer shut our eyes to it.

Thank you, gentlemen. In closing, if I might address myself to our Congressmen, I would hope that you can locate a native who might be eligible to enter one of our military academies.

I will be glad to answer questions, if there are any.

Senator KENNEDY. Thank you very much for your comments and statements. I think, running through, we're beginning to certainly see certain lines of common agreement which come through the testimony of those who have had a different experience and all who have had a profound experience and concern in the fields of education and concern for young people and I think your recommendations have been extremely thoughtful and have been well stated and I commend you for them. Senator Mondale?

Senator Mondale. I have no questions. I join the chairman in expressing my appreciation.

Senator Kennedy. Senator Stevens?

Senator Stevens. Well, I'd only have this comment, Mr. Chairman. Bob, I'm sure you realize that I confirmed the selections that were made by my predecessor in the appointments to the military academy and I would share your hope that we may find and will find native students who will be qualified to enter the academies and in case you don't know it, all of my academy appointments will be made according to civil service tests. And so, this is the fairest means of selecting Alaskans that I can devise. I think you should know that and perhaps it might work into this educational program we're talking about now. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Representative Pollock. Mr. Chairman, I'd just like to compliment Bob Willard on a very excellent statement. Obviously he put a lot of time and effort into it and it's really an intellectual piece of work and I really commend you on it.

Senator Kennedy. In making a visit yesterday, I believe it was in Nome at the high school. They gave us a list of the graduating students. I believe there was a native boy who was going to West Point next year, if my memory serves me correctly, and so, he's been appointed by some good Member of Congress from Alaska * * *.

Senator Stevens. Senator Bob Bartlett.

Senator Kennedy. Senator Bartlett is evidently the one who made the selection, so I think this certainly manifests Senator Bartlett's interest and concern.

Mr. Willard. If I may add one further comment. In attempting to resolve problems in the many communities of Alaska, you might consider initiating the model cities concept wherein all Federal, State and local and private agencies are focusing in on target areas and the full utilization of citizen participaton. I thnk this approach is possibly the best answer. I had served as chairman of Citizen's Committee for Model Cities in Juneau. I just resigned as I took the position with the Human Rights Commission. Thank you very much.

Senator Kennedy. Thank you very much. Before we get to the final two witnesses, I'm wondering if Margaret Nick is here? She is a legal aide in Bethel, Alaska. We met Margaret during the course of our field hearing and we were fogged out from visiting a number of the coastal villages. Margaret was kind enough to come to the airport on our first day at Bethel, invited us up to her village and later on we had a chance to visit her village and meet with the advisory committee—the Parents' Advisory Committee—of that village. I thought that she stated extremely articulately, the importance of the continuation of the development of native culture, native history and native tradition and I thought, explained it and articulated it in a most meaningful and significant way. We asked her to appear before the committee so that at least for the benefit of our record we would have a complete statement. I know it will be extremely difficult to duplicate the exact moments of our meeting in your home, Margaret, but I hope that you might, for the benefit of this hearing and our record, express yourself on the importance of the development of a curriculum which respects both native cultures and traditions.

STATEMENT OF MISS MARGARET NICK, BETHEL, ALASKA

Miss NICK. Thank you, Senator Kennedy. Before I start saying what I have planned here, before I came to Fairbanks, a man from the village came in who had prepared a statement to say he—this man doesn't know how to speak English. But he wanted me to say something on behalf of him. He said if I didn't say anything of a few of his comments, he wouldn't be able to sleep very well, so I told him I'd say this. He said that he didn't want to see children leave home at such an early age before they get to understand the meaning of life. He wants to see junior high schools in villages where there is a need. And the children, he said, are losing our culture too fast. The parents see their children after they've entered high school, for 3 months out of the year. He emphasized that the children were losing their culture, which I feel very strongly about, also.

Well, I'll tell you about myself, where I went to school, first. I went to grade school in the village, which is a BIA school, and when I first went to school, I didn't know how to speak English at all, and the teachers, my teacher, didn't know how to understand Eskimo. Well, I was too young to observe, but I can imagine how hard it was for the poor teacher where I couldn't understand him and he couldn't understand me either. Well, after completing the eighth grade, I went to Mt. Edgecumbe for 1 year, but after I came back, my father said, "You're not to leave home again," and he made it pretty clear that he wasn't going to send any of my eight younger brothers and sisters away from home. So my younger brothers and sisters have been attending Bethel State High School and they have really done well. My father is interested in seeing us go to school, but he does not want to see us leave home at such an early age, a thousand miles away from home, even though it means we get our high school the hard way like I took mine by correspondence course. I agree with my father. Thirteen, 14, 15 years old is too young, especially when this means you leave your home and go to an environment which is completely different in culture and history and your Eskimo language is discouraged. Where else in the United States do kids have to leave their environment to go to high school? Nobody in the States, in the lower 48 States, come up to Alaska to get their high school education. It is hard on the children and the parents also. This is why there's too many confused young people in Alaska.

also. This is why there's too many confused young people in Alaska.

We're constantly trying to find ourselves in this fast-moving world where our culture and history is ignored 100 percent. We've got to do something about education right now. We've got to bring education closer to the childrens' homes. There are a number of villages in Alaska for—maybe like some in Bethel area I know. I don't know about other areas, but there are quite a few villages in the Bethel area where they need Junior High Schools. There's probably a lot of other villages in the whole State where they should have junior high schools and there are a lot of places where there should be regional high schools in towns like Bethel, Kotzebue, Point Barrow, Dillingham, Fort Yukon and Kodiak. Like, you know, do it right away. If we get regional high schools closer to the villages there wouldn't be high high school dropout rate. Also, the most important factor in all this would be, the children would be closer to—they wouldn't have to go to a completely different environment, try to adjust to this different culture like in Chemawa and Chilocco. We've got to move, do something about the problem and not just talk about it. This last thing I want to say I consider the most important thing in education. Let's ask ourselves a question. A very important question. What does education mean? Who knows the answer? Maybe there's somebody in this room who has a degree in education. Maybe he knows the answer. I don't know. How can I predict how my younger brothers and sisters should be educated?

I'm sure my grandparents didn't know what my Mom and Dad would have to encounter in life. He didn't know how to educate them. Just like I can't predict how I should educate my children. I can't predict how they should be educated, but one thing I know is, if my children are proud, if my children have identity, if my children know who they are and if they're proud to be who they are, they'll be able to encounter anything in life. I think this is what education means. Some people say that a man without education might as well be dead. I say, a man without identity, if a man doesn't know who he is, he might as well be dead. This is why it's a must that we include our history and our culture in our schools before we lose it all. We've lost way too much already. We have to move now. We all know that Indian education should be improved and we've got a lot of ideas about how we should improve our Indian education. Now that we have the information, let's not kick it around like a hot potato. Let's take the hot potato and open it before it gets cold.

Senator KENNEDY. Margaret, the record will reflect the words that you have said so well this evening, but it will be impossible for it to catch the feeling and the emotion of your presentation. I think perhaps, in many ways, your testimony is the most compelling that we have heard because I think, in essence, it is the statement of deep concern and deep belief. You've expressed the pride that you feel in yourself and in your fellow native people here in this State. That's something that many of us have realized, and we want to help you achieve this for all people of Alaska. I want to commend you again and thank you very much for your statement. Senator Mondale?

Senator MONDALE. Mr. Chairman, let me say that I've sat through most of the testimony that this committee has heard, hours and hours of it, and I think Margaret's the best witness we've ever had. Senators never finish with something that serious. And the other thing I'd like to say is that there's a reason why Margaret appears here tonight as an unscheduled witness, and that is because the chairman of this committee took the time and the energy to travel all over this State to see and to listen, and he heard Margaret and he said that this country has to hear Margaret and brought her here tonight. I'm glad for Margaret, and I'm proud to serve on a committee with a chairman like Senator Kennedy with the kind of energy and commitment to human decency that he's shown.

Senator KENNEDY. Senator Stevens.

Senator STEVENS. Thank you very much Mr. Chairman. I think it would be very nice if Margaret would tell the peole here in Fairbanks what she does. She told us in Bethel and the number of villages that you serve now. I think that, not only do you express yourself beautifully, but your whole life shows that you believe what you say. Why don't you tell them what you do?

Miss **Nick**. I work with Alaska Legal Services as preinvestigator and I cover 52 villages. It's an OEO program and we assit legal aid to low income people who can't afford private lawyers.

Senator **Stevens**. Well, as a private lawyer formerly, I'm happy to have you assist us.

Representative **Pollock**. Margaret, where were you born, was that in Nunapitchuk?

Miss **Nick**. Yes; right.

Representative **Pollock**. But you now live in Bethel and work out of there to these different villages?

Miss **Nick**. Right.

Senator **Mondale**. Well, I certainly think you were a marvelous witness, and you've added a great deal to this meeting this evening. Thank you so much for being here.

Senator **Kennedy**. Thank you very much, Miss Nick. Next witness, Dr. Arthur Hippler of the Institute of Social, Economic, and Government Research, University of Alaska, Mr. Michael Krause, professor of linguistics and foreign languages, University of Alaska. We want to welcome you Dr. Hippler and Dr. Krause.

STATEMENT OF DR. ARTHUR HIPPLER, INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND GOVERNMENT RESEARCH, UNIVERSITY OF ALASKA

Dr. **Hippler**. Senators Kennedy, Mondale, and Stevens and Congressman Pollock, I'm very pleased to be here.

I'd like, in a way, to try to respond, at least in part—it just works out that way, that I will respond, at least in part to what Miss Nick said, and I think said very well.

Some of the things that have been said here tonight have skirted around some of these issues which Miss Nick talked about. I think perhaps we might be more directly concerned with these. In attempting to assay the adequacy of Alaskan native education, it's really necessary to go beyond such things as the quantitatives aspects of the question. There is abundant evidence in the form of dropout rates and minimal achievement scores and so forth, that indicate very clearly, Alaskan natives don't get, from their educational experience, the same thing that Caucasians in Alaska and the rest of the United States get.

The roots of the problem are deep and they are complex, but in substance, they can really be boiled down to a very few things. That as to the whole emotional climate, the whole cultural climate, in which education started in Alaska for natives and in which it continues. Schoolteachers who, in the very early era of white-native contact in Alaska, this was in the middle of the 19th century and late 19th century, and who were also predominantly missionaries, which is not an unimportant point, came to native Alaska. They came here as representatives of vast and often very arbitrary power. They themselves had tremendous power to make decisions affecting the lives of the villagers with whom they resided and they often came as the autocratic purveyors of a culture which was unconsciously arrogant and ignorant to the personal needs of these culturally distinct people.

But it goes beyond this, they weren't acting in some arbitrary fashion. They were part of the whole emotional climate at the time. In the middle and late 19th century, in this country most Americans—most educated Americans—held to some variance of a theory of social Darwinism which is a misapplication of Darwin's evolutionary theory, and it essentially suggests that, starting from some high point, Paris or London or Philadelphia or New York, you could rank order of all the cultures on the earth in the descending order away from you. In this theory, the most different from, say New York culture, was the most primitive and represented the earliest stage of human evolution. Well, when you find someone with that theory and you mix it with an aggressive, militant Christianity and an ordinary American cultural imperialism, the result was usually that these American missionary teachers, representatives to the native peoples, such as the Alaskan natives, believed in the inherent inferiority of these people and a need to bring them up to American Christian level of civilization regardless of the desires of the natives in this matter. Obviously native decisions were irrelevant since they were just barely human. Now, all of this was done with the very best of intentions, you have to remember. These missionary school teachers, because they were often able to overcome the unpleasant effects of village Shamans who often were very frightening people, able to cure some diseases, able to teach some people to read and write, capable of understanding mechanical objects like firearms, they could gain the respect and grudging admiration of the local natives, although, since they obviously hated native culture, they also gained a hate of the Alaska natives.

Well, bit by bit through time, in a process which has been very well documented for American Negro populations and which has been fairly well documented for what happens to people in concentration camps and prisons as well, when children are beaten for speaking the language which they learned to speak at their mother's knee, when every single thing that they do, that comes most naturally, their won natural culture is degraded in front of them as totally inadequate and irrelevant, who may know nothing about their own history, and they are given, not only an inadequate, but inaccurate, history of themselves, the result is usually, and in this case also, a self-hating and confused and traumatized group and it's really very difficult not to believe that you're not inferior when someone wealthier, better educated and more powerful than you, spends a hundred years telling you that you are inferior and does so by every kind of action that it is possible to take.

Now, at the present time and in this past time, the dominant culture, ours, has been presented as the only possible civilized alternative to being a backward native in Alaska. But the quality of the educational experience itself, and the employment that's generally available to natives in Alaska, means that if a child has aspirations in the direction of the dominant culture, it's going to be pretty difficult for him to achieve them.

And at this time, there's more than just a little bit of evidence to indicate that the most subtle of teacher attitudes influence the scholastic achievement. So, if you've got overt prejudice on the part of a child's teacher, the child's belief in himself and his eventual accomplishment are obviously not going to be very high.

So, nobody really planned it that way, but white-native contact in Alaska, mostly through the actions of teachers and missionaries, who acted with what they thought were the best of motives, have resulted in a present-day Alaskan native population in which very many of the young wish to be pretty much like whites while hating whites for what whites have done to natives, think poorly of themselves because they have never been able to achieve well in schools which were stacked against them to start with, and go into adulthood with increasing feelings of disillusionment and hopelessness and inarticulate anger. Eventually many of them become social problems because of a lack of preparation or an inability to work, a self-contempt develops in this situation which can lead to very heavy drinking and the attendant ills with that, and they produce children who they then act as role-models for.

Well, once you get such process underway, it's not easily reversed. An educational loan isn't going to change this entire situation. But the importance of the impact of the teacher on the young child is so great, and the importance of the content of the curriculum which is taught the child and the existence of meaningful choices after he leaves school, changes in these areas have to be developed.

First and foremost, there is a need for better quality and more adequately trained teachers. I think that, above everything else that can be said, there is absolute need for better quality and more adequately trained teachers. It's not that there aren't good teachers in Alaska, it's just that the percentages unfortunately, regardless of whether you're talking about the BIA schools, State schools or local schools, are not high enough. It really won't make any difference in the final analysis whether the BIA takes over the school, whether the State takes over the school, whether I take over the school or whether somebody in Oklahoma takes over the schools, if the quality of teaching doesn't change.

Second, and deeply bound up with the first need, is the need to teach Alaska natives something about their own history, their culture and language, the first two of which, most young Alaskan natives are absolutely ignorant of. Most Alaskan natives really know very little about their own history and culture, and in fact, what they do know, they've often got from very biased and prejudiced sources, so that many Alaskan natives, many young Alaskan natives feel that, to be a native is to be somebody who has absolutely no pride in his entire heritage and in his present existence. Obviously changing that develops a positive identity and pride in that identity. I think Miss Nick indicated very strongly the kinds of things that will result then.

Third, and connected with the first two, there's a need to adapt the educational materials to the native community at the same time that you expand, through meaningful education, the native child's awareness of the larger world which he's eventually and inevitably going to to have to live in.

Finally, this can probably be best achieved, even though there are many, many ways to go about it, by enriching the immediate preschool experience, and this means such things as Headstart and by enriching the immediate post-high-school experience and pre-college experience.

And this means such programs as Upward Bound and such programs as college orientation programs for Alaskan natives.

I hope that I've been able to keep this brief. Really there isn't too much more that I would like to continue at this point, but we might be able, if we can enact some—if we can first of all, recognize the depth of the problem, and make an emotional commitment on our own part to do something about it, and then enact those kinds of legislative changes and those kinds of administrative changes which will permit these programs to go through. Then, perhaps by education, we can begin to overcome some of the effects that this miseducation has had for a hundred years.

Senator KENNEDY. Mr. Krause, our next witness. You may proceed.

STATEMENT OF DR. MICHAEL KRAUSE, PROFESSOR OF LINGUISTICS AND FOREIGN LANGUAGES, UNIVERSITY OF ALASKA

Dr. KRAUSE. Mr. Chairman, subcommittee members, my name is Michael Krause. I'm a professor of linguistics at the University of Alaska where I've spent the last 9 years engaged in research on Alaskan native languages, largely, incidentally, with Federal support. I consider myself a scientific expert, though not a native expert, on these languages.

This research experience has brought me into a particular type of intimate, intellectual, and emotional relationship with a large variety of Alaskan natives. I have observed certain alarming conditions which I have kept silent about for too long with the excuse that my business is purely academic. By now, however, my indigation and alarm at what I've seen has reached the point to where I feel compelled to speak up. As I wish to go on record, not as an expert on education, but as a scientist with some feeling of social responsibility to my fellow man.

My complaint is personally only in that sense. I, myself, have had all the advantages the best education has to offer and of a good, very well paying job. I will submit this written statement to you and to the committee and, by your leave, will read or skim over some of it here. I will speak rather generally and not concentrate very heavily on the linguistic aspects of it, unless requested to do so by ——

Senator KENNEDY. You can submit, we'll include it all in the record and if you want to summarize it, then just do that.

Dr. KRAUSE. OK. On the surface, it may appear hard to understand what is going wrong with education for Alaskan natives. There's no question but what the Alaskan native himself is sold on the idea of education as we have heard time and time again tonight. The very fact that the parents have made the sacrifice of giving up their largely nomadic way of life in order to camp around the school forming a village, is in itself, enough witness to the fact that the native is extemely receptive to education to an extent that is difficult for us to understand adequately here.

Furthermore, there seems to be no lack of sincere desire on our part to do what we can to educate natives as we educate ourselves and this is demonstrated quite obviously by the willingness that we have to go to considerable expense and effort, sometimes even a little soul searching, to better achieve this end. The presence of this committee is an obvious case in point.

But why, then, isn't all of this working for the Alaskan native? Why is he usually unable to compete? Why is his school dropout rate so much higher than ours? Why does he end up without steady employment, on the welfare rolls? He is now neither content with life on the land, nor in urban society. With the native language, for instance, the younger native is often ashamed if he knows how to speak it, and if he doesn't know how to speak, he's ashamed of not knowing how to speak it. In any case, at this point, feeling inferior as he does, he seems to be turning his rage more inward than outward, but how long can this last?

I believe that the relative socioeconomic postition of the Alaska native is, in fact, steadily worsening and that his education is rapidly leading us all to catastrophe. If educational policy continues its present course, it will lead to the same disaster that is all too familiar elsewhere with another nonwhite minority. The basic causes here are largely the same as there, but here the process has not yet advanced as far. At least, for a large proportion of Alaskan natives, it is as though the slave boats have not yet left the shore, and there is time to turn back to learn from history and to affect its course in a way that will be beneficial to us all.

What I advocate is a sincere and enlightened efforts to allow the native to maintain his selfrespect and his dignity and his identity through education. This is asking no more than white society does for itself. Our education has worked well for us because it has been devoted wholeheartedly to fostering these very qualities in us, teaching us to admire Greece and Rome, George Washington and Abraham Lincoln, Dick and Jane, or any other face that we can see in the mirror. We learn to respect our own ways, our own history, our own languages, our own image. This is natural and it's right. But, imposing this very same education on the Alaskan nation, this amounts, simply, to feeding our own pride in designing, to convert these people, visibly and unalterably different from ourselves, into slavish imitations of ourselves, into second-class off-whites, not first-class first Americans, which they are by birthright. We must realize that exactly the same education with which we, the winners, strengthen ourselves, this is, in effect, destructive to the losers. This has been realized elsewhere by now, notably at the Rough Rock School on the Navajo Reservation as you mentioned earlier. Those who drafted and passed the Bilingual Education Act in Congress have also realized this. The black man is realizing this too in his ardent cries for black studies, not simply integration. The Danes in Greenland and, if you'll excuse me for so saying, even the Soviets, in their education of their cultural and racial minorities seem to realize this better than we have. We can safely take for granted that we will continue to teach the natives our technology, our language, our ways as best we can. There's nothing wrong with that. What needs to be changed is our monumental arrogance in teaching him only this. We must devote a portion, even if a small one, and perhaps a relatively inexpensive one, a portion from the first grade on, to native studies, designed to promote native pride without which every other good intention will fail. There must be some cultural continuity as well as disruption.

The question of where to have the schools has come up a number of times this evening. I would prefer to say at this point that as long as the policy is, in any case, to remove and alienate the children spiritually from their homes, I think it's relatively unimportant where this process physically takes place. In many parts of Alaska the native culture is still very much alive and the language is still viable. In many places, only parts of the culture are remembered and the children no longer speak the language, but everywhere there is still much wealth to build on. The parents and elders, many of whom have sacrificed their way in order that the children should learn the new, should be brought into the educational process instead of being alienated, and their role and their dignity effaced by it. This is essential to the child's respect for his parents and for himself. Teachers should be more carefully screened, at least to weed out the bigots, who still constitute a surprising proportion of the population of the teachers for natives. They often live, bigoted or not, in regal isolation, intellectual, social, and material isolation from the rest of the village. Instead, they should be required to take an interest in, and to encourage, actively the local native heritage. At present, there is no requirement whatever, that to qualify for the bush, the teacher need know anything of the cultural heritage or special affairs of these people that he's going to teach. Ultimately, we should hope that the native and the teacher become one and the same person.

The Federal Government has supported a large amount of scientific research on the archeology and anthropology and languages of these areas. At present, the fruits of this research remain, in effect, the property of white academe. The native should also benefit. These findings of very central interest to the native identity should filter back somehow to the native from the first grade on in specially prepared curricular materials which the teacher should then be required to learn to teach from. Ultimately, we should hope that the natives themselves will go on to become scientific researchers in these fields. A native with my training can do a much better job than I, and the profit would go where it belongs.

There's another issue here which, lest any of us who support the retention of the native culture in one way or another, accuses of wishing to keep the Alaska native in a kind of museum for our own amusement or our own profit.

I believe that I could add one following point. There are those who feel we cannot be accused of encouraging the perpetuity of certain aspects of Alaskan native culture. Take the totem pole, take the carvings, take the dancers for the tourists on the other end of the flight at Wien, in Barrow, in Nome. These things we can understand, these things we can appreciate, they are amusing, we can encourage them, we can patronize them, and we also make a goodly amount of tourist money out of them. When there's a way that native culture can be exploited, it will be encouraged. On the other hand, when native culture, native language, in particular is something that we cannot understand, which cows us, which bewilders us, we have a naturally hostile reaction and we feel this is something which must be done away with. It is much more difficult to the teacher in the school to face a bunch of 6-year-olds who speak no language that he can understand and who can, in front of him, the father figure, the appointed messiah, whose

6-year-old charges in front of him can talk behind his back and be saying anything that he—it could be, "Let's boil him in oil tonight," and he would have no idea what they are saying. This is frightening to the white teacher who has gone to the village and is isolated among these people that he may respect, otherwise, or he may, in general as is very often the case, consider unwashed savages anyway.

I believe that instituting a curriculum in native studies, in the same sense as black studies elsewhere is perhaps the only way to avoid a catastrophe which we have not found any way to avoid outside, but it is not too late in certain places, or at least in parts of Alaska and I wish to go on record as having made these comments.

Senator **Mondale.** Dr. Krause, I've read the application that you and others prepared for a bilingual education grant to permit you to develop materials of a bilingual nature for the native Alaskan. Would you tell us what happened to that application?

Dr. **Krause.** I will, perhaps at the risk of my own skin—or not really because as I say, I already have a full-time job. As you know, the bilingual education bill has been considered appropriate, or conceivably it would be considered appropriate for the Alaskan Eskimos and other groups whose language is still viable. Art Hippler and myself and some other people at the university and elsewhere got together and worked out a, what I consider inexpensive, pilot beginning of a bilingual educational program to work up, which we already have gotten largely underway at the university in other curriculums, native language materials.

Senator **Mondale.** How much money were you asking for in that grant?

Dr. **Krause.** We were asking $100,000, approximately.

Senator **Mondale.** And would this be Federal money?

Dr. **Krause.** Yes; it would be Federal money.

Senator **Mondale.** But it required State consent?

Dr. **Krause.** This is all; yes.

Senator **Mondale.** And did the State grant that consent?

Dr. **Hippler.** May I interject here? I think that Mike and I both went through this interesting procedure. No; in fact, the State didn't——

Senator **Mondale.** Well, can't you just say "No" then?

Dr. **Hippler.** Well, I think it's more than that. It goes beyond that, though. The State didn't because I don't think that anybody at the State department of education knew what it was about. You remember that conversation, Mike?

Dr. **Krause.** I remember a few rather startling letters that came out of Juneau and, fortunately for myself, I cannot remember the names of the two gentlemen who wrote them.

Senator **Mondale.** Representative Hensley commented that he's convinced that the Eskimo, although it's spoken in different dialects, and the Indian languages could be developed in teachable materials and, in effect, revived for educational and cultural purposes, because a language is not immune from it's culture. Do you agree with that observation?

Dr. **Krause.** I definitely agree 100 percent with everything you say except one question about "can a language be revived?"

Senator **Mondale.** I'm correct in saying that—we're talking about languages that are in jeopardy but they are not dead?

Dr. Krause. All right; yes. They can be saved if they are still alive but they cannot, as we have learned, or as we are watching carefully in Ireland, be revived if they have died. And in many parts of Alaska, the language hangs by a thread. I would say, however, that for the largest single native group, about 15 out of the 50,000 people speak one language. It is definitely writeable, definitely intelligible.

Senator Mondale. So you would reject the arguments which I heard repeatedly when I asked about bilingual material, that they speak in so may different dialects that it's impossible for one person to understand the next, and thus, the preparation of such materials is unrealistic?

Dr. Krause. No. Absolutely not. You could, with two languages, prepare adequate material for probably three quarters of the people of the State who speak a native language.

Senator Mondale. Next, am I correct, that under the Bilingual Education Act impressive programs have been established, dealing with Mexican Americans speaking Spanish, an impressive program dealing with Puerto Ricans in New York, and in other cases, bilingual education money has been used and remarkable results have been received where the materials have been prepared properly and taught by persons competent to teach them, and that the children who receive such education begin immediately to learn. And, among other things, they learn English faster than they would if they were taught only English. And that, in addition to this, psychologically, their self-image is not damaged and destroyed the way it is when they, are, in effect, told that what they learned at home, their language, their culture, is not worthy of repeating. That the combination of these efforts has made the bilingual education approach one of the most exciting new experiments in education in the world can't be doubted. Would you accept that proposition?

Dr. Krause. I would agree, and I feel that I could summarize my whole statement here in one sentence. We should have more Rough Rocks here in Alaska.

Senator Mondale. Thank you very much.

Senator Kennedy. Thank you very much. Excuse me, Senator Stevens.

Senator Stevens. Gentlemen, wasn't your proposal also turned down by the Office of Education of the U.S. Department of Education?

Dr. Hippler. It was our understanding, and I checked this when I was in New York, by calling Washington to find out, that the people who were on the review board in Washington would be very strongly guided by any recommendation that was made by the State people.

Senator Stevens. Yes; but that's not my question. My question was: Wasn't it actually turned down, to your knowledge, by the——

Dr. Hippler. At least——

Senator Stevens. State-operated schools——

Dr. Hippler. Yes. That's correct.

Senator Stevens. And also by the Federal people. I mean, it was a joint refusal of the program?

Dr. Hippler. Yes.

Senator Stevens. Didn't it have something to do with your plans to start this on the fifth-grade level rather than on the first-grade level?

Dr. Hippler. As I remember the letters that we have, perhaps Mike can refresh my memory on this, and the discussions we had, the reasons that we were given were so varied that it was fairly hard to pin them down. On one hand, one of the reasons was that some of the people in the State apparently had never heard of the transfer effect of learning literacy in your native tongue as helping you in learning a second language. They hadn't heard of this and I'd like to stress, they hadn't heard of this. Now, in addition to that, they were concerned about the fact that somehow or another this would weaken the power of the teacher in the school to have control over the students if it weren't very carefully arranged. It was made clear that the heirarchy was teacher, teacher aid and then pupil. In addition to this, there were other such factors as why start at the fifth grade? Well, we explained to them, of course, that was where the orthography was developed; that's the material that was developed for the fifth-grade level at this point. We started at the fifth-grade level, because in order to get at the first-grade level, that would mean another couple years' work. You start where you are. That's where we were. Do you——

Dr. KRAUSE. We feel that, ideally, it should start in the first grade. We were just not prepared to implement the program at that level at that particular time.

Senator STEVENS. Could I ask just one last question, Mr. Chairman? Just one last question. Didn't you gentlemen prepare the materials? Most of these materials?

Dr. KRAUSE. No; we did not. I supervised the preparation of some of the materials and some of the materials were already prepared by people who knew the language, because we're not capable of doing this without the help of natives. But we have native help that can help us prepare this material.

Senator STEVENS. Well, I briefly reviewed this. I just wonder for my own knowledge, why were they prepared for the fifth grade? Why not the first grade? The basic materials, why were they prepared——

Dr. HIPPLER. That's what was available from, as I remember it, Don Webster's——

Dr. KRAUSE. Yes. Don Webster, who was also in on this, had prepared his—it just so happened because he had not prepared the material that he had, not knowing even of the Bilingual Education Act, had not prepared this material for the first grade. He just happened to have had it prepared at the fifth-grade level.

Senator STEVENS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator KENNEDY. Congressman?

Representative POLLOCK. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Well, I'd like to comment on Dr. Hippler's statement. I want to say that I was really astounded at what I thought was a very antireligious statement and I don't see what you're saying to have any basis in fact. I think on the Lower Yukon and the Lower Kuskokwim where we have a lot of problems in education as we do in many of our remote areas, I think by far, the best educated students are those that are at Holy Cross, which happens to be a Catholic institution. The education there is far better than it is for the BIA schols or the State schools and I don't understand all of this natives hating whites and whites hating natives and so forth, I don't think there's any basis for it. Does Margaret Nick look like a person that's full of hate? I think she's full of love and concern and commitment and compassion and many of us are and it doesn't matter what the color of our skin is, and I think that to say that, because some people represented the government, whatever that meant, were religious people and were firm in things that they should do in a religious point of view, that they built in an inherent inferiority just—I just have trouble with it. I think the native people in Alaska are very deeply religious. As a matter of fact, without their abiding faith and hope, I don't see how they could possibly withstand some of the massive problems with which they are confronted day after day after day, and I think their religion adds a great deal to help them survive in what I think are almost intolerable circumstances. I don't know how many villages you've been into, I presume you've been in some. I feel that I've probably been in as many as any Alaskan. I have, over a period of years, and will continue to do it. We all agree that there are some tremendous problems. There's problems of health, there's problems of education, there's problems of communication, there's problems of transportation, there's problems of poverty and we could go on and on and on, but to summarize all this and say it's because some people came along and tried to tell them to believe in God, just doesn't make any sense to me, and this is what I heard you say.

Dr. **Hippler**. I think, Congressman Pollock, I would agree with you. I don't thing that there's any conceivable way to say that—to stretch my statement as having been some kind of an attack on religion. I think you'd have to see this in the context of what I was saying. That the people who I was discussing, these early missionary teachers, were very much representative of us of the people that they came from, as much as the BIA—it's very easy to attack the BIA, it's a Sunday sport, but the BIA has been very responsive to the dominant attitude of the United States. When the dominant attitude of the United States was extremely paternalistic and very protectionistic and very autocratic toward native peoples, that was how the BIA was. In the Collier years, when things changed, people in the United States, responding to the depression, began to change their attitudes about what should be the relationships between—the BIA was responsive to this. At the period of time, much later than that, the people began to think in terms of trying to release themselves from these autocratic feelings that they'd had toward natives. The BIA has been responsive to this. Perhaps in some cases slow, maybe not doing everything everyone would have wanted it to, but they, just as these missionary teachers, were responsive to much of what we were. I myself, was raised in a very, very strict Catholic home. I remember this very well. I consider this to be a necessary part of my own intellectual and emotional development. I am not attacking the existence of churches, but I think you have to see this in the context of the fact that these people did bring, at least the early missionaries, some rather rigid attitudes, and this combined with the tremendous amount of power they had, I think is fairly well documented, not just because it's what I say, but because there's such an abundant amount of evidence of people who have lived with this problem over long periods of time have come up with the same conclusion. That what's happened for many, obviously not all. I think Miss Nick is one of the clearest examples of that to everyone, but for many, there's been an internalization of a self-hate, a self-defeated kind of attitude which is exactly why we're here, to try to think of ways in which education can solve exactly that problem and I don't see that we're on opposite sides of this.

Representative **Pollock**. Well, I don't want to engage in a colloquy here of differences of opinion. I think your basic premise is wrong and we all agree that the problems are there and that they have to be solved for the student. You can go from one village to the other and in every village, they may not have a community center, they may not have an adequate school, they may not have many, many things, but they have a church and the people attend and they believe in it very deeply, and I think it's a very important part of their heritage and this is not done——

Dr. **Hippler**. I agree.

Representative **Pollock** (continuing). It's not imposed upon them. In many cases they select someone from the area to run the church. I think that's enough Mr. Chairman.

Senator **Kennedy**. Thank you, gentlemen. We appreciate your testimony. There are a group of native students from the University of Alaska who requested, and who we are most eager to hear—I'm going to ask if they'd be kind enough to come up. Mr. Phil Kelly has some testimony that's been filed with the committee, their names did not appear on the witness list but they were scheduled to testify and they had prepared testimony, so I'll ask at this time if Mr. Kelly will come up and the other students who are with him from the University of Alaska.

STATEMENT OF PHIL KELLY, REPRESENTATIVE OF NATIVE STUDENT COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, UNIVERSITY OF ALASKA

Mr. **Kelly**. Yes, we have a Mr. John Angiak.

Senator **Kennedy**. John, you're welcome to—I'll ask for any others——

Mr. **Kelly**. Well, we brought the whole group. There'll probably be about 50 students.

Senator **Kennedy**. Well that's all right. We'll let you speak for them, Mr. Kelly. We want to welcome you here. As in so many undertakings and concerns of our Nation at this time, many of the most imaginative proposals, much of the deepest concerns and expressions of idealism have come from the young people in our country on many of the most pressing problems. Certainly this has been demonstrated in the course of 1968 and again in 1969, and so I think this comment by you as the representative of the Native Student Committee on Education will be extremely important. I want to welcome you in your appearance before the committee this evening. You may proceed. Perhaps, just for the sake of the record, if you'd be kind enough to introduce your associates here just so the recorder has the correct spelling.

Mr. **Kelly**. Yes. On my left, we have Woodrow Morrison from Southeastern and on my right, we have John Angiak.

Sitting up there in the back and listening to everyone talk about, more or less, us, makes us kind of uncomfortable, and there's a statement that one of the students made during the research of this statement, "There should be more expert Indians rather than Indian experts." And we feel that we're going through the stage right now.

We've been through it. I'm sure that we've got problems here in this statement and without further ado, I'll begin.

Mr. KELLY. (reading):

STATEMENT ON ALASKA NATIVE EDUCATION

The greater majority of the Alaska native students who enter the University of Alaska have an acute problem of assimilation because they are psychologically and socially almost totally unprepared to meet and cope with the westernized university situation.

This problem of assimilation can be either solved or alleviated only through the integration of the now de facto segregated BIA schools. This is not only the legal but also the moral responsibility of the U.S. Government.

The integration of these schools will mean that the BIA will have to relinquish control and turn them over to either the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, or to the State of Alaska (thus, hopefully bringing the level of native education up to par with that being received by the students in public schools).

The students who have been and are now enrolled in these de facto segregated BIA schools come, primarily, from economically deprived areas, and who have similar cultural and life-style backgrounds. This similarity of nonwesternized experiences leaves no room for the comparison and expansion of ideas. If these students are to find and fit themselves into today's great American social structure, they must be exposed to it at an early age and not made to feel as though they are ethnic freaks.

Out of 271 BIA teachers in Alaska 22 teachers do not have a bachelor of education degree and 12 have passed the national teacher's examination test. Therefore, the consensus of the committee is to recommend immediate steps to be taken to alleviate this critically inexcusable condition, which is so prevalent in our Alaskan BIA schools. The poor quality of teachers compared to the quantity of students in Alaska is alarming because it sets the students back academically and psychologically due to inadequate training of the teachers. Therefore, we propose that the standards be met by BIA to hire better qualified teachers who will meet the State education requirements.

The integration of these de facto segregated Bureau of Indian Affairs schools will not be realized in the near future. But there are other problems that can be rectified within 1 school year or less if they receive prompt attention.

(1) The present de facto segregated schools place too much emphasis on vocational training and not enough on providing a good academic high school education.

(2) The present BIA school system does not provide for an adequate number of guidance-counselors. The ones who are provided for in the organization are required to have completed only 24 semester credit hours in education, including 12 semester credit hours in guidance and psychology subjects directly related to education. These requirements do not even fulfill the requirements for a bachelor of arts degree which certainly does not qualify a person to be a guidance-counselor.

In comparison according to the "Occupational Outlook Handbook (first edition, 1949)" of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics:

> Typical State plans specify training in the following areas: (*a*) General principles and practices in guidance programs, (*b*) occupational information, (*c*) various methods and techniques of counciling, (*d*) clinical analysis of individuals, (*e*) administrative aspects of the guidance program, and (*f*) methods of research for counselor is required to have at least a college education and the following kinds of experience; 2 years of counseling experience, one of which shall have been in a public school, experience in an administrative or supervisory position in education, business or industry, and at least in 1 year or more wage-earning occupations other than the field of education.[1]

Due to this lack of adequate counselors, many of the Alaska native students are unable to obtain the necessary information pertaining to college entrance and scholarship application.

To amplify this: In September 1968, 20 Alaska native students arrived at the University of Alaska for registration without having applied for entrance. Also, all of them arrived here expecting the necessary funds to be here waiting for them.

It may take too long to recruit the needed number of guidance counselors. So, a fund should be established to finance the native students who arrived at the University of Alaska with no visible means to pay the university costs of registration, room and board, and books. This fund should not be less than $20,000.

In the de facto segregated BIA schools, there should be a requirement that high school seniors meet with the guidance counselor so that he may receive full information about available financial aid programs and how to apply for college entrance, whether or not the student plans to go to college.

The present BIA scholarship application form is too lengthy and too personal. Questions that the applicant is asked to answer have no bearing on the determination of financial need.

The simplified form should follow the model of the University of Alaska scholarship application form.

The applicant must prove that he is of at least one-quarter degree Indian, Aleut, or Eskimo by blood to be eligible for the BIA grant. This can be accomplished by having the applicant attach a photostatic copy of his birth certificate to his application form.

On page 2 of the front letter under the heading of "Grant Amounts," item No. 2 states: "The student's earnings during vacation periods and the resulting savings for school expense."

This item does not take into consideration that a married student must continue to support his family during vacation periods and summer months.

On page 3 of the front cover letter, under "Eligibility Requirements," item (d) married students states: "Scholarship grants are awarded to married students on the same basis as for single students. However, if funds are available, additional assistance may be allowed married students who have greater subsistence expenses at college."

It is totally unrealistic to consider married student eligibility requirements on the same basis as for single students. Contrary to popular belief, two cannot live as cheaply as one, or go to college on that basis.

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[1] "Vocational Guidance." *American Peoples Encyclopedia*, vol. 19, 1955.

To the knowledge of this committee no married students have received additional financial assistance other than the original grant.

We feel these problems that we have stated of (1) integration; (2) higher standards of education; (3) financial aids; (4) overemphasis of vocational education programs; (5) inadequate guidance counselors are problems that should receive immediate and maximum attention.

We feel that a student enrolling in college has to face enough problems without the added factors we have stated. If these problems are solved the native student enrolling in college will start college on an equivalent basis as a nonnative.

In this statement, it seems like we're knocking Federal agencies. When we decided to get together and form the statement for your committee, we wanted to find something that would be equivalent, something that you could be concerned with, so we had to limit it to education at the university level and limit it to an education that the people in Washington can immediately work on instead of, for instance, if we brought up a subject that concerns the State, the only thing that the people in Washington is to probably write a letter slapping their hands, but this is something that can be done and it is constructive criticism, it's not meant to be a witch hunt of any sort.

STATEMENT OF WOODROW MORRISON, MEMBER OF NATIVE STUDENT COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, UNIVERSITY OF ALASKA

Mr. MORRISON. May I say something on it?

Senator KENNEDY. Yes.

Mr. MORRISON. One of the things, too, we don't intend to tear the Bureau of Indian Affairs down. What we've done is, we've simply gone through and found the weaknesses and the fallacies of some of their programs. I personally graduated from Mount Edgecombe High School, one of these—well, we call it a de facto segregated school and I also graduated from Haskell Institute, an Indian school in Kansas, so a lot of the things I've seen in the schools—for one thing, I've seen a lot of things in these schools, I've had to fight the problems, and so far, I've heard quite a few people up here that know all about Indians. They've looked at them under a microscope and they know we think and how we feel, but one thing they haven't done is, they haven't had to face these problems of fitting into Western society. Personally, I'm a half-breed, but I grew up in an all-Indian village. I knew I was Indian and, to some of you, this might sound pretty stupid, but one winter my parents took us to southern California. I went to a public school for 3 months and then went back to my village and a kid came home from the hospital. I told the other kids, I said, "Hey, my neighbor came back," and I was razzed for a month and a half about, "Hey, your neighbor," just one word. I was ridiculed because I used something from the westernized culture. And the thing that really, really—we made one statement in here about being an "ethnic freak." Well, one of the things is, about these boarding schools like Mount Edgecombe.

You may have seen it, but when I was at Mount Edgecombe, we were allowed to go into Sitka three times a month. I went four times and I spent 30 days signing in every 30 minutes in the dormitory because I had taken an extra privilege that they wouldn't give to me. All I wanted was to go into town and meet my parents when they were coming into town for an A. & B. convention, and my father had to pay a $50 fine to leave the A. & B. convention to come and visit with me in the dormitory. And, if you want, I can supply names, too. But another thing, when we were allowed to go into town, it's probably still true today, everyone goes in on Saturday and they go like a herd of cattle, and you can talk to store owners if you like in Sitka, or in Lawrence, Kans., and all they say is, "Here comes those damned BIA students again." We're not people any more, we're just something to point at, and after 4 years of this, then, suddenly, you go from a high school to a college situation, and to me, these students suddenly face what I call, social shock, because they are unable to fit themselves in, they don't know how the white man thinks. A lot of students use this term, "I don't know how he thinks," and the only reason he doesn't know how he thinks is because he hasn't been exposed to him. And I've heard people wanting to preserve our culture and teach the students to be bilingual. To me, they're trying to hold back the clock.

I'm proud of being a Haida Indian, but I also fully realize that, to function effectively in this society, that I have to have a full understanding of the English language, not only speak it, but I have to think in concepts of English so that when I get to the bargaining table with the white man, I can think in his terms. Because the way I am right now, I cannot go back to the village and live because I don't think the same way they do. I'm no longer on their level. And a student comes to the university, he finds these problems, he goes to his own kind and you have groups, little segments, the same way as in high school. Groups from northwestern Alaska will stick together, the ones from southeastern stick together, and you have no exchange of ideas, because they all come from poor areas. They don't know anything different and how are they supposed to get out and talk about literature, unless, "Well, I've read about it in a book," and so I'm supposed to know all these things, but when I get out and have to apply them, that's something different. And also, there's been testimony—people testifying time after time, that they want more vocational training for the native student. In my estimation, he's saying that the Indian's brain is not as good as the white man's. Because, at Mount Edgecombe, a student is allowed to enroll as a vocational student in the ninth grade, and to me, all native students are potential college material until they prove otherwise. I don't think they should be prejudged and put in as a vocational student from the time he starts high school.

I think that, if a student goes to high school and receives a good high school education, that from then on, he can go to a vocational school and learn his vocation, because, when in high school, he can take—this high school student that's taking vocational training and he can't even make a—well, an orange crate because he probably hasn't seen one, but the thing is, too much emphasis is placed on this and, to me, it's a crime to do that to a kid, because, how is he supposed to know what he can do and what he can't do? So, please, give the kid a chance. Let him go and get a good high school education. Don't stick him down there and give him one year of general science and one year of general math, or if he wants, algebra, and let him go to shop for the rest of the time. And give him a failing grade if he fails, don't give him an incomplete.

STATEMENT OF JOHN ANGIAK, MEMBER OF NATIVE STUDENT COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, UNIVERSITY OF ALASKA

Mr. Angiak. My name is John Angiak from Southwestern. I might as well tell you something about my personal experience, too. I went to a BIA school. In school, I was allowed to speak English, nothing but English and at home I was speaking Eskimo. But it did not present a special problem because I was talking two ways and the language barrier did not present any sort of problems because in my ethnic, in my feeling, Eskimo was my primary language until I got to school. Definitely to understand the material, English became a secondary language because it was essential. Another thing I think that has to be made aware of is the fact that there ought to be a new policy for the BIA. There are many points about BIA students. One thing that should be made aware of is that the parent ought to have some kind of evaluation of a teacher. While I'm not attacking the BIA, but that sort of evaluation has to be done or made aware of to the parents. If you consider these sort of problems, the correlation between the BIA schools and the public school, that you know automatically that those teachers expect something from the parents because they know, the parents know, that they do have a powerful power against teachers. There's nothing wrong with the BIA if the parents are made aware of the fact that they do have a tremendous power to evaluate the teacher himself. So, up until then, if the Senator meant that the BIA would have nothing wrong in the sense that it can educate or bring the kids up to the standard.

Another, from the college point of view, the thing I would like to see is that every college native student be given a full year of orientation before he takes solid college courses. I feel it necessary because I have—had gone through that experience last year. I'm a sophomore, but I'm still in a tremendous situation, a bad situation because I'm still going through what they call culturation. From a personal experience, I see this very necessary because if a native is given a full year of orientation before he takes solid college courses, then he will feel himself what college life is. Second, that if he feels these problems, these college problems, ahead of him, then he will finally believe that these probems do exist in college, therefore, in his second year if he takes solid college courses, then he will know what to do with himself. The high dropout rate will probably decrease that way. And I think this is very necessary. The reason why I'm saying this is because I see it everywhere, not only in the United States but also in other countries. I don't mind saying this from my point of view but I would like to say this to you now. I think that Russians, what we call Communists, are coming out with a superior way to educate their minority groups. In Ukrania, there are 16,000 students and half of them are from peasant families, but they do—the people that they have come from, the peasant families, are given 1 full year of orientation and I feel that this kind of orientation will be highly effective to lower the high dropout rate in college for natives.

Mr. Morrison. I personally don't hold those views.

Mr. Angiak. I think it's very important to me.

Mr. Morrison. This is on orientation. I was on the academic involvement committee that met with the board of regents of the University of Alaska, and one of the things we advocated now was that a freshman, regardless of whether he's native or nonnative, when he comes to the university, that once a week—now, he'll be given three credits in humanities for it—but once a week, these freshmen students will sit in on a 1 hour seminar, and each seminar will cover a different field so that this way the student will be exposed to the different fields that are open to him, the occupational opportunities and how each field will probably relate to his own. And so, for this reason, I can't see making a native again a special case, and making him look different by giving him a whole year of orientation, because that will lower the standards of the university.

Representative **POLLOCK**. Mr. Chairman, I'd like to say that I very much appreciate what you've had to say. I think your statements were excellent, and it's obvious that you are not in total agreement with all of your views and I think this is a good healthy thing. You find this, certainly, in Congress. We're all trying to arrive at some good solutions and we have different approaches to it. I want to commend you, I think you did an excellent job.

Mr. **KELLY**. This one we did have total agreement on.

Senator **KENNEDY**. Thank you very much, gentlemen. We appreciate your very helpful comments. Congressman Pollock, because of other obligations and responsibilities has to leave at this time. I want to express, once again, our appreciation for his presence here, and in the field, and for the helpful comments that he's made. In some earlier testimony, there were some references made to the department of education here in the State of Alaska. I think it's only fair and reasonable that at this time we call the commissioner of education, who is here, Dr. Cliff Hartman, to testify and to make any comments he would care to make. So, if Dr. Hartman is still here, we'd certainly like to hear from you.

STATEMENT OF DR. CLIFFORD HARTMAN, ALASKA STATE COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION

Dr. **HARTMAN**. Mr. Chairman, I would make just a few brief remarks for your committee and would like to leave with you, as a result of Mr. Parmeter's suggestion, some prepared statements. We have, the past year, worked very much and very long on what we feel is one of our critical needs in Alaska, and that is the implementation of the regional high school plan. We've developed this prospectus in terms of choices for students, as much as anything else, in rural Alaska. We think we need regional high schools, we believe we need junior high schools, we believe we need to maintain the emphasis on the boarding home program, a foster home program, of which we have about 340 students, and, of course, we are doing everything to keep these students as close to their home environment as possible. I think the testimony that many of our native people have given here tonight would indicate that's what they want. So, I'd like to leave with you, Mr. Chairman, a number of these—or at least a copy of the prospectus for each of your committee members and any others that you would like to distribute to other Congressmen.

Senator **KENNEDY**. I've got a few in mind, but——

Dr. **HARTMAN**. I think, Mr. Chairman, that the people that have testified here tonight have pointed out some of the same critical needs that we agreed to. Certainly, one is in the area of preschool education. They've talked about the Headstart; we would certainly endorse the Headstart. We think it should be a 3-, 4-, and 5-year-old program. Research, beyond any doubt, has convinced us, not only in Alaska, but throughout the Nation, that we need to get to these youngsters at this impressionable age of 2½ and 3 years of age, to begin to develop the cultural patterns, habits and understanding, and the transitions that these students will have to go through. So, this is one of our great emphases. We would estimate that we have about 5,000 students in 3- and 4-year-old age bracket in rural Alaska, in our unorganized boroughs. If we could implement this program tomorrow, next year, I think that in 2 or 3 or 4 years from now, we'd see a tremendous difference among the achievement levels of these youngsters. Because here's where we could get at this language problem that exists today. If we could bring them at 2 or 3, before some of those language patterns are too deep seated and so well developed that it's difficult to get at them at the age of 5 and 6. We see a great need for adult education, we see a great need for vocational education. I think, basically, if I were to say any more, I'd really be repeating what many of these people have said here tonight.

Senator KENNEDY. Thank you very much, Mr. Commissioner. We appreciate your appearance here and I know that you prepared some statements and testimony before. We're hopeful at the time after we have a chance to return to Washington and we're able to really formulate our own kinds of thoughts, that we can certainly communicate with you some of our observations and perhaps elicite from you some additional kinds of information.

Senator Mondale?

Senator MONDALE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Just one question. I was somewhat disappointed in the public schools that I visited to see that, from what I could determine, in one school there was no school lunch program at all. In another, there was a school lunch program, but a dime was charged daily for every child, and I assume there are some that can't afford it, and there were no breakfast programs at all, even though, and I'm sure you agree, one of the really profound learning problems that your teachers must face is hungry children.

Dr. HARTMAN. I presume you're referring—I assume the two State schools you visited, Senator, were the schools at Bethel and Fort Yukon. Those are the two that the State operates.

Senator MONDALE. No; I'm not just talking about State-operated schools. I'm talking about locally controlled public schools as well. Doesn't that come within your, not direct control, but your jurisdiction in terms of school lunch programs?

Dr. HARTMAN. Not as to whether or not they will serve a lunch program.

Senator MONDALE. No; they make the decision, but you handle the administration of the distribution of the food and so on; don't you?

Dr. HARTMAN. No, we do not. This is done through the division of supply in the department of administration at the State level.

Senator MONDALE. I see. Is there any effort on your part to encourage these schools to incorporate feeding programs—breakfast programs and lunch programs—not only in your State-operated schools but the locally controlled as well?

Dr. **Hartman**. We have two full-time consultants, Senator, that advise district schools on the availability of USDA commodities, on the availability of funds for breakfast programs, the hot lunch programs, and so forth. These people are frequently out in the field. They go out and hold workshops for the cooks, and I (indiscernible).

Senator **Mondale**. I think one of the tragedies of these programs is that it's almost, by definition, the poorest school districts that most desperately need the food, but this is where the children don't have the programs. I'm not being critical here. You point out the need for early childhood programs, and I think you're absolutely correct; but, as you may well know, there're many pediatricians and others, one of whom I think will be testifying here later tonight, who have almost uniformly testified that one of the key problems in early childhood, indeed including pregnancy, is malnutrition which causes, in many cases, subnormalcy and very severe learning problems. So, I think the early childhood effort, the early school education effort, has got to have feeding programs with it and where there's severe hunger, breakfast programs as well.

Dr. **Hartman**. Well, I would agree with you, Senator. We have very—I think we get, in Alaska, $50,000 for the breakfast program. That's our allocation. For a number of people that need this, it doesn't go very far. These funds are being used. In a breakfast program in Fairbanks they are being used, in a breakfast program at Wasilla, they are being used in one breakfast program, I believe in Anchorage in one of the deprived schools. Like I say, they aren't going very far and we do encourage districts, we have no way of forcing them, but of course, we encourage them to take advantage of the funds that are available.

Senator **Kennedy**. Well, just not to continue to dwell on the point, but could you explain to me about the department of administration that makes the decision? Now, what happens, why do you go on out and have advisers advise you when another bureau is making the decision?

Dr. **Hartman**. I think maybe you misunderstood me.

Senator **Kennedy**. I'm sorry.

Dr. **Hartman**. This other bureau is distributing the food, the USDA food.

Senator **Kennedy**. Well, then who makes the decision? Is that within your department?

Dr. **Hartman**. The allocations come to the—the food itself comes to or through the supply officer in the department of administration. We have, ahead of time, of course, provided this supply officer with details as to where this food should go.

Senator **Kennedy**. All right. Well, then, once again, what is the attitude or why is it that, as Senator Mondale has mentioned, that these State schools are not participating in this program?

Dr. **Hartman**. Well, we have, Senator—we operate a hundred rural schools, the State itself. In these 100 rural schools, we have nine type A hot lunch programs. In 67 of these schools, we have a type B hot lunch program. The remainder have no lunch program, usually because they are "lumber" schools that are in FAA stations or they are schools for the loggers in southeastern, and there is no facility, no provision in these schools to provide hot lunch and there's not the need there, because of the income of the families. Now, we've gone to the type B lunch program in many of these schools because we do not have the refrigeration or the necessary electricity to provide the refrigeration, nor deep wells sanitary conditions that would be approved by the Department of Health and Welfare to serve a type A hot lunch program, along with the fact that there is not sufficient storage there to accumulate a year's supply of food.

Senator KENNEDY. Well, now, that sounds like maybe those conditions don't exist, but isn't that really a responsibility to create, if you haven't got adequate storage facilities or adequate water facilities. That's just a question, isn't it, then, of the commitment of the State to allocate the sufficient resources to bring those standards up to an adequate level, is it not?

Dr. HARTMAN. Yes, and this has been proposed for the last 4 or 5 years. Each time the legislature—we gain a few each year, Senator. Sufficient funds are provided each year to add two or three type A programs and continue our type B.

Senator KENNEDY. How many of the hundred schools, would you say from your own studies, could use, if there were the adequate funds and resources, the hot lunch programs?

Dr. HARTMAN. In approximately 75 to 80 of these schools. The other places are in logging camps or in FAA stations where the income of the parents, and there's only 12, 15, 20 students in most of these schools, so it's convenient for them to go home; so, about 80 schools.

Senator KENNEDY. Eighty schools. And of the 80, how many are participating now?

Dr. HARTMAN. Nine in the type A——

Senator KENNEDY. Well, let's get the nine. Now, what do you mean by type A—I probably ought to know that.

Dr. HARTMAN. Well, the type A program, Senator, is the one that is set up by and established by the Federal Government with certain criteria. You must serve a certain number of calories, the diet should be of a certain nature, the milk should be whole milk, and so forth and so on.

Senator KENNEDY. Certain food commodities, right. Now, of these 80, how many should be type A do you think, that you would recommend as being of a type A nature, the children would benefit from a type A diet?

Dr. HARTMAN. All of them, Senator.

Senator KENNEDY. All of them. So, in other words, of the hundred, actually 80 are in need of type A diet, and of those, nine are presently receiving that.

Dr. HARTMAN. Yes.

Senator KENNEDY. And it's really a question of the appropriation of, as I understand it, sufficient funds or adequate funds.

Dr. HARTMAN. For facilities for preparation, equipment for preparation, sufficient storage space and a deep well, and so forth.

Senator KENNEDY. Yes. But as the Commissioner of Education and as we've heard discussed and talked about earlier this evening, and as an educator, you feel that there are 80 school districts, the children of which could benefit from the type A project if the financial limitation wasn't restricted?

Dr. HARTMAN. This is exactly right, Senator.

Senator **Mondale**. Could I ask one other question? The Nome public school is slightly different, because it's not a State run school, but I thought the situation there was desperate and some of the teachers said as much. They said they didn't have the money for a cafeteria, and I'm sure that it's a poor town. Isn't there some State aid that goes to that school district, some State assistance?

Dr. **Hartman**. Yes, there is.

Senator **Mondale**. Do you condition that aid on certain courses being taught and a certain level of faculty and so on as a condition to receiving aid? Aren't there some requirements that the State imposes as a condition for State aid?

Dr. **Hartman**. Not to the degree you're speaking of. Only the ADM allotment, the average daily membership allotment and the teacher's salary. Those are the two prime factors in school support in this State.

Senator **Mondale**. So you condition it upon attendance and upon teacher's pay?

Dr. **Hartman**. Teacher's salary. Teacher units and the salary they receive.

Senator **Mondale**. Well, couldn't you condition aid on feeding starving children, too?

Dr. **Hartman**. I would think that this would be a desirable formula in many of our places in Alaska as well as the United States as a whole.

Senator **Mondale**. I'm not being critical here, but I'm on the Senate Committee on Nutrition. I've been all over this country looking at hunger, and I am shocked at how many kids are starving, and I'm sure that a kid who is hungry can't learn, and I know you're not arguing with me, but I don't see the sense of urgency about this problem on the part of people throughout the country that I wish were there.

Senator **Kennedy**. Aren't there some funds which are available for schools which can show a need, that do not have the facilities for the development of a hot lunch program? I believe there are Federal funds which are available for the physical plant for the delivery of these hot lunches.

Dr. **Hartman**. You're speaking of equipment, Senator?

Senator **Kennedy**. Equipment and facilities.

Dr. **Hartman**. As I recall, Senator, our allocation, Alaska's allocation for equipment last year was $30,000. Total, $30,000, equipment and facilities. Senator, this doesn't go very far. We put this into, or are using it in a new school we're building in Teller. That's outside of Nome. This is where this equipment is going and starting next fall, they'll have, for the first time, a type A hot lunch program.

Senator **Kennedy**. Well, we ought to get more money for you.

Dr. **Hartman**. I hope so, Senator.

Senator **Kennedy**. Thank you very much, Mr. Commissioner, and I appreciate your appearance here and I thank you for coming to testify.

Dr. **Hartman**. I'd like to not only echo some of the remarks that others have made, I think it's a real honor and I think it's a dedication and a supreme effort on the part of you and your cohorts to be here and we thank you very much.

Senator **Kennedy**. Thank you very much. Our final and perhaps most patient witnesses here this evening, Dr. Martha Wilson, service unit director of the Alaska Native Medical Center and Dr. Kenneth Fleshman, the chief of pediatrics of the Alaska Native Medical Center. We want to welcome you to the subcommittee and we want to thank you for coming here this evening.

STATEMENT OF MARTHA WILSON, M.D., SERVICE UNIT DIRECTOR, ALASKA NATIVE MEDICAL CENTER

Dr. **Wilson**. Well, we should like to thank you, Senators, for coming. We very much appreciate the interest and the concern that brought you here, and we think you've been very patient, and we certainly do appreciate the tremendous effort and energy it must have required to make that trip.

Senator **Kennedy**. Dr. Wilson, I want to tell you that we understand that you were extremely helpful in the development of our whole trip up here. You were exceedingly kind to the staff personnel who came up and sought your advice and guidance, and not only many of the suggested witnesses, but also a number of the people in these various communities that we could talk with and I want to have the record indicate our very sincere appreciation to your efforts and your interest and your guidance.

Dr. **Wilson**. Thank you very much. I think, probably, the trip has already given you a clearer orientation to the health problems than any long testimony that I could give to you right now, and so, I think, the best thing that Dr. Fleshman and I could do for you right now is to be brief in our verbal testimony. I think you already know more than we can tell you in any time right now. One of the things I'd like to recommend, however, is that you should pay very close attention to Dr. Nachmann's testimony which is in the record. We believe that it will be very helpful to you. I will keep my testimony very brief.

In spite of considerable gains that have been made in health conditions, there are still disparities in the health status of the Alaska native people and these disparities relate to those environmental factors which you, yourself, have identified so clearly, which remain uncorrected in the village. The main adverse environmental factor is the small, overcrowded, unevenly heated housing, and next to that is the impure water, and the inadequate waste disposal. We should like for you to know that the Alaska native homes are unique in the extent to which they permit the dissemination of respiratory diseases of all kinds and it is on this basis that the Alaska native people have suffered epidemics of tuberculosis, and pneumonia, and bronchiectosis, and otitis media, that have, to our knowledge, not been paralelled in any other population in the world. Now the portion of the population which is most risk to these epidemics are the children and I'd like for Dr. Fleshman to take over the testimony at this point.

STATEMENT OF KENNETH FLESHMAN, M.D., CHIEF OF PEDIATRICS, ALASKA NATIVE MEDICAL CENTER

Dr. **Fleshman**. Mr. Chairman, my name is Kenneth Fleshman. I'm the chief of pediatrics at the Alaska Native Medical Center in Anchorage. I think, over the past few days, you've very graphically seen the effects of ill health—indiscernible—in small children in their education. In addition, you've seen the effects of the environment; the sanitation, the housing and the education, on their health. The Alaska native child still suffers from an excessive amount of illness. In addition to the fatal conditions which cause an infant mortality two or three times that of the rest of the country, there are many conditions which would leave permanent disabilities and chronic illness. Three thousand, or roughly 15 percent of the Alaska native children are hospitalized each year.

There are two types of deleterious effects from these illnesses, one directly relating to the physical process and the other relating to the hospitalization and separation concurrent with this illness. It is a great concern among all of us caring for children about the effects of this hospitalization and separation during the period of illness. Pediatricians everywhere make every effort to keep the child with its parents or, if hospitalization is necessary, to provide visiting, or even rooming in. If this is a concern for the average child in the United States, imagine the plight of the Alaska native child who may become ill in his village, be flown 300 or 400 miles to a field hospital, often unaccompanied by his parents, sometimes transferred to Anchorage, remaining 2 or 3 months, and often brought home again unaccompanied by a parent. He may get over the physical illness, but has a very, very high risk of incurring severe emotional problems. I think these things need to be understood by teachers because a child so affected may experience emotional problems that will be on into his education. The serious long term results of illness that handicap many children are several. These can lead to learning difficulties and the need for special understanding and programs by the education system. Mental retardation is hard to measure in the Alaska native because no one has devised a test which will adequately separate the mental abilities from the social and cultural problems.

(The prepared statement submitted follows:)

JOINT PREPARED STATEMENT OF MARTHA RICHARDSON WILSON, M.D., SERVICE UNIT DIRECTOR, ALASKA NATIVE MEDICAL CENTER; J. KENNETH FLESHMAN, M.D., CHIEF OF PEDIATRICS, ALASKA NATIVE MEDICAL CENTER; AND BARBARA NACHMANN, PH. D., PSYCHOLOGIST, MENTAL HEALTH TEAM, ALASKA AREA NATIVE HEALTH SERVICE

RELATIONSHIP OF HEALTH TO EDUCATION—ALASKA NATIVE CHILDREN

Mr. Chairman, my name is Martha Wilson. I am the director of the Alaska Native Medical Center and I am appearing with two other members of our staff. Dr. Barbara Nachmann, the psychologist from our Mental Health Team, and Dr. Kenneth Fleshman, Chief of Pediatrics for the Alaska Native Medical Center. The testimony we present will be confined to those areas of health, housing, environmental factors, and seporation of families since it is only in those areas that we have knowledge direct enough to be of value to the committee.

If the objective of education is to meet the specific needs of children, we think that it is important to understand what those needs are. My part of this assignment is to summarize briefly the health status of the Alaska Native people, to describe the areas where there are disparities, and to relate the disparities in the physical health to disparities in the physical environment. Dr. Fleshman will speak more directly to the status of health of the children and Dr. Nachmann will speak of the emotional and intellectual development of these children specifically as such development relates to some of the unique environmental factors bearing on these children at this time and in the recent past.

To understand the status of health of the Alaska Native people one needs to know something of their history. Basically, they are an aboriginal people relatively early in their first contact with the cosmopolitan outside world. From a health standpoint, they have followed the pattern response most aboriginal people have taken to contact with outsiders. Briefly, this pattern of response if characterized at first by explosive epidemics of acute infectious diseases from which they had always before been protected by their isolation. Such epidemics, the so-called virgin population epidemics, when compared with the usual endemic experience of cosmopolitan populations are much more serious in terms of incidence of disease, severity of illness, in death rates, and in total impact on the population. One epidemic is apt to follow another in rapid succession so that there is little opportunity between them to regain strengh or to replenish stores of food, fuel and water. The death rates are high and leave critical gaps in families and communities. The weakened, disorganized, and grieving survivors are then left to face the more slowly rising but more ominous problem of tuberculosis. Many aboriginal people have been decimated by such series of events.

In Alaska, one other dimension needs to be added to the picture to gain an understanding of the health status. It is the impact of adverse environmental factors bearing on the native population. These factors are not necessarily an integral part of the Alaskan environment, nor are they a part of the native culture. They are factors associated with poverty. The native environment is characterized by poor and badly overcrowded housing, by sub-marginal food supplies, and by grossly inadequate facilities for sanitation and water. The Alaska Native homes are unique in the extent to which they permit dissemination of respiratory diseases of all kinds. On this basis the Alaska Native people have suffered epidemics of tuberculosis, pneumonia, influenza, otitis media, meningitis, and bronchiectasis that have not to our knowledge been paralleled in other populations of the modern world.

The native people have participated enthusiastically and effectively with the health programs which they are now helping to design and to carry out. On this basis significant impact has been made on some of the major health problems—for others much yet needs to be done.

The graphs we have chosen illustrate disparities in health status and trends in two of the more successful health programs. These graphs compare the experience of three groups: the Alaska Native people, the American Indians of the lower 48, and the average of all races of the United States. The first graph shows the incidence of tuberculosis since 1950 and the second shows the death rates from tuberculosis during the same period. In attempting to understand the significance of these graphs, it is important to think beyond the simple dry statistics of sickness and death to the implications of these circumstances for the lives of this population. The time when the tuberculosis was in epidemic proportions is so recently passed that the older children and the adolescents were born into the thick of some of the worst of it. Many of the school population presently enrolled have, themselves, had long periods of hospitalization. Some have lost one or both parents. Some lost their parents by hospitalization temporarily but for critical segments of their lives. The next graph illustrates the trends and dispartities in infant mortality. For our purpose today, it would seem that a discussion of infant mortality would be irrelevant since it is by definition, the number of all babies who died before their first birthday. However, this measure does have its use in our discussion today because it does give some indication of the extent of serious illness in childhood. Many very serious illnesses are occurring among Alaska Native children and some of those who do not die are surviving with permanent residual damage.

In summary there are factors, physical environment of the Alaska Native homes, that blight the physical health of children. In the same way for some of the children there are factors in the social and emotional environment that could blight their emotional and intellectual development. Dr. Fleshman and Dr. Nachmann, each from the viewpoint of their own specialty, will speak further to some of these problems.

Mr. Chairman, my name is Kenneth Fleshman, Chief of Pediatrics at the Alaska Native Medical Center.

The Alaska Native child suffers from an excessive amount of illness. In addition to fatal conditions causing an infant mortality two or three times that of the rest of the United States, many conditions occur which lead to permanent disabilities and chronic illness. Three thousand, or roughly 15 percent, of the Native children are hospitalized each year.

There are two types of deleterious effects of illness in children: the first, directly related to the disease and the second, indirect and related to nonspecific factors such as separation from parents and long hospitalization.

There is great concern among those caring for children in the rest of the United States about these nonspecific effects of hospitalization and illness. Pediatricians make every effort to keep a child at home, with his parents, when ill. If hospitalization is necessary, frequent visiting or even rooming in is often provided for a parent. Attempts are made to prepare the child for surgical or other traumatic procedures. In spite of this many adverse effects of hospitalization are noted. An infant, six to twelve months of age, is just developing an awareness of his "self" and a trust of the parent as an individual. Separation at this time may break this trust and lead to lifetime difficulties in establishing close, trusting relationships with other persons. The preschool child often manifests separation anxiety, regression in behavior, despair and detachment. The four to six year old may be very terrified of imagined mutilation associated with surgical procedures.

If these are of concern in caring for the average child in the United States, imagine the plight of the Native child who might become ill in the village, be taken to the field hospital (often by someone other than the parent), transferred 400 to 600 miles to the referral hospital, spend one to three months, then return home (again often escorted by a stranger). It is not hard to imagine that even though the child recovers physically, significant emotional problems may occur. It is important for the teachers to understand this since a child so affected may experience serious school and learning problems.

We have seen a group of children who, as infants, were separated from their parents during the period of time that significant portions of the population were hospitalized for tuberculosis. These children are about 10 to 12 years of age, cannot relate well to their families or other persons, are failing in school, and are also failing to grow in a normal fashion physically. This has occurred even though it was the mother and not the child that was ill.

There are serious long-term results of illness that handicap many Native children. They lead to learning difficulties and a need for special understanding and programs by education systems.

Mental retardation is difficult to measure in the Alaska Native because no one has yet devised a reliable test that will exclude sociologic factors. A large number of children have definitely been identified as mentally retarded and an estimated one-half of these were previously normal but suffered permanent brain damage due to an infection, such as meningitis. It would be safe to say that each Alaskan village would contain at least two school-age children who are retarded. We are fortunate that most of the recently discovered genetic causes of retardation are not present in the population.

Hearing loss is probably the number one disability that will interfere with education and learning. Many surveys have indicated that 10 percent of the population have chronic ear infections and that about one-fourth of these have both ears involved with presumably decreased hearing in both ears. This is mainly based on physical examination of the ears and not on good hearing tests. At the minimum, it means 625 Native school children with a serious handicap. In addition many more (up to one-third) suffer acute infections during infancy and early childhood with frequent and prolonged drainage of pus from the ears. Although this may clear up later, its presence during the years of language formulation may permanently impair the individual's ability to communicate and learn. The United States Public Health Service, Alaska Department of Health and Welfare and private sectors of medicine are mounting a concerted effort to do all that is medically possible to alleviate this condition. In spite of all of our efforts a large number of children will still have a hearing loss and will need to be educated.

Visual defects do not appear to occur in an unusual frequency and vision testing and fitting of glasses is done at adequate intervals.

Gross caloric malnutrition is not prevalent; however, iron deficiency anemia, common in infancy, persists up into the school age. Dietary surveys show marginal intakes of many essential nutrients. Where school lunch programs are present it is not uncommon for over 50 percent of the daily intake to be supplied by this one meal. Contributing factors to this are not only the availability of food but lack of knowledge about proper nutrition.

I would now like to suggest the effect education can have on health. The diseases that we are dealing with are essentially unmanageable by traditional medical means. They disappeared as killers and cripplers many years go in the rest of the United States, yielding to correction of the environmental factors responsible such as housing, sanitation, nutrition, and education. I feel it is imperative that the education system consider the tremendous gap that exists between Alaska Native pupils and the average child in the United States and to realize that poorly nourishd, physically handicapped or chronically ill children cannot learn nor achieve in a competitive society. The curriculum must contain a much stronger emphasis than it now does on learning about sanitation, nutrition, basic and, especially, reproductive physiology until the time these children are able to accept and utilize the contents of the traditional United States curriculum.

Mr. Chairman, my name is Barbara Nachmann, I am the psychologist in the Mental Health Unit, Indian Health Service, Alaska Area Native Health Service.

The problems of Indian education are certainly very familiar ones. A review of the literature and the public statements about them over the years leaves one impressed with the high level of agreement among commentators about the major characteristics of the problem and about its gravity. Essentially similar conclusions have been reached over and over again by innumerable workshops, committees, advisory groups, research organizatons, and private individuals.

I assume, therefore, that the only justification for my commenting upon it would be to mention any evidence regarding ways in which the educational situation of the Alaskan Native differs from that of the Indian populations in other parts of the country, or to offer views which are conditioned by my particular vantage point, which is that of a psychologist working in the mental health program of the Alaska Area Native Health Service, Division of Indian Health Service and occasionally loaning my services to the schools in the northern and western regions of the State. Since my contact has been mainly the rural schools rather than the boarding schools I will not comment on the latter except to joint the general concensus that they were an unfortunate necessity, to be supplanted as rapidly as possible by local schools. No matter how skillfully administered they entail two circumstances antithetic to education—absolute segregation and separation of young children from their families.

The questions which we have been asked to address are: what are or should be the goals of education, what problems interfere with learning, what is being done and what could be done to remedy the problems.

THE GOALS OF EDUCATION

The question of what are and should be the goals of education has given rise to two differing views each of which has been voiced by both natives and nonnatives: (1) That schools should provide the most efficient possible move into the White culture. "Realism" is generally invoked in support of this. The assertion is that employment—ability to compete on the job market and to enter the upper occupational levels—is the impoverished group's greatest need: that the solutions to all other problems depend on this, and that the eventual absorption into the technological white economy is an inevitability regardless of what values one might put on it. A contrary assertion is that assimilation is not inevitable, at least in absolute terms. It is argued that the Native's welfare depends upon his preserving his ethnic identity. His right to determine what things from the old culture he will retain and what from the new he will accept is to be safeguarded and education should not be used as a tool for hammering him into an alien mold.

There seems to be emerging a stand different from either of these, which we would like to endorse and to elaborate upon. It is that there are certain skills and bodies of knowledge, and ones which are very close to the heart of education, which have a utility whether one leaps wholly into the future or preserves something of a separate past. Since it is good to have as wide a range of choices as possible; that education is best which educates the person about and equips him to pursue a wide range of possibilities rather than prematurely cutting him off from alternatives and preempting his freedom to choose. The trend of employment and technology is such that narrow specialization on a skill tied to a specific job outlet is likely to be not only personally narrowing but even economically disadvantageous. It is impossible to predict the job market ten years hence in a rapidly changing technology. What seems the most economically practical skill at this moment may be soon totally obsolete. There is every indication that the Eskimo may be caught in an even further irony of history. We may be trying hard to instill in him the zeal for, and to equip him with the skills for competing in, a technological world just at the point when that world is ceasing to exist. Our economic competitiveness and work to earn a living may itself be becoming obsolete as more and more manual operations and semi-skilled jobs are taken over by machines and the whole economy shifts toward a condition where the old concepts of work no longer apply.

In this sense the "practical" and the "cultural self determinism" arguments become reconciled. The education which would best equip a person (Eskimo or otherwise) to exercise choice, to survive in a fast changing technology and economy, and to get durable satisfactions from life, is an education which will enable him to think, to learn easily whatever new content he turns to, to get pleasure out of problem solving, artistic creation, and the use of his intellect, his hands, his body—out of creative activity itself apart from the economic use to which it is put, and a broad knowledge of the world and its meanings—not a body of rote facts or a narrowly applicable trade which is drudgery to be endured as the price of survival.

It is to be noted that many of these things were a part of the cultural heritage which the Eskimos might not only do well to hang on to but to pass on to the Whites.

THE PROBLEMS

We do not have any comprehensive statistical evidence to offer about the status of the problems in education (or in the related areas of the mental health or welfare) of the Alaskan Native because our agency is primarily a service organizations which does not afford the staffing luxury which fact gathering requires. Unfortunately the same is true of the other agencies, state and local, which are more intimately concerned with education. Hence any "research" or "statistical" evidence cited in support of one position or another in Alaska is perforce exceedingly fragmentary.

As we have indicated, however, there is a large accumulation of informal evidence—and a high degree of consensus regarding the nature of the problems. It is not in documenting their existence but in devising and assessing methods of remediation that research is needed.

One may approach the task of listing and categorizing educational problems in a variety of ways; according to their source, functionally, or according to their appearance in the individual's developmental sequence. We have found that whichever of the commonly used categorizations of learning disorders one employs the results are essentially the same.

Elsewhere in the United States students in general have characteristically one or two main areas of difficulty (out of a possible 15-20), determined by individual circumstances. Underprivileged youth elsewhere in the country characteristically have, in addition to such idiosyncratic difficulties, one or two larger areas of impairment determined by economic and cultural disadvantages. The average Alaska Native student by contrast may show serious impairment in almost every existing category. Hence it is not surprising that only the rare exception makes his way to either academic accomplishment in the White world or to intellectual or artistic creativity in his own culture.

It is certainly clear that intellectual development can flourish only after basic physical needs are met, and that the Alaskan Native is more seriously handicapped in regard to such needs than are other non-White groups, and that any fundamental change in his educational status must wait upon the redressing of these historical inequities. Equally certain he is caught in the circularity of the circumstance that his inadequate education prevents his taking full advantage of such improvements in economic opportunity as do come his way.

Dr. Martha Wilson and her colleagues have already detailed the nutritional and physical health concomitants of poverty in an extreme climate and geographic remoteness from medical care which effect central nervous system and sensory functioning. They have also described the interaction of deafness with bilingualism in hampering the development of basic language skills.

The following items are, in our judgment, the main types of non-physical interferences in learning and intellectual development which hamper the Native student.

1. *Lack of early stimulus to learning.*—The pre-school years where the largest and most crucial intellectual development takes place are years of extreme stimulus deprivation for many Native children. The climate precludes outdoor play for a large portion of the year. The out-of-doors in the Arctic provides highly simplified sensory environment. The average home is a meagerly furnished one or two room structure, largely devoid of toys, books, pictures, musical instruments, indeed most of the sensory input which stimulates the urban child's development. The parents, frequently, have abandoned or have themselves lost touch with, the skills, the stories, and the traditions, the acquisition of which was in earlier times the task of childhood. They often have not yet acquired either the goods or the skills of the White culture which could fill this

gap. Hence the Eskimo child comes to his first encounter with formal schooling equipped with far less practice than the average White child at the essential perceptual, motor, and conceptual skills upon which school learning is based.

2. *Interferences in character development.*—Prolonged or repeated separations from parents (due to hospitalizations of patients or children, removal of children to boarding schools, and other kinds of family disruptions) remain a common occurrence for Alaskan families. The damages of these circumstances for the child's development has frequently been pointed out.

From the standpoint of educational development the most crucial result is that the necessary conditions for sturdy character development; i.e. a long term secure relationship with at least one significant adult, is often missing. Capacity to delay gratification, to develop a consistent set of values, to persist in effortful activity, and to strive for long range goals—all the necessary foundations to any real participation in education—are jeopardized. Many children reach school age thus handicapped. They then frequently encounter not the lasting relationship with a teacher which could repair some of this loss but, because of the high turnover rate in teachers and other personnel dealing with youth, a quickly shifting series of brief encounters. Consequently no matter how "good" the parents or teachers, the child experiences them as a series of starts and abortive endings, of contradictory and confusing injunctions and demands, and of promises made and hopes raised but not carried out. The capacity to believe, trust, depend upon, and care about anyone or anything is irreparably blunted.

3. *Interferences in development of capacity to sublimate.*—The use of the intellect, if it is to proceed at all beyond simple rote learning, depends upon there having occurred in childhood the development of the capacity to transform the basic instinctual energies into intellectual ones. This complex process seems to require, among other things, the displacement of sexual curiosity into other areas of knowledge, the presence of certain prohibitions upon immediate instinctual discharge, the presence of considerable cognative input, as well as protection against too overwhelming a flooding with instinctual stimulation. It is difficult to provide the necessary conditions for this development in a crowded one room house where the sexual activity and the destructive violence that life entails must be viewed at close range by every member of the household. Although the details of this process are debatable there is much evidence that if it does not occur in early childhood it cannot be accomplished later on, and that its failure to occur constitutes a permanent limitation upon the capacity to get satisfaction from intellectual activity.

4. *Separation of education from other meaningful experiences.*—There exist for many children not only the temporal discontinuities in personal relationships mentioned above, but also a sharp discontinuity between schooling and other meaningful experiences. Teachers are, except for rare exceptions, of a different race and class and speak a different language. Parents and other adults in the community who would ordinarily serve as models for the developing child are rarely teachers, or in any way identified with the body of knowledge which is presented by the schools. To take on that knowledge in any more than a superficial manner means for the child making a break with his home and his past far more acute and irreversible than that which is required of children elsewhere.

5. *Teacher-student attitudes which inhibit learning.*—Because of its linguistic and cultural strangeness participation in the classroom routine is experienced by many children here as exposure to criticism and to the danger of being found wanting—the aim becomes to conceal ignorance and to avoid embarrassment by saying as little as possible and keeping uninvolved. School becomes a continuously defensive ordeal to be survived. It is seldom the pleasurable exploration of the world or the development of one's own capacities which can be experienced only when student and teacher are free from concern about external standards of performance and united in following curiosity rather than compulsion.

6. *Perpetuation of gaps in basic skills.*—Through the widespread practice of "social promotion" (on grounds that it is too embarrassing or too unwieldly to have ten and twelve year olds among the first and second graders) children who have failed to acquire the basic language and arithmatic skills upon which all subsequent learning is dependent are pushed along through the grades according to age rather than achievement. As a consequence what is taught becomes increasingly unmeaningful, and the entire educational process increasingly an empty compliance with a ritual requirement. The disparity between what the child understands and what he must pretend to know becomes wider and wider, and the possibility of remedying the gaps becomes more remote.

Funds have been made available for a variety of technical training programs for adolescents and adults but little or none for supplementing the basic academic skills which many have missed but which one *must* have to make use of special training programs.

7. *Lack of supervisory aid for teachers.*—The lack of intensive local supervision and the disadvantages of "absentee administration" is a problem which stems from Alaska's immense distances and which education hence shares with many other occupations. Teachers are frequently new to Alaska, new to the ways of life in the remote north, and new to teaching all at once. They are cut off from the means to professional stimulation and development which are available elsewhere. The local principal or superintendent is often himself too burdened with other tasks to give the kind of supervision which could best utilize the zeal and originality of novices or the knowledge and experience of seasoned teachers. Difficulties which initially would have been easy to solve snowball in dismaying proportions and teacher-turnover is high. Native, Eskimo speaking instructional aides who could be central to the whole program are relegated to peripheral tasks because no one has time to devise adequate ways of using them. High teacher-turnover and low use of natives teachers, in a situation where overcoming the initial strangeness between student and teacher is so difficult a task, is the wasteful result.

Of this list of interferences in learning those which are most unique to Alaska are:

1. Early stimulus deprivation.
2. Disruption of personal relationships as barrier to character development.
3. Living conditions which interfere with the channeling of energies.
4. The linguistic and cultural gap.

These, it will be seen, are the ones which stem primarily from circumstances outside the educational system.

The latter half of our list which deals with issues stemming in part from the nature of the educational program: (1) teacher—student attitudes; (2) social promotion; (3) supervisory needs—involves circumstances in which the Alaskan problems are an exaggeration of those prevalent elsewhere.

It seems to us quite evident that the basic problems are one which cannot be solved by any simple changes in educational policy or practice. They are problems which must certainly prove as serious stumbling blocks to the state school system as they have to the BIA. It will be lamentable indeed if the State Department of Education is now to fall into the plight which the BIA has long suffered: that of being charged wih an enormously difficult task while provided with meager resources for coping with it.

WHAT IS BEING DONE

There are evident, here and there, efforts of extraordinary—one might well say—heroic—quality by individual teachers, and in circumscribed local projects of great ingenuity and verve—For example there is the young Negro teacher, Paul Sterling, on Little Diomede (now at the North-East Cape) who used his skill as a teacher and his courage and compassion as a man to produce a profound effect on that remarkably intractable community—or the Hawaiian-born Fred Goo at the end of the continent in Pt. Barrow, who has devised and carried out a one-man remedial reading program that the most prosperous urban school could be proud of.

Our impression is, however, that there has been no adequate comprehensive attack on the problems but only circumscribed and intermittent ones.

The near universal problems of bilingualism and educational retardation have been mistaken for individual problems of mental retardation or emotional disorder and have hence been dealt with, if at all, as "special education." They have thus been accorded the limited, peripheral, patch-work attention and resources which such problems receive rather than being attacked as a circumstance basic to the entire educational effort.

The small size of the Indian-Eskimo population has illogically been used as a basis for assuming that small efforts would suffice. These are problems which have to do with basic lacunae in the educational development of nearly all Eskimo-Indian youth. They cannot be remedied on in a year or two and are most especially resistant to change after early childhood is passed. They are, however, like many social problems, not *necessarily* perpetual but ones which *are* perpetuated from one generation to the next, so that if sufficient resources were expended to truely eliminate them in one generation they could be eliminated once and for all.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Our recommendations regarding those parts of the problem that are amendable to change within the educational system are as follows:

1. That the under-education of native youth be recognized as a universal rather than as a special, individual problem, and approached accordingly.
2. That social promotion be eliminated and that teaching staff and facilities be increased so that all children capable of learning can acquire the basic skills.
3. That pre-school and adult education be recognized as essential to the success of the regular school program and made an integral part of it.
4. That bi-lingual Indian and Eskimo teachers and teacher-aides be trained and used in much greater numbers.
5. That highly trained supervision and in-service training be provided on the local level to make the use of less highly trained and experienced teachers more feasible.

What has repeatedly been pointed out before becomes now increasingly clear: The education of disadvantaged children is a major national problem. The federally operated Indian schools provide an opportunity for creating a model system which could lead the way in research and development. Instead the national reaction has been one of simultaneously blaming and curtailing, so that they have become an example of the waste and futility of stop-gap measures.

Senator KENNEDY. Do they have the PKU tests here in Alaska?

Dr. FLESHMAN. Yes. The State has passed a law. The facilities for the test to be done by the State are not available at this time. They can be purchased. A large number of mentally retarded native children have been identified. The tragic thing is that over half of these were born normal. They have suffered illness such as meningitis which is damaging, after birth. Fortunately, we have very, very rare congenital causes of retardation. We have not identified anything such as PKU in the native group. Hearing loss is probably the number one disability that will interfere with education and learning. Many surveys indicate that at least 10 percent of the native population suffers from chronic ear infection. This is a perforated eardrum, whether it may or may not be continuing to drain. And, that one-fourth of these have both ears involved and presumably would have a hearing handicap. This is mainly based on physical examination of the ears, but not on a good hearing test. We do not have the facility yet to do this. At a minimum, however, there are 625 native children in school who will have a serious handicap. In addition, somewhere between a third and two-thirds, depending on the region of Alaska, will suffer recurrent acute infections during the early years of life. This is frequent and prolonged drainage of pus from the ears; this may clear up later but its presence during this early period of language formulation can lead to serious handicaps and communications difficulties and learning problems.

Our organization, the U.S. Public Health Service, and the Alaska Department of Health and private sectors of medicine are mounting a very concerted effort to attack this problem, but in spite of all our efforts, there will be a large number of children who will remain handicapped and special education will have to be provided for these children. Visual defects don't appear to occur in a particularly unusual frequency, although there seems to be a higher instance of nearsightedness, but vision testing, fitting of glasses are done at adequate intervals, so I don't believe that it interferes with education. We've talked about malnutrition. Malnutrition usually conjures up the image of starvation and actual physical wasting and dying from this; however, this is not our definition of malnutrition. This is nutrition which is suboptimal, which is deficient in certain essentials. It may be deficient in quantity also. The major deficiency disease that we identify is iron deficiency anemia, and there is a definite proven correlation between anemia, the occurrence of respiratory infections, the severity of respiratory infections when they do occur, and this anemia occurs primarily in infants, but it does continue on through the school-age child.

Senator **Mondale**. Dr. Van Dusen, that remarkable lady from Tuba City, Ariz., testified that malnutrition there, she thinks, contributes not only to some flagrant examples of which you haven't seen any here, kwashiorkor, and so forth, but she thinks much of the retardation that is experienced down there is related to malnutrition.

Dr. **Fleshman**. This has been well documented in South America, that protein malnutrition in the first 2 years will lead to irreparable retardation of brain growth. I think we are very fortunate in that protein malnutrition does not occur. This is extremely fortunate because it's a self-perpetuating cycle if it does, in that you have parents growing up who have suffered from this and can't provide. All the dietary surveys done in the villages have so far shown marginal or suboptimal intake of many of the essential nutrients. Although we don't identify the deficiency, the need is associated with this.

Senator **Mondale**. In layman language, they're still hungry though. They need food.

Dr. **Fleshman**. Yes. In many of the school lunch programs that I've visited, it's not uncommon for over 50 percent and sometimes well over 50 percent of the daily food intake to be consumed at this one meal that's furnished in the school. Now there's many factors that contribute to this, and not only the availability of the foods, but in many cases, the lack of knowledge of proper nutrition and lack of knowledge of how to store and preserve the foods that are available to them, or to purchase wisely what they have. I think that this obviously requires education. In the meantime, I think the school lunch program is essential, and I'm very happy to see you pushing so hard on this one issue. I'd like to suggest the effect that education can have on health, since this is my primary interest—my primary occupation, not my primary interest—but the diseases that we're dealing with are essentially unmanageable by traditional medical means. They disappeared as killers and cripplers many years ago in the rest of the United States, yielding to the correction of the environmental factors responsible, such as housing, sanitation, nutrition, and education. I feel that it is imperative that the education system consider the tremendous gap that exists between the Alaska native pupils and the average child in the United States. You realize that poorly nourished, physically handicapped, and chronically ill children cannot learn nor achieve in a competitive society. The curriculum must contain a much stronger emphasis than it does now in learning about sanitation, nutrition, basic, and especially reproductive physiology, until the time that these children can accept and utilize the traditional U.S. curriculum.

Senator **Kennedy**. Well, thank you very much, both of you, for your comments. If we take—let me just ask for a rough estimation on your part. If you say that 10 percent of the children are suffering from chronic ear infection, and that is some 600-odd children who are in the school system who are, you'd have to say significantly affected by this, and take the other kinds of physical limitations from the basis of the retardation which happens in the early life becasue of nutritional deficiencies and the others, what percent—could you give us any kind of figure of the percent of young people that start off in the first grade in Alaskan schools among the native populations who are effected these variety of different unfortunate ways. Could you give us any kind of ——

Dr. **Fleshman**. I think I would have to reiterate that the ear infections are the No. 1 handicapping condition of hearing. Vision, I think, we could discount as being a major cause of disability. Retardation, it would be safe to say that probably every village has one child starting to school with a real mental deficiency that would require a special educational program. These other unmeasurable things, for instance, a short time ago, we identified a group of children about 10 or 11 years of age who have failed to grow, who have failed to learn, who test abnormal, but the common denominator in their background, they fit no disease pattern, but the common denominator, they were all separated from their mothers as infants. Their mothers were hospitalized for tuberculosis. There's about 10 of these children and they are identical. Well, these children, nothing really happened to them physically, but they were separated and they have shown residual effects of this. Dr. Wilson could probably reiterate. We think we are seeing tremendous residues from the tuberculosis epidemic. There's hardly a family that hasn't lost at least one member and sometimes both with tremendous disruption. These sort of things will lead to apparent retardation to apparent difficulties in functioning that are attributed a times to physical causes, but are very, very hard to dissect out in this.

Senator **Mondale**. You talk about the psychological destruction of separation, and you put it different context—the turnover of teachers and so on—any attachments seem to get taken from them. How would you evaluate the psychological impact of being separated for three quarters of a year, say, at Chilocco or one of the other schools—boarding schools—in one of the other States, far distances removed from their parents, even though it's in the high school years? Do you think that's liable to have an adverse psychological impact on the child?

Dr. **Fleshman**. A lot depends. You did qualify by saying in the year that it occurs, and of course, the later on that it occurs, the less likely it to be of significant impact. I think someone who testified earlier, made the most important point. If the family is separated spiritually and emotionally, it doesn't matter whether they are in the same village or a thousand miles away, and this, I think is a very, very critical thing because it's—some sort of separation for education is probably going to always be necessary. A certain size of community will not support the entire education system and as we heard, in Barrow I believe it was, the feeling of the council there is that some separation, some further broadening of their experience is desirable. I think if the family is basically sound and it's done at an older age, that they can survive.

Dr. **Wilson**. But the extent to which Alaska native people have had their families and homes disrupted by so many factors—in our own program we've had to interrupt and separate families for tuberculosis control. Many had their families interrupted and they lost large segments of their families by death from tuberculosis. The extent to which fathers have to leave home for economic pursuits in the summertime, the extent to which children are separated for educational purposes, all of these—I think—no such population is being disrupted trying to get into the modern age now, and it is, I think, very hard on them. And that they are doing it with such dignity and such courage.

Senator **Mondale**. I'm glad you mentioned that, because I found it almost haunting, the way the children, 8, 9, and 10, talked about leaving their parents for 9 months or 2 years or whatever it is: From the white man's standpoint, you couldn't accept such a thing, and yet they've apparently come to accept it. At least they state it in those terms, but I'm not sure they have accepted it.

Senator **Stevens**. I only have one question and that is about the Bethel Hospital. It was a little bit of a shock to see that hospital in that situation and not have heard anything about it back there in Washington. Can you tell us when that happened and what you have planned to do about it? I don't want to prolong the thing, maybe you could write me a letter.

Dr. **Wilson**. I think that hospital, physically, has ben going downhill. It's gone downhill very sharply and very badly and needs a new roof. The request for the reprograming of money was submitted back in October and I think it was passed by the House committee, and it was submited to the Senate, I believe in January and there has not been any response back to our program on that request for reprograming. Other money already appropriated for other purposes were—we have tried to divert that to the Bethel Hospital which is appropriate That Bethel Hospital is probably one of the most important health activities that is going on in the Nation today and it needs to be supported very, very strongly. It needs to be expanded and it needs a much, much stronger program than it has. It's doing outstanding jobs with terrible facilities, absolutely terrible facilities.

Senator **Stevens**. I hope you'll write us a letter about that and tell us the total problems involved, but it raised an interesting issue to me and I think to the other Senators here, and that is, do you tell your people out in the "bush" not to contact their Congressmen and Senators directly?

Dr. **Wilson**. We do not. We most cordially invite you to visit all of our facilities——

Senator **Stevens**. That's not what I mean, now. I asked three of them why they hadn't told me about specific conditions and they said that their orders were to send it through Anchorage. Do you have some policy that you're not supposed to allow your employees, say in Bethel, not to contact me directly?

Dr. **Wilson**. No, sir; we do not have such a policy. I do not know what the——

Senator **Stevens**. Would you mind writing them a letter to that effect and the next time I go into one of these Public Health Service hospitals, I'll see it posted on the bulletin board?

Dr. **Wilson**. Well, I should say that I am not the one that would be responsible for writing such a letter. I provide clinical support through specialists and the administrative direction—I will, however, pass this on to my boss and he will, I'm quite sure, be very happy to respond to that request.

Senator **Stevens**. Would you do me this one last favor and that is, you tell him, if he doesn't want to write such a letter to Public Health

Service installations in the State, to write me a letter and say why he won't?

Dr. WILSON. Yes, sir; I'll do that, and we appreciate the interest and the invitation and we'll take you up on it.

Senator STEVENS. Thank you.

Senator KENNEDY. As you may know, the Hill-Burton Act expires in the next year and the Congress will have a chance to reconsider really for the first time in 20 years, the whole question and approach of the Federal's role in the developing of these hospitals in these rural areas, urban areas, the development of these neighborhood health centers which have been enormously successful in both the urban and rural areas. And I think all of us can benefit from the kinds of experiences which your organization has in its attempt to provide the kind of health services to a group similar to the Bethel area which has a number of rural communities and very important health needs. So, we'll all be focusing on this in the next year, those of us in the Congress and the Senate and we'll be looking for your views on this kind of legislation, as well.

Dr. WILSON. We shall be delighted to try to help.

Senator KENNEDY. Senator Mondale.

Senator MONDALE. Let me say, doctors, how much I appreciate the role of the Public Health Service, Division of Indian Health. I've spent a lot of time on this issue, and I've always come away thrilled by the work your people are doing and your sense of involvement. You're underfunded and understaffed, but there's an openness about your agency, a willingness to take criticism, a willingness to stretch your resources and a willingness to see a broad gauged responsibility. Here you are, you could have taken the technical approach, but here you are, you're trying to help us understand education from your specialist standpoint, and I find that attitude most refreshing and unique, if I may say so.

The second thing is, I think one of the big problems and hang ups in this country is that we don't understand how fragile a child is. We've some concept about what it takes to break a leg or how long it takes for a cold to end or something like that, but we don't see the intangible things that are often infinitely more destructive permanently than the obvious physical things, and your testimony here, and the others, I think, needs to be developed, because it helps unfold the hidden aspect of deprival that the American public finds so difficult to understand. Dr. Menninger and Dr. Bergmann have testified that the elementary boarding schools are barbaric. That's a psychiatrist talking. It's not tangible, it's hard to prove that it's right. All you know is that suicides are unbelievably prevalent, and so are alcoholism and other kinds of antisocial and self-destructive behavior.

I think that all of our failures to understand deprival and the shape of programs to cope with it stem in large part from our failure to understand and perceive this element that you've tried to deal with tonight. I'm very appreciative.

Senator KENNEDY. Thank you very much. Senator Stevens?

Senator STEVENS. Well, Mr. Chairman, I want to personally thank you for arranging this tour in the last 3 days and for your courtesy to me and to our Congressman in permitting us to go with you. There's been a lot of controversy as we know, in the press about this trip, but my position has been, and Congressman Pollock's position, that this trip is good for Alaska. I think we have seen a great deal. You've brought about the education of some national news figures who now know something about Alaska. I hope we have increased our own education a little bit, too. The real purpose of the trip, as far as we're concerned, has been fulfilled. As a matter of fact, I learned some alarming things in Nome about the way the school has gone downhill in the last few years since I last visited it. I hope that all Alaskans feel the same as I do, and I'm sure they do. As a matter of fact, I will tell you that I was late tonight because a gentleman I consider to be one of the most conservative members of the Alaska State Senate called me to tell me to stay with you and "give 'em hell!" That is he said: "Stay with him and give 'em hell on behalf of Alaska" in support of what you're doing, and so we did.

Senator KENNEDY. Very good. Let me just thank you for being here this evening, Senator, and for your valuable assistance in helping us plan the trip. As I mentioned earlier, I think all of us on the committee, myself and I'm sure, Senator Mondale, were traveling with someone who knows the State as well as you and Congressman Pollock and is familiar with the difficulties and the hard life which exists in so many of the communities, were really able to add to our understanding of a very complex and difficult kind of question and problem. We're very much appreciative of your sincere interest and I think all of us feel that the work is really just begun because what we've attempted to do during these few days is to listen to the people, the natives, as well as the others here in this State to try and gain some understanding and a better realization of the problem. I feel that we have, but our real job is going to be after we return to Washington and this is something we'll all work on and work together to help to the best of our ability.

I want to thank all of you for being here this evening and for your attention and the courtesy that you've shown to the witnesses which have appeared here, the demeanor and the manner in which you've conducted yourselves, the interest which you've manifested. I think shows that there many hundreds of thousands of people like yourselves who are deeply concerned with this issue and I think that adds an additional challenge to those of us who have some opportunity to try and attempt to cope with it. Ultimately and fundamentally, whatever we do in the Nation's Capitol will have to be worked on here in the State and in the local communities. It's a partnership arrangement, but it's important that at least our share of the partnership is recognizing it's responsibility, for too long we have not, and I for one, feel that we'll return to Washington with a greater depth and understanding of the nature of the problem and hopefully with the worthwhile comments that have been made tonight and during the period of the last few days, be able to come up with the results and to, I think as Margaret said earlier, we'll be able to cut the hot potato up before it gets cold.

The record will remain open for statements of those who could not appear and for other pertinent material submitted for the record.

(The material referred to follows:)

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JOHN BELINDO, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, NATIONAL CONGRESS OF AMERICAN INDIANS

Mr. Chairman, Honorable Senators, the views of the National Congress of American Indians as to the existing deficiencies in Indian education programs, both in the public schools and in the BIA-administered Federal schools, have previously been submitted to the Subcommittee. It is the purpose of this statement to specify recommendations for change, and to comment on some of the proposals by others.

We do not support a transfer of the educational programs of the BIA to HEW. While HEW has presumedly greater technical competence in the field of education, it is *not* improved technique that is required, but a need to encourage the Indian child to greater self-fulfillment. Neither the public school nor the BIA schools have understood this principle, and the result has been, in most instances, a hostile and alienated Indian child, forced to exchange his cultural heritage for that of the dominant culture, or fail.

As Senator Wayne Morse's Subcommittee on Education said in its May, 1967, report, "Because education is inextricably linked to the other human service functions and because transfer of the education function would result in further fragmentation of the total spectrum of services now afforded Indians by the Federal Government . . . [prevailing Indian opinion reflects that] the Bureau of Indian Affairs should retain the education function . . ., working in close cooperation with the Office of Education to develop a high quality program of Indian education."

We feel that a revitalized Bureau of Indian Affairs, developed free of the repressive atmosphere of the Interior Department, as an independent agency of the Federal Government, would be able to accomplish these goals. We have detailed such a proposal in a separate paper now receiving circulation by The National Congress of American Indians. While HEW knows more about education than the BIA, it knows less about Indian education, and it is this knowledge which is fundamental to executing a successful program. A variety of techniques have historically been tried in Indian education, but only in those rare instances where Indian cultural values have been taken into account has there been any measure of success. In most instances, whatever the technique, the object of the program has been to degrade Indian cultural values. Thus, such programs have failed.

The Indian sees dispersion of Federal services as a prelude to termination. What is needed is a total-spectrum approach to the human needs of the Indian, in an agency which will serve such needs. Thus, it is more important for the administering agency to understand Indians than it is for it to understand education.

There can be no doubt, given our previous criticisms and those of others, that a new education policy should be developed for Indian education. Numerous proposals have been made, and all require adequate consideration. But the National Congress of American Indians can set forth certain criteria which we feel any such new policy should meet. Such a policy should provide opportunities for Indians to:

Serve as members of school boards and boards of education of Federal schools and public schools with significant Indian enrollment, and as a member of the regulatory, and State and Federal education advisory committees.

Initiate and develop, and be provided with assistance and training to accomplish, co-ordinated community plans and programs that utilize fully all existing resources available to the community from State and local levels.

Participate in comprehensive training programs for continuing and expanding involvement in the educational; process: as school board members, classrooom teachers and aides, college staff and faculty, and supportive service personnel.

Build into their communities, through involvement and participation, the control of programs necessary to determine in which direction change will proceed, and in what manner Indians will be affected by innovations.

At the root of each of these proposals is a single principle, seldom honored by the Federal government, that Indians have the right of self-determination, and that they should participate in and control the planning of their own destiny.

The administration recognized this right in the speech delivered to the convention of the National Congress of American Indians at Omaha, in September, 1968, on behalf of then-candidate Nixon. Hopefully, his words will not be empty.

The continued policy of rushing Indian children into State public schools provides no solution, for however deservedly the BIA has served as whipping boy for its educational failures, the public schools have not served Indian children well.

The Johnson-O'Malley Act, broad in concept and designed to provide for innovative approaches to the problems of Indian education has never been used in this way. Virtually without exception since 1934 the act has been used to supplement basic budget support in school districts with tax-exempt Indian lands, the same purpose to which PL 874 money is now put, insofar as Indians are involved. Johnson-O'Malley funds ought to be used in the ways authorized by the Act to provide for the special needs of Indian students. Where appropriate, Johnson-O'Malley funds should be contracted to tribes so that the tribes can bring into the schools the necessary special programs. To the extent that additional federal funding is necessary for basic budget support, it should be provided by other legislation, not the Johnson-O'Malley Act.

INDIAN VIEWS ON THE REORGANIZATION OF THE BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, ADOPTED BY THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF AMERICAN INDIANS, WENDELL CHINO, PRESIDENT, ON MAY 6, 1969, ALBUQUERQUE, N. MEX.

The National Congress of American Indians would like to project several views and ideas that we have concerning the Federal Administration of Indian Affairs during the present and subsequent Administrations.

The creation of the National Council on Indian Opportunity by President Johnson was a milestone in the involvement of Indian people with the administration of this country, and as such it can be a vital mechanism for Indian involvement in their own progress. There is no other like body which gives the Indian people such vital participation in the discussion and solution of their problems. The National Council on Indian Opportunity must be continued and funds appropriated for its continued operation.

There is no question about the desirability of appointing an Indian of recognized ability to the Indian Claims Commission.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs for a long period of time has handled matters involving Indian people. After a fair consideration of all the issues involved, we believe that the Bureau of Indian Affairs has, in good conscience, attempted to carry out its programs and functions, but we believe that the time has now arrived to take a long and analytical look at this Bureau.

The abolition or dispersal of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and all of its services among other government agencies certainly is not the answer. We believe that the Bureau of Indian Affairs can effectively perform its present duties if the organization is revised. It has the experience and know-how that is required in areas that it directly involves the Indian people in management.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs should, by legislation, be made an independent commission or agency. At the present time the Bureau of Indian Affairs must compete for funds with other agencies and bureaus within the Department of Interior who are also the responsibility of the Secretary of the Interior. The Department of Interior is basically a land oriented organization, rather than a human oriented organization. The Department's Budget Managers are also land oriented. They do not have the required empathy regarding basic Indian problems which are human in nature, such as the community problems of education, housing, etc. The Secretary of the Interior often finds himself hamstrung by the Department and other interests which are more interested in other areas. This conflict of interest at the Secretarial level cannot contribute to the fair and impartial administration of Indian Affairs.

The very bureaucratic structure of the Bureau of Indian Affairs insulates the Secretary of the Interior from the Indian people. The Secretary's chief representative of the Indian people, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, is also further insulated from the people by the Area Offices. With these insulations, it is no small wonder that many critics of the Bureau of Indian Affairs claim that the job is not being done, and that top heavy administration results. Limited funds are now being wasted on useless office support, which also breeds excessive red tape and reporting requirements. Direct access to the top administrators is needed. The establishment of an independent Indian Commission will remove most of the bureaucracy that makes it so cumbersome for Indian people to communicate with those who are responsible for Indian Affairs. We believe that this proposed Indian Commission will be more responsive to the Indian people and speed the day when full-scale development can be implemented in Indian communities.

We would recommend the establishment of a committee or commission to study the operation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Included in this body should be a broad representation of responsible Federally recognized Indian leadership. One of the primary tasks of this body should be a complete study and evaluation of the present Bureau of Indian Affairs budget process. The present process has built-in pitfalls which not only encourage, but promote and nourish the building of empires by bureaucratic Branch Chiefs through their control of funds, promotions, etc. at the Central, Area and Agency levels.

We believe that funds appropriated by the Congress for the benefit of Indians and Indian Tribes should be appropriated with broad discretionary powers for their use given to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and especially to the Agency superintendent. The present line-item-functional appropriations result in waste for some functions through an overabundance of funds while other necessary functions are curtailed because of fund limitations. The revision of the budget process should also include the approval or the veto power by Tribal governing bodies during the local Agency budget submittal process.

The Indian Agencies at Reservation level should be reorganized, taking into account local needs and the total Reservation development programs. The present Bureau structure, which calls for an Agency Branch to complement every Washington Branch Chief whether it is essentially needed or not, should be eliminated. The local Agencies should be revamped to include an effective combination of facilities and services urgently and ultimately needed to achieve the human resource, natural resource and economic developments in the Indian Community.

We have some reservations about Indian Tribes contracting to perform services for the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In many cases, Indian Tribes do not have the necessary capital to contract to perform these services. If Indian Tribes are to be encouraged to contract with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the necessary working capital and equipment must be made available on an outright grant basis to permit the Tribe to function economically. It should be specifically understood that if Indian Tribes are to contract with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, that a fair return by the Tribes is to be expected and that the Tribes should not be expected to pay sub-standard wages to perform these services. Also, the Tribes should be offered not only the dirtiest, smallest and most difficult jobs which the Agency must accomplish, but Tribes should be encouraged to accept major tasks that may require them to develop their own staffs of skilled experts. In many instances, Tribes are offered just those jobs that the Bureau of Indian Affairs has never been able to successfully accomplish, or those which are insignificant, or those which the Bureau of Indian Affairs does not want to be bothered with.

If Indian Tribes with very little capital contract with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, this contracting could bankrupt them unless payment procedures by the Bureau are improved. Further, the failure of Congress to give continuity of appropriations for Indian contract programs and developments could leave Indian contractors with costly, but unusable equipment. Excessive contract supervision and red tape requirements should also be kept in check if Indian Tribes are to be expected to contract successfully.

We have many years to go before the Indian people and their communities reach optimum development; therefore, any thoughts of abolishing or parceling out the services of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to other Federal agencies is out of the question at this time. If another Federal agency attempted to take over one of the present functions of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, that agency would have to learn the difficult task and would be faced with the same problems which the Bureau of Indian Affairs faces. We suggest that the change of the present Area-Agency system is the most expedient route to take.

If the Bureau of Indian Affairs is abolished or its services fragmented it will again jeopardize, and in many cases it will terminate the present services of the Federal government. It will be termination in disguise. Indian people have never been successful in competing for services through other government agencies, and the services received from these agencies have been very small or practically nil except for the excellent services now received from the Economic Development Administration and the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Politically and socially it is almost impossible for the Indian to compete for services among other Federal agencies. With the huge backlog of services and developments needing to be accomplished, at best, the parceling out of Bureau of Indian Affairs services to other Federal agencies would only be an injustice to these agencies because of their already insurmountable work load. A revamped and revitalized Bureau of Indian Affairs with sufficient funds can and will do a better job.

RESOLUTION No. 6

Whereas the President of the National Congress of American Indians has carefully considered the question of necessary reorganization of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and has presented a well-written and thoughtful paper on this subject, and

Whereas an adequate opportunity to study the recommendations contained therein has now been afforded to the Executive Council of the National Congress of American Indians, and

Whereas a special committee for the purpose of reporting to the Executive Council its view of the Chino paper has met and reported its recommendations, and

Whereas said special committee has recommended the adoption of the Chino paper, subject to certain modifications: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the report of the Special Committee on the Chino paper be adopted as the position of the National Congress of American Indians, and that this resolution, together with the Chino paper as modified, be distributed to appropriate officials of the government as the position of the National Congress of American Indians.

Rev. WENDELL CHINO,
President, National Congress of American Indians.
FRANK DUCHENEAUX,
Chairman, Resolutions Committee.

MAY 5–6, 1969.
ALBUQUERQUE, N. MEX.
Attest:

Mr. BENNY ATENCIO,
Recording Secretary, National Congress of American Indians.

RESOLUTION No. 11

Whereas one of the most serious problems facing the Indian people today is the lack of quality education for Indian children, and

Whereas the Bureau of Indian Affairs had entered into a contractual agreement of training the kindergarten teachers to serve on various Indian reservations, and

Whereas said contract was terminated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs without consulting Indian leaders and in particular, the National Association for the Education of Young-Children-Kindergarten Project: now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the National Congress of American Indians urges the Bureau of Indian Affairs to consult with Indian leaders and the National Association for the Education of Young Children-Kindergarten Project on all such matters and urges the Bureau of Indian Affairs to reconsider its decision on this matter before making any further commitment to any other party.

Rev. WENDELL CHINO,
President, National Congress of American Indians.
FRANK DUCHENEAUX,
Chairman, Resolution Committee, National Congress of American Indians.

MAY 5–6, 1969.
ALBUQUERQUE, N. MEX.
Attest:

Mr. BENNY ATENCIO,
Recording Secretary, National Congress of American Indians.

RESOLUTION No. 12

Whereas the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education of the United States Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, has, under the successive chairmanships of Senators Robert F. Kennedy, Wayne Morse, and Edward M. Kennedy, performed unique and valuable services in investigating, collecting data and recommending improvements with respect to the educational situation of American Indian children, and

Whereas the said Subcommittee will complete its work and render its report on or before July 31, 1969, and

Whereas the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, the Joint Economic Committee, and others have jurisdiction over many matters not within the jurisdiction of the Interior Committee of the Senate, especially including, but not limited to, education of Indian children in the public schools, implementation of poverty-alleviating programs under the Economic Development Act, Job Corps Program, and Office of Economic Opportunity, and

Whereas the Labor and Public Welfare Committee of the Senate has shown a sympathetic interest in necessary legislative surveillance of the programs affecting the Health, Education and Welfare of Indians, and

Whereas the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, and its Indian Affairs Subcommittee, has demonstrated neither the expertise, sympathy nor interest to adequately undertake its responsibility for those programs of the Bureau of Indian Affairs relating to the human needs of American Indians, and

Whereas the substantial investigation of the problems of American Indians in the area of human needs can best be undertaken within the jurisdiction of a Select Committee of the United States Senate: now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the National Congress of American Indians requests that the United States Senate establish and adequately fund a Select Committee on the Human Needs of the American Indian, under the chairmanship of a Senator from the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare to completely investigate and undertake continuing legislative surveillance of the programs affecting the American Indian, and that the appropriate leadership of the Senate be advised of the adoption of this resolution.

REV. WENDELL CHINO,
President, National Congress of American Indians.
FRANK DUCHENEAUX,
Chairman, Resolutions Committee, National Congress of American Indians.

MAY 5–6, 1969.
ALBUQUERQUE, N. MEX.
Attest:

MR. BENNY ATENCIO,
Recording Secretary, National Congress of American Indians.

MISREPRESENTATIONS OF THE ALASKAN NATIVES IN SOCIAL STUDIES TEXTS CURRENTLY IN USE IN THE UNITED STATES INCLUDING ALASKA, A PRELIMINARY REPORT

(By the Department of Education, University of Alaska, College, Alaska, Mar. 14, 1969)

This report is of a preliminary study on the coverage of Alaskan Natives in social study texts used in elementary and high schools throughout the country, including the Alaskan classrooms. The study is far from complete in that it covers only current editions of texts which were available through the North Star Borough School District Administration Offices at Fairbanks, Alaska. Several interesting problems arise in the discussion of Alaskan Natives in these texts. These problem areas are summarized below, with specific illustrations of gross misrepresentations in the lists following. A list of texts which were reviewed and in which the representation of the Eskimo was acceptable is also included even though the texts failed to mention even the presence of the Indian population in the state. It was interesting to discover that many elementary social study series did not even include information on the state of Alaska, much less the Natives: such books are also listed on the following pages.

Not only today, but also throughout history, there have been several distinct differences between the Eskimos of Canada and those of Alaska. These differences are rarely brought forward in social studies texts. The Canadian Eskimo has historically been more nomadic than the Alaskan. A few Canadian Eskimos even today still live as their ancestors did—travelling hundreds of miles by dog-sled, building snow houses, and tenting in the summer. The vast majority of Canadian Eskimos, however, are now settled in towns and are supplied by train, plane, or ship with their necessities for life. The Alaskan Eskimo, on the other hand, has had very little nomadic history, and today it can be guaranteed that no Alaskan

Native builds a snow house or nomadically travels hundreds of miles with his family in search of food. Today's Alaskan Eskimo uses kerosene, oil or electricity for heat and light; he lives in established communities with schools, stores, airstrips, and, in some cases, an electricity generating facility. The villages have regular mail service and have radios, whereby they maintain contact with other villages and cities. All native children have access to schools of one type or another, either in the villages or in central locations. Hunting and fishing are still an important occupation of many Natives; however, most Natives get their food and supplies through stores which are supplied by airfreight or ship. Many Natives are employed in Defense jobs, oil, mining, and fishing operations. While realistic for a very small minority of people living in another country, stories of the Eskimo travelling for miles hunting seals and caribou, building snow houses and tents, and such activities are highly misleading when application of the story to the Alaskan Native is implied. This is probably the most serious problem in the presentation of the Alaskan Native. In reading these stories, one is often led to believe that due to arduous travels the Eskimos do not stop long enough to educate their children, to learn about the existence of electricity, to communicate with the outside world, or for that matter, to even know of another world. Stories of this kind are highly prejudicial against the Alaskan Eskimo of today. While such tales may have had some validity for Eskimos of past generations, they are commonly used today in texts with no accompanying explanation of the fact that these modes of living are now long gone, only to be found in museums. This problem of confusing history with the present, and confusing Canadian modes with Alaskan modes so far only includes consideration of Alaska's Eskimos, a fact which leads to another basic problem in coverage of the Alaskan Native in social study texts.

This problem in the treatment of the Alaskan Native is that in only one or two of all the texts reviewed was there even mention of the Indians. Alaska's native population is made up of both Eskimos and Indians. While there is a geographic difference in the distribution of these two cultures in the state, there is very little morphological difference in the people, and their communities often have very similar characteristics. While some of the texts give very good treatment of the Eskimo they are almost universally discriminatory in that they do not even mention the Indian who has played a very important role in the settling of Interior and Southern Alaska. While on the surface little difference can be seen between these two Alaska native groups, their cultural modes are certainly different enough to bear separate coverage in texts. The fact that all native Alaskans are called Eskimos is highly insulting to the Alaskan Indian who has a well deserved pride in his distinct culture.

It must be stressed that this report represents only a cursory survey of curriculum materials on hand. The misrepresentations and discriminatory statements are in some cases so gross that the background, or reference material, may also be suspected. No research has been done to date on coverage of the Alaskan Natives in common reference material. Another area which is known to be heavily loaded with discriminatory material is the children's literature on the Eskimo: as is the case with the reference material, no formal search has been made in this area. Although the scope of this report is limited for the present to include only the latest editions of texts in use, mention must be made of the fact that many schools are still using older editions of social studies tests which in many cases contain even grosser discriminatory passages against the Alaskan Natives.

The following list of books are current elementary school social study readers in which there is no mention of Alaska Natives at all; and, in some cases, no mention of the state of Alaska. Although there are some high school texts which also neglect to mention Alaska Natives, they are not included in the list.

Burnette, O. Lawrence, Lettie Lee Ralph and T. J. Durell. *Basic Social Studies.* New York: Harper Row, 1964. Grade 5. No mention of Alaska Natives.

Cutright, Prudence, John Jarolimek and Mae Knight Clark. *Living in America Today and Yesterday.* New York: Macmillan, 1966. No mention of Alaska Natives.

Dederick, Nelle, Josephine Tiegs and Fay Adams. *Your People and Mine.* Boston: Ginn, 1965. No mention of Alaska.

Goetz, Delia. *At Home in Our Land.* Boston: Ginn, 1965. No mention of Alaska.

Hagaman, Adaline P. and Thomas J. Durell. *Basic Social Studies.* New York: Harper Row, 1964. Grade 4. No mention of Alaska.

Hagaman, Adaline P. and Thomas J. Durell. *World Cultures Past and Present.* New York: Harper Row, 1965. No mention of Alaska Natives.

Hanna, Paul R., Clyde F. Kohn and Robert A. Lively. *In All Our State.* Chicago: Scott Foresmon and Company, 1965. No mention of Alaska Natives.

Hunnicut, C. W. and Jean D. Grombs. We *Look Around Us.* Chicago L. W. Singer Company, 1963. No mention of Alaska Natives.

Jarolimek, John and Elizabeth B. Carey. *Living in Places Near and Far.* New York: Macmillan, 1966. No mention of Alaska Natives.

King, Frederic M., Bracken and Sloan. *Regions and Social Needs.* River Forest, Illinois: Laidlaw Brothers, Inc., 1968. Grade 3. No mention of Alaska Natives.

Lally, Laura, Earnest W. Tiegs and Fay Adams. *Your Neighborhood and the World.* Boston: Ginn, 1966. Does not even include a map of Alaska in map of our country.

McClellan, Jack, Grace Dawson, Ernest W. Tiegs and Fay Adams. *Your World and Mine.* Boston: Ginn, 1965. No mention of Alaska Natives.

McGuire, Edna. *The Story of American Freedom.* New York: Macmillan, 1967. No mention of Alaska Natives.

Pierce, Mary Lust and Euphrosyne Georgas. *The Community Where You Live.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1965. No mention of Alaska.

Preston, Ralph C. and Eleanor Clymer. *Communities at Work.* Boston, D.C.: Heath, 1964. No mention of Alaska Natives.

Preston, Ralph C. and John Tottle. *In These United States and Canada.* Boston, D.C.: Heath, 1965. Only mention of Eskimos is Canadian. No mention of Alaska Natives in chapter on Alaska.

Wann, Kenneth D., Emma D. Sheehy and Bernard Spodek. *Learning About Our Families.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1967. Grade 1. No mention of Alaska.

Wann, Kenneth D., Jane D. Vreeland and Marguerite A. Conklin. *Learning About Our Country.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1967. Grade 3. No mention of Alaska except one reference as to size.

Wann, Kenneth D., Frances C. Wann and Emma D. Sheehy. *Learning About Our Neighbors.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1967. Grade 2. No mention of Alaska.

Wann, Kenneth D., Henry J. Warmon and James K. Confield. *Man and His Changing Culture.* Boston: Allyn and bacon, 1960. No mention of Alaska.

The following list of books includes elementary and high school social study texts in which the materials on Alaskan Eskimos is acceptable: only a few mention Indians.

ELEMENTARY

Brown, Gurtrude S., Josephine Tiegs, and Fay Adams. *Your Country and Mine.* Boston: Ginn, 1965.

Carls, Norman, Phillip Bacon and Frank E. Sorenson. *Knowing Your Neighbors in the United States.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966.

Carls, Norman, Phillip Bacon and Frank E. Sorenson. *Knowing Our Neighbors in U.S. and Canada.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966.

Coons, Frederica and John Prater. *Trains to Freedom in American History.* Boston: Ginn, 1967.

Cooper, Kenneth S., Clarence W. Sorensen, and Paul Todd Lewis. *The Changing New World.* Morristown, N.J.: Silver Burdett and Company, 1967.

Cooper, Kenneth S., Clarence W. Sorensen, and Paul Todd Lewis. *Learning to Look at Our World.* Morristown, N.J.: Silver Burdett and Company, 1967.

Crabtree, Ester, Josephine Tiegs and Fay Adams. *Understanding Your Country and Mine.* Boston: Ginn, 1965.

Cutright, Prudence and John Jarolimek. *Living in Our Country and Other Lands.* N.Y.: Macmillan, 1966.

Drummond, Harold D. and Fred A. Sloan. *A Journey Through Many Lands.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1964.

Drummond, Harold D. and Fred A. Sloan. *Journeys Through the Americas.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1964.

Drummond, Harold D. and Fred A. Sloan. *The Western Hemisphere.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1966.

Gross, Herbert, Dwight W. Follett, Robert E. Gobler, William L. Burton and Ben F. Ahlschwede. *Exploring Regions of the Western Hemisphere.* Chicago: Follett, 1966.

Hanna, Paul R., Helen F. Wise, and Livey Kohn. *In the Americas.* Chicago: Scott, Foresman, 1965.

King, Frederick M., Dorothy K. Bracken, and Margaret A. Sloan. *Communities and Social Needs.* River Forest, Illinois: Laidlaw Brothers, 1968.

Polansky, Lucy, Kenneth D. Wann, and Henry J. Warman. *The Changing Earth and its People.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1967.

Rickard, John A. *Discovering American History.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1965.

Townsend, Herbert. *Our America.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1964.

Wann, Kenneth D., Edith Stull, and Henry J. Warman. *Our Changing Nation and its Neighbors.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1967.

Whittemore, Katheryne T. and Melvin Svec. *The United States and Canada.* Boston: Ginn, 1966.

HIGH SCHOOL

Anderson, Vivienne, and Laura M. Shufelt. *Your America.* Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1967.

Casner, Mabel B. and Ralph H. Gabriel. *Story of the American Nation.* New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1967.

Cutright, Prudence and John Jarolimek. *Living as World Neighbors.* New York: Macmillan, 1966.

Holt, Sol. *World Geography and You.* Princeton, N.J.: Von Norstrand Co., 1964.

Koller, Marvin R., and Harold C. Couse. *Modern Sociology.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969.

Resnick, Mariam R. and Lillian H. Nerenberg. *American Government in Action.* Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill, 1969.

Smith, Harriet Fuller, Ernest W. Tiegs, and Fay Adams. *Your Life as a Citizen.* Boston: Ginn, 1967.

Van Cleef, Eugene, and John C. Finney. *Global Geography.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1966.

The following is a list of texts in which are contained passages which either make a false statement about Alaskan Natives, or which by implication give a false representation of these people.

ELEMENTARY

Carls, Norman, Elaine M. Templin and Frank E. Sorenson. *Knowing Our Neighbors Around the Earth.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966.

The only reference to Eskimos in the entire book occurs after mention of the diet of Asiatics: "Eskimos also eat seaweed," p. 94. This is true of such a small minority of Eskimos that it is hardly worth mentioning, especially when it is the only reference to these people.

Clark, Thomas D., Roy Compton and Amber Wilson. *America's Frontier.* Chicago: Lyons and Carnahan, 1965.

In this text there is only a brief reference to the Eskimos as Alaska's natives; they also mention that "The Eskimos will not starve so long as there are reindeer," p. 385. This statement puts the Eskimos on a very simple-minded status as compared with the common American Middle Class status. The situation of adequate food supply for the natives is far more complex than merely having enough reindeer. Granted that many Eskimos raise reindeer for the meat market where they realize sufficient income to purchase their food supplies. No Eskimo, however well adapted, though, can avoid starvation by eating reindeer meat alone.

Cutright, Prudence and John Jarolimek. *Living in the Americas.* New York: Macmillan, 1966.

"Hunting is especially important to the Eskimos living in the tundra region of Alaska. They depend on the walrus, seal, whale, Arctic fox and other wild animals. To the Eskimos these animals mean food, clothing and shelter." p. 395. Again one sees a highly simplified picture of the Alaskan Native.

Hamer, O. Stuart, Dwight W. Follett, Ben Ahlschwede and Herbert H. Gross. *Exploring Our Country.* Chicago: Follett, 1962.

"At the Eskimo village everyone rushes to greet us. We tell the American schoolteacher and his wife that we have come to see how the Eskimos live. The first Eskimo home we visit is a skin tent. This is a summer house. . . . Inside the house is a seal oil lamp used for light and heat and cooking." p. 364. This is probably the worst case of discrimination against the Eskimos encountered. Why do the authors differentiate between the *American schoolteacher* and the Eskimos; are not the Eskimos also Americans? This story is supposed to have taken place at Point Barrow, Alaska. In this large, hustling town, Natives are more likely to cook on conventional stoves. Despite a later insinuation in the text, these people know of electricity, telephones and normal canned and dried foodstuffs. They buy a great many of their clothes ad household items through mailorder houses. They do not depend entirely on whales, walruses and seals as the authors would have the reader believe.

Isreal, Saul, Norma H. Roemer and Loyal Durand, Jr. *World Geography Today.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1966.

"For the most part, the Eskimos of the North American tundra make a scant living by fishing, trapping and hunting." pp. 498–499.

Patterson, Franklin, Jessamy Patterson, C. W. Hunnicut, Jean D. Grambs and James A. Smith. *Man Changes His World.* Chicago: L. W. Singer, 1963.

This text includes two stories about Eskimos. Both of these stories have illustrations accompanying the text in which the Eskimos are building snow igloos in the winter and tents in the summer. The stories follow a sequence on cave men, in which the cave men were dressed in shaggy skins and chasing animals over the snow with spears. The pictures of the Eskimos show men dressed in furs with similar spears chasing seals and caribou. The fact that at the end of the story there is a picture of a modern Eskimo classroom hardly compensates for the misrepresentation of Eskimos in the stories.

A quip about the clever Eskimos of today who can take apart an outboard motor also falls short of demonstrating the depth of understanding and adaptation now occurring in the villages and cities among the Native population.

Preston, Ralph C., Caroline Emerson, P. E. Schrader and A. F. Schrader. *Four Lands, Four Peoples.* Boston: D. C. Heath, Inc., 1966.

In the only mention of people in the Arctic the text says: "Eskimos and other wandering peoples can live in the Arctic by hunting and fishing." p. 31.

Senesh, Lawrence. *Our Working World.* Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1964.

See Appendix.

Thralls, Zoe A., Edward L. Biller and William Hartley. *The World Around Us.* New York: Harcourt, Brace and Woold, 1965.

In this beautifully illustrated text pictures of Canadian Eskimos in tents and snow houses are shown as examples of Alaskan Eskimos. "Some Eskimos winter in sod huts; others build igloos of snow and ice." p. 21.

Townsend, Herbert. *Our Wonderful World.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1963.

"People (Eskimo) dress in furs and hunt seal, walrus and polar bear for food and clothing. Some live in huts made of earth and skins, but others build homes of frozen snow, called igloos. When the Eskimo wants to travel, he harnesses up his sled dogs, called huskies." p. 146.

HIGH SCHOOL

Bollens, John C. *Communities and Government in a Changing World.* Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966.

"Many Eskimos of Alaska maintain a way of life not too different from that of generations of Eskimos that lived before them." p. 158.

Bradley, John Hodgdon. *World Geography.* Boston: Ginn, 1968.

"The primitive Eskimo eats fish and seal meat not because he is too stupid or too lazy to raise corn and cows, and not necessarily because he prefers wild to cultivated food. He eats fish and seal meat because his physical environment will not provide enough hay for cows and heat for corn." p. 37. Although the author qualifies his statement about the Eskimos, the insinuation is still there, by mere mention of the words stupid and lazy. The author implies that Eskimos do other things because of stupidity and laziness. The use of the word "primitive" to modify Eskimo is unforgivable in this context.

Caughey, John W., John Hope Franklin and Ernest R. May. *Land of the Free.* New York: Benzinger Brothers, 1967.

"The hunting people of the Alaskan interior (Indians) are not particularly notable, but the Eskimo along the coast had made remarkable adjustment to a forbidding climate." p. 44.

"In a few remote places the Indians still possess the land and maintain the old way of life, as do the Eskimos." p. 49.

Cole, William E., and Charles S. Montgomery. *High School Sociology.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1967.

"Primitive Eskimos in Asia and North America had only themselves and their environment from which to make their living and from which to fashion a culture. Consequently they built their houses of blocks of snow and ice and skins. They subsisted largely upon sea animals, and used the fat, or 'blubber' of these animals for light and heat. Today they may have radios and cigarette lighters." p. 201.

Kolevzon, Edward R., and John A. Heine. *Our World and Its Peoples.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1967.

There is no differentiation between Canadian and Alaskan Eskimos. "Sometimes dome-shaped igloos are built from blocks of hard-packed snow." p. 74.

Packard, Leonard O., Bruce Overton and Ben D. Wood. *Geography of the World.* New York: Macmillan, 1959.

"Primitive peoples take from the earth what happens to be found in the regions in which they live. The Eskimos and the Lapps obtain all the necessities of their simple lives from the animals of the locality. To this they may add a crude shelter of stones or skins or blocks of snow." p. 58.

Sorenson, Clarence W. *A World View.* Morristown, N.J.: Silver Burdett, 1964.

"And the simple stone or snow houses of the Eskimo are heated and lighted by burning seal fat." p. 49.

APPENDIX

WHY CARIBOU ESKIMO FAMILIES LIVE AS THEY DO*

In the far, far north, almost at the North Pole, it is very cold nearly all year round. In the winter the land is covered with deep snow: It is so deep that men and animals can hardly travel across it. The lakes and ocean are covered with ice, and it is very hard to catch fish. Most of the time the wind blows hard across the great open spaces. There are no trees to slow down the wind. In the winter the sun shines for only one hour each day. There is only darkness and cold. The summer is very short. But then there is sunshine all day long. A few plants poke through the snow at that time of year. But most of the time it is cold and dark, and there is little food to be found.

The people who live in this cold land are called Eskimos. The Eskimos cannot grow fruit and vegetables, because it is too cold. They cannot keep animals for food, because it is too hard to grow food for the animals. So they have to hunt or fish for all their food. In the winter the Eskimos who live near water hunt seals. An Eskimo man lies quietly next to a certain kind of hole in the ice. When a seal pokes its head through the hole to breathe, the Eskimo stabs a harpoon into it to kill it. From the seal the Eskimos get food and blubber. The blubber is the fat of the seal and is burned for light and heat. In the summer the seals swim far out to sea. Then the Eskimos have to hunt animals that live on land. The animal that they hunt mostly is the caribou. The caribou is a kind of reindeer. It is hunted with bows, arrows, spears, and guns. Because Eskimos have to hunt for their food, they have to travel a long way over great snowfields. They have to know how to tell what the weather will be. And they have to know how to make tools that will help them in a land of ice and snow.

Because Eskimos have to travel so much, they live in houses that can be made quickly. In the winter they make igloos of blocks of snow. An Eskimo can make an igloo big enough for his whole family in only a few hours. In the summers the Eskimos often live in tents that are made from the skin of the caribou. When they move in the summer, they take their tents with them. When they move in the winter, they leave their igloos and build new ones when they need them.

The clothes that the Eskimos wear are also made from caribou skins. This clothing protects them from the water and the cold. Eskimos wear a lot of heavy clothing. Their clothing is carefully made and is decorated with beads and bright colors.

Some Eskimos spend part of their time trapping foxes. The fox skins are cleaned and stretched on a board until they are dry. Then the Eskimos take the skins to a trading post. There they trade the skins for tea, flour· sugar, salt, and guns. The skins are the only things that the Eskimos can trade, because they

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*Lawrence Senesh, *Our Working World* (Chicago: S.R.A., 1964).

do not have the time to make anything for trading. Hunting for food takes almost all the Eskimos' time.

When the Eskimos want to have a good time, they play games, tell stories, sing songs, and make carvings. These carvings are very beautiful, but they are not very fancy. Eskimos have fun in simple ways. Because they must work so hard just to get food, to make clothing, and to build igloos, they have no time to spend on making other things that they might enjoy.

In the summer it is easier to find food, and a few Eskimo families live together. But as it gets colder, food becomes harder to find, and each family goes off to live by itself while hunting. So the Eskimo children may not see children from other Eskimo families for a long time.

The COPAN (College Orientation Program For Alaska Natives) Program: Education For Survival

(By Prof. Lee H. Salisbury, Director, COPAN Program)

ABSTRACT

In the fall of 1967, ten percent of the entering freshmen class at the University of Alaska was identified as Alaska native students. As in past years, they came from all over the state: Tsimpsian, Tlingit, and Haida Indians from the southeastern panhandle area; Aleuts from the Aleutian Chain; Athabascan Indians from the Interior and Eskimos from the Bearing and Arctic Sea coast and inland river communities.

The educational, social and cultural backgrounds of these students are varied. Not all are pure-blooded natives. To receive grant-in-aid support from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, a student must declare himself to be one-fourth or more of Eskimo, Indian or Aleut extraction. There are, undoubtedly, other students attending the University who have varying degrees of native blood but who have not declared themselves to be "native" because they do not need or want financial assistance. However, the percentage of mixed blood is no index of acculturation: one junior student, a graduate of an Anchorage high school, plays flamenco guitar and recites Ferlinghetti with no trace of an accent, yet is a pure-blooded Eskimo. He stands in striking contrast to a blond, blue-eyed, fair-skinned part-Aleut girl from King Cove who speaks with the characteristic native intonation and who mixes only with other native students.

Native students enrolling in the University from de facto segregated boarding schools such as Mount Edgecumbe in Sitka, Covenant High School in Unalakleet, and Friends High School in Kotzebue are likely to be bilingual. Others, who come from integrated high schools in the larger cities, such as Fairbanks and Anchorage, are less likely to speak their native language and may be more racially dilute.

Although it would be difficult to generalize about a group with such varied backgrounds, it has proven possible to make certain accurate predictions: *Over 50 per cent of native students entering the University are likely to drop out at the end of their first year. Only four per cent of the original group are likely to receive a college degree at the end of four years. Out of a group of 49 entering native freshmen, only two are likely to complete the baccalaureate degree at the end of four years.*

When one considers that natives in Alaska number almost one-third of the permanent population and that these students are their potential leaders, the gravity of this minority group dropout problem becomes apparent.

What causes these students to drop out? From a superficial examination of existing data, it might be concluded that entering native freshmen would be better prepared for the competition confronting them in college than would their non-native peers. To reach this educational level, they have already survived an attrition rate of over 60 per cent in elementary school and 52 per cent in high school. Yet, at the college level, these surviving native students are twice as likely to fail.

For the rural native student who enters college directly upon graduation from a boarding high school, the experience is typically devastating. College represents his first integrated school experience and a traumatic introduction to the

role of a minority group member. Because of his poor academic preparation and his inability to communicate his ideas and feelings (even within his own group), his self-concept becomes imbued with deep feelings of inferiority and inadequacy every time he meets an academic and social obstacle he cannot surmount. If he is to survive, he is clearly in need of special supports which the standard college structure does not provide.

In response to this special need, the University of Alaska Division of Statewide Services in cooperation with the U.S. Office of Education and the Bureau of Indian Affairs initiated a special summer program in 1964 called College Orientation Program for Alaskan Natives (COPAN). The program ran for four summers under the terms of the USOE grant and terminated in 1967.

The aims of this four year, six-week summer program were:

A. To increase the native student's chances of academic success and social adjustment by:

1. enhancing his feelings of self worth by enabling him to understand his original culture and its relationship with the larger society;
2. helping him to perceive the value and attitudinal contrasts between these cultures and developing the communication skills needed to verbalize these differences;
3. strengthening his conceptual knowledge of English by broadening his background of direct experience within the Western urban culture;
4. increasing his understanding of self by helping him to perceive and to verbalize his problems;
5. fostering the development of native peer support through group discovery and discussion of mutual problems;
6. broadening his understanding of language and helping him to perceive the functional relationship of its aspects within and to a specific culture;
7. providing temporary academic and social supports which are withdrawn as the student develops his own resources.

B. To provide practical information to others who carry on orientation or accelerated acculturation programs for Alaska native and other minority groups.

C. To add to the general body of scientific knowledge of the acculturation process and its methods of study.

COPAN procedures included seminar discussions of contemporary native social issues and problems; rooming and boarding with a Western professsional family during the six-week program; field trips and visits to institutions illustrating the Western urban culture (scientific, artistic, professional); guided reading and motion picture viewing; interpersonal communication and writing—English language and literature—team-taught by speech and English specialists; workshop in study skills, test-taking and the use of research facilities; individual testing and counseling; a formal freshman level course in Anthropology (Introduction to the Study of Man).

The central purpose of the program was to encourage the development of self-determination within each student, to enable him to more objectively assess his own capabilities, and to help him realistically view the career alternatives available to him; to assist him to understand the talent and degree of commitment each alternative requires, and allow him to choose freely the one he considers to be most rewarding.

College is seen as the alternative which generates the widest range of choice for him, and affords the greatest opportunity for self-determination. To the degree that this autonomy is developed, he can achieve the advantages offered in the dominant culture—not as a ward, but as a productive member—without sacrificing those aspects of his original heritage which have value and meaning to him.

From the date collected over the four year period of this program and set down in the attached report, *The COPAN Program—Education for Survival*, it is apparent that COPAN has accomplished what it set out to do. Its students have shown a higher survival rate than their non-COPAN native peers. The dramatic gains in cultural insight and self-worth, which are patent in their written and oral expression, are supported by psychometric data showing increases in personality integration and lowered anxiety levels over each six-week period. Changes in the entering score pattern of COPAN volunteers over the past four years indicate that the program is attracting increasing numbers of high-potential, low-achievers (high ACT-low high school GPA) and helping them to succeed in college.

The findings contain implications for educators of Alaska natives at all levels. The present schooling received by the Alaska native does not permit him to develop the attitudes and skills he needs in order to compete on an equal basis with his non-native peers. His high attrition rate stems from his early linguistic handicaps which are compounded with each additional year of schooling and from non-academic factors (low ego-strength, social adaptability and need to achieve) which depend largely upon his ability to communicate.

Since oral language is not only an instrument of social communication but also the means through which we think and learn, it is apparent that the linguistic handicaps of the Alaska native student constitute a critical deficiency which severely limit his chances of academic success. Intellectual growth in any culture depends on mastering its linguistic system. The research of other authorities has shown persuasively that the mental processes involved in analysis, differentiation, classifying and planning are dependent upon the development of speech. Thus, it can be seen that language and world-view are inextricably intertwined. One cannot be taught without the other. In light of the foregoing, the COPAN program places equal emphasis upon cultural awareness and language development.

The philosophy of the program is contained in the following assumptions and hypotheses which have in turn determined the form, content and approach of its several components:

1. A language embodies th evalues, attitudes and standards of the people who have developed it and use it.
2. One cannot fully understand a language unless one understands the culture from which it has emerged and which it expresses. A Westerner who grows up in the mainstream of his society does not perceive his culture in the same way as does a person who is entering the Western culture.
3. Alaskan native students display varying degrees of difficulty in using English and adopting Western ways. Generally, their background of experience within the Western culture has been limited.
4. If the Alaska native student's background of direct experience within the Western culture is broadened in ways which will stimulate him to commuicate, his conceptual knowledge of English will improve, his vocabulary will expand and he will use the language more confidently and meaningfully.
5. The Alaska native student will gain a deeper appreciation of his original cuture and a greater understanding of his adopted one if he is able to compare them objectively.
6. When the student appreciates the cultural contributions of his ethnic group and has a realistic awareness of his own talents, interests, and capabilities, he can begin to develop positive feelings of selfhood and direction.
7. The transitional problems of the Alaska native are common to all peoples who must move from one culture into another. As he studies the adjustment problems of others, the student may discover alternate ways of dealing with his own.
8. The values and attitudes of each culture are embodied within its family units. Experience has shown that acculturation of foreign students proceeds at a more rapid rate when they can live with a Western family unit and engage in its day-to-day activities. The Alaska native student can profit similarly from a Western family living experience.

The COPAN philosophy underlies each of the several aspects of the program. Points 1, 2, 3, and 4 were embodied in the approach used in the Language and Communication classes. Points 5, 6, and 7 determined the focus in the Native Seminar class and the choice of anthropology as the subject of study. Point 6 was reinforced by the Orientation (guidance and testing) sessions and point 8 was reflected in the family living aspect of the program.

Not all of the native's communication problems stem entirely from cross-cultural value conflict. The environment of acculturation—of the Western-native interface—must also be considered. One such problem is the native's characteristic difficulty in assuming an adult role when he uses English. Several of our students who have noted this problem in themselves have commented upon it. Some of them believe that this is entirely caused by preservation of their traditional attitudes toward communication: that language is not properly a means of social control or of manipulating the environment. Hence, their use of language is apt to be construed by members of the dominant cuture as "childlike" because it seems passive and oblique rather than active and direct. But, other students look to the atmosphere in which they have learned English for additional causes of this problem.

Although, theoretically, we regard acculturation to be a two-way process of interaction and adjustment, it is a fact of life that the weaker culture will have to do most of the adapting. In Alaska, the burden of adjustment has been placed squarely upon the native. It is his way of life which is no longer viable and must change if he is to survive in the world of the white man's cash economy.

Because his people had no written language, survived on a subsistence level, and lived in virtual isolation—never developing the technological amenities which we consider the essentials of civilized living—his culture was labeled "primitive," and hence, "childlike."

It has been all too easy for the well-intentioned but ethnocentric teacher to regard his mission in Alaska to be one of leading the ignorant heathen to the "light." Western education is perceived as the way by which the student can be helped to rise out of his childlike, primitive state and become an adult, civilized, somehow more "human" being.

Yet, the Alaska native within his own home is treated, from a very early age, in a more adult fashion than are the teacher's own children. His thoughts and opinions are regarded to be inviolable and sacred. Indeed, there is more regard for the integrity of the individual in his culture than there is in our own. Adulthood, with its status and privileges, is not delayed but can be achieved at a relatively early age. But this way of life is collapsing and the young native must seek adult status on Western terms since it is in the dominant culture that he must survive.

Here he finds himself learning the code of the new culture in a role of dependency. If his parents were unable to provide for his education and support, he receives a free education from his new "parents," the Bureau of Indian Affairs—who, incidentally, may also support his parents as well. English becomes a means of communicating with the paternalistic establishment—white people in positions of authority who are "helping" him because they know what is "best" for him. Thus, the native student may learn to use his new language as his parents did—to ask for favors, advice, and assistance of the white establishment. It is a childlike role—demeaning, but comfortable. It is a form of arctic Uncle-Tomism which many older native people have accepted—and will continue to practice—since they can survive in no other way.

Alaska's largest educational problem is to provide increasing numbers of its native people with the confidence and competence they need to assume their new roles in the larger culture. Educating the young to become productive, happy members of our society is difficult even in mainstream communities, since we live in an age where technological advances make yesterday's curriculum obsolete.

But, this problem is compounded when the student comes from a cuture which does not share our Western conceptual base. In this context, the teacher must reach beyond the parameters of traditional Western educational methodology and materials (designed for the mythical, "average" middle-class urban child) and must teach the basic attitudes, concepts, and values upon which our culture rests.

Unless the teacher has somehow acquired a broad cultural perspective (either through personnal experience of formal course work), it is unlikely that he will be able to transmit this understanding to his students. For it is only by examing the cultures of other societies that we can fully understand our own. (How many of us did not comprehend English grammar until we tried to learn a foreign language?)

Education for the mainstream student can be defined as an enculturation process: the formal training by which he (hopefully) acquires the skills which his increasingly complex society demands. Because he lives in his own cultural setting (his community—his family unit), the Western values and attitudes (behaviors) are implicit rather than expressed.

Education for the Alaska native student, on the other hand, is a transitional or acculturational process: the formal training which helps him to understand the values and attitudes of the new society he is entering. When he can accept these new behaviors and attitudes, the process of enculturation can meaningfully proceed.

As Dr. George Rogers, an Alaskan economist, has pointed out, the education of the Alaska native is no longer analogous to an individual crossing a bridge from one culture into another. The picture is fallacious because it implies that neither culture is changing. And, the Western culture, in particular, is changing at an almost blinding speed.

A more apt analogy is the concept of an individual walking along a railroad track who tries to catch onto the ladder of a freight train moving at full speed. If he tries to perform this feat without first running along at the speed of the train, he will not be able to jump aboard.

Obviously, the process of "building up speed" in order to make this cultural "jump" is not a matter of acculturation alone; it includes enculturation as well. The two processes are inextricably intertwined and must proceed as one. It is crucially important that the teacher be aware that his role as a cross-cultural educator involves both of them.

As noted in the attached report, the general goals of COPAN and the more recently established Upward Bound program are basically similar. Each program is designed to assist its participants to discover themselves and to motivate them toward meaningful and productive roles in society. Both programs are centered around a core of enriching experiences.

However, while each of these programs contain features which are uniquely beneficial to its students, each has inherent limitations as well. Upward Bound can provide valuable support and motivation to students while they are still in high school, yet it cannot accept college-bound seniors unless they have come up through its program. COPAN is specifically designed to prepare native students for college work, yet it must limit its enrollment to high school graduates who can meet college entrance criteria and who wish to enter college. To date, neither COPAN 64–67 or Upward Bound has been able to provide its students with any formal program of continuing academic and social supports during the crucial freshman year of college. Lack of an experimental-control group design is another limitation which is common to both programs.

If the features contained in the proposed COPAN II program were implemented, and added to the present Upward Bound program as a post high school college preparatory component, many unmet educational needs would be served. All college bound natives could be accepted into the summer college-prep track regardless of prior Upward Bound experience. Host family housing would be available to rural students with no prior campus experience. Urban student and rural Upward Bounders would have the option of family or dorm accommodations. The few non-natives who might choose to enter this program would reside in the dormitories and would attend all classes except the Native Culture Seminar and the Language and Communication Sessions. These students would have other course options or activities open to them during these periods. As the sessions progress and the native students develop confidence, these urban non-natives might be invited to attend certain classes in which issues which have relevance to them are discussed. However, it is important that they be excluded from the early sessions, if free and relaxed communication is to develop.

Implementation of the recruitment and testing procedures would assure continuing objective evaluation of program effectiveness and would, additionally, provide further valuable research in the field of native education.

The academic year bridge component would provide optional continuing support for all summer session college-prep students regardless of ethnic background. It is expected that these later seminar sessions will focus less upon parochial native concerns and more upon broader current issues. In this context, a racially-integrated group is desirable and beneficial.

Attempts to refinance COPAN II through the BIA and/or the state have been unsuccessful, to date. A recent University *ad hoc* committee proposal which combined the most viable features of COPAN and Upward Bound and other similar programs has received administrative support but stands little chance of legislative funding. Yet the need for a compensatory education program which is broader in scope than the existing Upward Bound Program continues to exist. Until the Alaska native can receive an early education which will prepare him for college, special programs such as COPAN and Upward Bound will be needed to stem this dismal waste of human resources. Perhaps the most optimistic recent development is the demonstrated willingness of the Alaska native people to determine the type of education their children should have.

[From the Journal of American Indian Education, January 1967]

TEACHING ENGLISH TO ALASKA NATIVES *

(*By Lee H. Salisbury*)

Communication is one of the world's most pressing problems today. Whether it is between nations or persons, the basics of understanding in the fullest semantic sense is an ultimate goal. This problem is well-illustrated with the following essay:

"Two boys were friends. They lived near each other. One boy was from the States, the other was an Alaskan. They lived in a small village. The two usually had fun together, but at times they had trouble communicating.

"Like the time they were going swimming. The native boy said he would not swim on that day because the water was not clear. He believed he would surely drown if he swam on such a day. The water was not right. The other boy said where he came from, they swam at any time. But the native boy would not swim.

"One day Mike (the native boy) took his .22 rifle to hunt some muskrat. It was early morning and all the birds were singing. The sun was coming up as he spotted a muskrat far off, near the edge of the lake. He worked his way around the lake so that he could get to where he had seen it. He was in thick brush when he heard the call of the geese not far away. He quickly dropped to a dry spot and watched motionlessly as a large flock of geese flew directly overhead. They were Canadian geese flying gracefully in formation, the leader calling out loudly and his followers giving a soft reply to assure him all was well. They were so close to Mike that he could hear their wings whistle as they passed by.

"They came from far away, Mike thought, and now they were nearing their nesting grounds. The whole country was theirs, for they could go anywhere they pleased. Mike envied the freedom of the wild geese. Sure, they had their troubles, but if they survived it was worth it just to be so free from the rest of the world. No complex way of life to live; no certain rules to follow; and no independent thinking. They knew all they had to know.

"Mike shot the muskrat he had set out to get, put it with the others in his pack and headed homeward.

"As he neared home, he saw Sam, Sam came to greet him. Seeing the Buldge in Mike's pack he asked, "Gee, how was your luck? Tell me about the hunt."

"Mike thought of the geese. How could he tell Sam of how he longed to be one of them? How could he put in words what he felt so that this unknowing outsider would understand?

"I saw . . . . . flock of geese," Mike said simply."

This Eskimo student's feelings about the life of the geese as compared with his own reflect the nostalgia and regret which many Alaskan native people feel about leaving their old way of life. This is the way things used to be. But the younger generation of Alaska natives realize that the old way of life is changing and will continue to change whether they resist it or not. Yet we are expecting these people to make the jump in one lifetime which took the western world hundreds of years.

This student speaks for a minority group of unique nature and immense proportions. Of the 226,000 total Alaskan population, according to the 1960 census, only 146,000 can be considered to be nontransient.** Of this number, 43,000, or almost 30 percent of the permanent state population are Alaska natives: Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut.

Unlike cultural minorities in other states, the Alaska native has not been deliberately segregated from the white population. There are no tribal reservations of the type which exist in the lower 48 states and comparatively little discrimination exists. Yet the Alaska native has been unable to assume the rights and responsibilities of full citizenship and continues to be a ward of the Federal government.

There have been several important indications recently that the native population itself is aware of its lack of representation and is motivated to do something about it. A strong native rights association has been formed in Fairbanks which is urging education reform. A weekly newspaper, *Tundra Times*, attempts to present the native's point of view on matters of public concern. The Alaskan native *finds that it is no longer possible* to remain isolated from the dominant culture which presses in upon him from every side. He is, inexorably, in transition toward a culture in which he must find a place. He must communicate his needs and feelings in a strange society which does not understand him; yet, he must go forward.

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*This paper was delivered at the General Session of the TESOL Conference (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages), March 17, 1966, at the Statler Hilton Hotel, New Alaskan Natives and the Department of Speech, Drama and Radio at the University of Alaska.

**The remaining 80,000 constitute: Military and dependents (75,000) and D.E.W. (Distant Early Warning) line personnel and dependents (5,000).

By most standards, Alaskan native peoples can be considered to be among the most isolated ethnic groups in our entire country. Geographically, they are scattered throughout a land mass one-fifth the size of the lower 48 states. Although many native families have migrated to larger urban communities, the majority of them continue to live in small villages ranging in size from 50 to 1,500 persons, along the seacoast and the navigable rivers and creeks inland. Few of the smaller villages have telephones, fewer have running water, and only a small proportion can pick up an AM radio signal. Most of them are inaccessible by road. Bush plane, dog sled, small boats, or the recently introduced snow vehicles are the chief modes of transportation to and from the settlements. Prior to white contact, many of the northern people were nomadic family groups who followed their food supply—the caribou herds. With the establishment of churches, missions, schools and hospitals much of the nomadic movement has ceased. Compulsory education laws have required that families remain close enough to population settlements so that their children can attend school. During the summer, families migrate to their traditional camping spots where a good supply of fish may be caught and preserved for the coming winter. To a great extent, the village people still rely upon hunting and fishing for subsistence.

PRESERVATION OF LANGUAGE

Communication between natives living in cities and their relatives and friends in the village is often accomplished via tape recorder. The recipient in the village, if he is too poor to afford a machine, is often allowed to use the one belonging to the school. Because none of the Alaska native peoples has a written language, this new mode of transmitting the spoken word has become extremely important. It also may be, in some measure, responsible for the preservation of the native language. However, not all Alaskan natives in a particular area can communicate with each other orally. The Tsimpsian, Haida and Tlingit Indian peoples in the southeastern panhandle speak different languages. The Aleut language spoken along the Chain and on the Pribilof Islands, although derived from the same source as the Eskimo, is understood nowhere else. The Athapaskan Indians of the northern interior region show profound dialectal differences, and the Eskimo, who represents the largest segment of the native population, may not be understood by his neighbor a few hundred miles away.

Complicating the Alaskan native's problem of geographic and linguistic isolation is his cultural attitude toward sharing problems. Many teachers and mental health personnel have noted that he has difficulty in verbalizing and communicating his subjective reactions to situations; when something is bothering him, he is unlikely to communicate it even to his peers or to his family.[1]

This condition adds yet another dimension to his isolation. Not only are his people geographically dispersed without the bonds of common dialect or written communication; even within the tight familial and peer group structure of his own village he may be isolated with problems he cannot share.

Perhaps we can better understand the communication problems of the Alaskan native peoples by examining the child rearing practices of the largest Alaskan native ethnic group, the Eskimo. From a very early age the Eskimo child is trained to "fit in" to his society. Whereas the western child is often encouraged to excel, the Eskimo child is trained to conform—to become "just like the others." This training consists of casual but consistent encouragement in the techniques of survival. Affirmative rather than negative means are used: For example, if a child walks dangerously near a hot stove, or toddles over toward the edge of a swollen river, his elders will say in a friendly fashion "*tai tai*" (or roughly, "Come, come, see what you are doing?"). Stories which stress the terrible consequences of non-conformity are repeatedly told to children. Much of the folklore is allegorical. Modes of behavior and social attitudes are reinforced in this way.

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[1] Seymour Parker, "Eskimo and Indian Values and Motivation for Education in Three Selected Alaskan Villages," in *Alaskan Native Secondary School Dropouts*, a Research Report, Charles K. Ray, Director, University of Alaska, 1962.

Ostracism is an extremely potent means of social control among the native peoples. In a society which is small, isolated, and extremely homogeneous, any violation of the social code becomes a matter of group concern. Each member of this tightly-knit group depends for his existence upon his fellows. Without their cooperation and help he will not survive. His survival in another sense depends upon his group. He maintains his identity by fulfilling his role as a group member. Should he act in a fashion which endangers the physical survival of the group, he is cut off from them. People ignore him—he no longer exists—in a sense, he is symbolically "killed" by ostracism. In this sense, the western expression, "we cut him dead," is remarkably applicable.

By the time the native child reaches the age of seven, his cultural and language patterns have been set and his parents are required by law to send him to school. Until this time he is likely to speak only his own local dialect of Indian, Aleut or Eskimo, or if his parents have had some formal schooling he may speak a kind of halting English.

NO TURNING BACK

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Since the economy of the average native family in Alaska is marginal, at best, there are often strong pressures from the home for the child to leave school and help his family in its daily struggle for survival. The father needs his sons to help him hunt and fish; the mother needs her daughter to help at home with the children. So it is not surprising that 60 percent of native youngsters never reach the eighth grade.

By the time that the native student from a bush community reaches high school age it is necessary for him to leave his home and village to attend a boarding high school for four years. Here he lives in a dormitory with other Alaskan natives and his sole contact with western culture is through his teachers and text books. When he returns to his village each summer, he finds only vestiges of his formerly comfortable family relationship, and he encounters increasing frustrations because of the differences between himself and his village. His exposure to western education has taught him to respect (though not necessarily to understand) western standards, and at the same time it has decreased his respect for the native culture. He finds himself, figuratively, with a foot in each culture, unable fully to identify with either group and accepted by neither as well.

The male student finds that he is no longer of any use to his father as a hunter or a fisherman; he has lost his status as a male member of his village. The girl who returns often finds the sanitary conditions in the village hard to adjust to. She has lost many of the domestic skills she may have had: skinning animals, cooking, making clothing. Many of her peers are already married and have children. Her ability to speak English and her new way of dress and behavior set her apart from the other village girls who may think she has become "too good" for them. All of these high school students—with the exception of the 28 percent who have dropped out along the way—are in the process of becoming what the anthropologists term "marginal" people: They have been swept along by a system which is estranging them from their friends and relatives back home.

For many of these students, high school graduation represents the point of no return. If they have come this far, it is unlikely that they will ever return to the village permanently. Unless they go farther, however, it is even more unlikely that they will be able to secure permanent jobs in the cities to which they migrate. Some of them choose to enter college.

COLLEGE ENVIRONMENT

We first meet these students when they arrive in the fall. Most of them are unable to pay their own tuition expense, and so, upon declaration of the fact that they are one-quarter or more of native blood, receive Bureau of Indian Affairs scholarship money. One-eighth of last year's entering freshman class at the University of Alaska were Alaskan natives. Although they represent all three of Alaska's native ethnic groups, they are predominantly Eskimo. As entering freshmen they are joined by other Alaskan natives who have come from the larger cities in Alaska and have attended predominantly white high schools. These native students from urban schools are less likely to speak their original language and may be more racially dilute.

However, we quickly learn that percentage of white blood is no index of acculturation: One of our freshman boys, a graduate of Anchorage High School, plays flamenco guitar and recites Ferlinghetti with no trace of an accent—yet he is a pure blooded Eskimo. He stands in striking contrast to a blond, blue-eyed, fair-skinned, part-Aleut girl from King Cove, who speaks with the characteristic native inflection and who mixes only with the other native students. Although it might seem that with a heterogeneous group of this kind it would be difficult to make generalizations, we can make certain predictions: More than 50 percent of them are likely to drop out at the end of their freshman year and less than two percent of them are likely to receive the baccalaureate degree at the end of four years. If we take last year's group of 50 entering freshmen as an example, and our dropout statistics prevail, 25 of them will not return to school this fall, and only one of them is likely to receive a degree at the end of four years.

It is a sad fact that the Alaskan native student, who somehow has managed to survive attrition rates of 60 percent in elementary school and 28 percent in high school, still finds the odds to be overwhelmingly against him by the time he reaches college. Why is he twice as likely to drop out in college as one of his non-native peers? A look at the social fabric of his culture may provide some clues:

Some years ago, I conducted the language portion of an enrichment program for native students from age 10 to grade 8. One of the questions we asked them was, "What do you want to be when you grow up?" We got the usual range of vocational choices—nurses, teachers, doctors, bush pilots—all vocations they could see around them. But several of the younger ones still reflected their parents' teaching: "A good seal hunter," said one boy; "A good berry picker," said a girl; and finally, the response which summed it all up: "Eskimo!"

To be a good Eskimo means that you stick with your group—you do not try to excel at the expense of others. In the environment of the arctic where survival is a daily problem, the likelihood of individual achievement at the expense of your group is a pervasive fear. Thus, you live cooperatively or you perish.

Translating this into terms of the western classroom means that the teacher cannot motivate the student with the rewards which are so successful with middle class white students: Praise or prizes often prove to be a source of embarrassment rather than encouragement. Naturally, the western notion of progress emerging from the "healthy clash of ideas" is in direct variance with the native student's way of dealing with others. If he disagrees with you he will not tell you directly—this is not polite and it is pointless. He will either seem to agree with you or he will withdraw. His opinion will not change but you will never know this.

The group of college-bound native students, who have managed to survive 12 years of formal western education, have obviously had to do some competing in order to come this far. They have had to recognize that by deciding to continue their education they have violated the strong familial and group ties which bind their people together. In terms of their traditional culture they have acted selfishly and without thought of others. Yet they believe that by breaking away they can serve their group better. Some of their parents understand this and encourage them to continue their shcooling. But for many of them it is a painful decision which is fraught with many misgivings. An older Eskimo man, an ivory carver who has been studying art at the University of Alaska for the past three years, writes nostalgically of his home on the Bering Sea:

"After all this hardship, one day I may return there. Look around me as far as the horizon if the weather is fine. Just keep wondering where even a small fish is when the sea gets rough. Watch the endless ice moving north wondering when it was formed. Travel on ice all morning instead of driven indoors by 50 below zero weather . . . bothered only by dogs or birds instead of machinery. I know for sure it will be quiet there on the day I arived. But it will be a lonely spot for someone that believed will be cut away from the world.

"I hope I'll be depended upon by some of my friends—especially in drawing and printmaking. So some may achieve their beautiful work in their own way. I have thought of those—still I'll be thinking of going back where a printing press is. I may be glad to return but it will be hard to leave my new friends."

INNOVATION IN ORIENTATION

We have just completed the second year of a summer orientation program[2] which is designed to help the Alaskan native student to adjust to college life and to perceive and verbalize his problem freely. The focal point of the program is to improve his ability to communicate his thoughts and feelings to others. Our approach is predicated on the assumption that his imperfect use of English is due to the fact that, although he has received 12 years of formal western education, he has not lived within the western culture. His only contacts with Caucasians have been teachers, missionaries, and various public health and social workers he may have had occasion to meet. He has no *concrete* idea of the culture which his new language expresses. He has great gaps in his background which set him apart from rural youth in other parts of our country. I think we will agree that much of what we learn as we grow up is not from schoolbooks. We absorb it by our contacts with our families, our friends and our environment generally. It has been said that a person living in the mainstream of his culture is no more aware of it than a fish is aware of the water in which he swims.

Compounding the native's communication problem is the fact that he has come from a culture where he has been reinforced for reticence. Although he may have come from a high school where students were encouraged to discuss and debate certain issues, if his classmates were all natives, it is unlikely that he has developed any real skill in expressing his ideas clearly and directly. He has never seen the lively exchange of opinions which (hopefully) characterizes the western college classroom. Our problem then is two-fold:

1. To broaden the student's background of experience within the western culture so that his conceptual knowledge of the English language will improve, and
2. To enable the student to realize that his thoughts and feelings are important and have real value when they are expressed clearly and effectively.

At the same time, we must examine our own motives in speeding the native student's acculturation process. Do we wish to convert him to our western ways (which we are often inclined to regard as superior) and divorce him completely from his native background? Or do we wish to acquaint him with the best our society has to offer and allow him to choose those elements from it and from his original culture that he wishes to accept? The answer is obvious. If we hasten his acculturation at the expense of his native cultural background, we have cut him off at the roots and destroyed his identity. On the other hand, he can develop a deeper appreciation of his original culture and an understanding of his adopted one if he is able to objectively compare them.

For this reason the program includes a regular freshman level anthropology course which he attends daily as a regular summer session student. The course is taught by an anthropologist whose specialty is Alaskan native cultures. After class the program students meet in an informal seminar situation in which the general concepts taught in the regular course are specifically related to the culture of contemporary native Alaskans. In this session many cross-cultural problems are discussed. At first the problems are suggested by the instructor but, as the sessions progress and the students come to know and trust the staff, they propose the problems themselves. From these informal bull-sessions came many insights which the students discussed and later wrote about in another part of the Program, the Language and Communication sessions.

This class is taught jointly by a specialist in speech and an English teacher. Writing assignments always grow out of speaking experiences. Provocative films and books are used to spark discussion. For example, *The Miracle Worker*, the story of Helen Keller's first language experiences, is used as a springboard for the unit on language; *Raisin in the Sun*, a film dealing with the struggles of a Chicago Negro family, is used to explore minority group problems and the process of developing a self-image in depressed economic circumstances.

An exciting insight emerged one day during our discussion of this film. The students suddenly perceived a relationship between Walter Lee's problem (the protagonist in the film) and their own. The question arose as to whether Walter Lee's old mother, the matriarch of the family, did the right thing in allowing him to make an unwise investment of $20,000 in a liquor store. Walter Lee has never had a chance to handle this much money before; yet, he was tired of being a chauffeur and wanted to change his luck. The audience could plainly see that he would lose the money. Two of the program students who came from a religious mission high school said that his mother had made a mistake—he was too innocent to handle money and could not be trusted to manage his own affairs. Other students immediately countered: "*But he's 35 years old*;" "*He's a grown man* with two children;" and one girl, who had never spoken up before, said with great emotion, "How is he ever going to learn unless he makes his own mistakes?" We had a full-fledged discussion on our hands for the first time.

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[2] *College Orientation Program for Alaskan Natives*, project D–157 jointly supported by The Cooperative Research Bureau of the U.S. Office of Education. The Bureau of Indian Affairs and the University of Alaska Division of Statewide Services will terminate in Fiscal 1968.

Examples came thick and fast: "When they don't trust us in high school (referring to their boarding schools which are run in a regimented manner), we don't trust ourselves." Then came a description of how the rigidly structured schools from which they had come had never allowed them to make their own decisions . . . "you bathe at a certain hour" . . . "you eat at a certain time" . . . "you must go to the library at a certain time" . . . "you get your mail at a certain time" . . . "they lead us around by the hand" . . . "we want to grow up but they won't let us . . ." And then, finally, came the realization: "It's the same thing with our parents . . . *they* won't let them grow up either." For "they" we can substitute the government, the schools, the missionaries, in short—the Establishment.

From here on the discussion became freer. We would see a physical change come over many of the students. They seemed to stand straighter, to laught more easily and less self-consciously and to be almost eager to express their opinions. It was as though by being able to express hostility toward certain Caucasians they had met that they had somehow liberated themselves.

Some of the students were able to write insightfully of their own problems in communication. A student from Selawik wrote the essay about the native boy and the geese quoted earlier and carefully labeled it "fiction." Another older student described a breakdown in communication within his own cultural group. Although the syntax is poor, the same elegaic mood is conveyed:

"Almost six years seems to be a long time to be away from King Island. Since then I've been working on mine fields and one time as a garage serviceman. It was little hard to settle back in King Island after all these years, to get new tools made up to carve ivory and to prepare new hunting equipment.

"Just before Christmas the young men decorated the classroom in the school building. For a week we held games in the evenings and had a good time. Everytime I was there I noticed a girl eyeing at me. We kept looking at each other all that time. I'd thought that this young lady wasn't just around ten years ago. But why didn't she do that among her own age? Did she ever think I may have had other affairs while I was away?

"Of course I was getting interested in such a young, attractive-looking girl. Later we got acquainted starting from a card game. We waited on a meeting to be left alone by other people, and not be caught outdoors by a person on a porch with my arms around her.

"Six months later she refused my inquiry for marriage. I left the village again and heard she had married a young man from down the coast.

"A year later I met her again in Fairbanks. She was half-drunk on the streets. There on the roads I tried battling to free my arms from her strong grip. It was raining and people were looking at us from the cars. So I gave up the little struggle and joined her in a bar. She was accusing another girl in the city which was of no concern to me. So all that time it may be that our trouble is communication which is too late to be solved now."

Perhaps one of the most important parts of the broadening experiences which the Program affords is the home-living aspect of the session. Rather than stay in the dormitory for the six-week period, each student lives with a carefully selected western family. In some cases it is possible to place the student with a family whose father is engaged in the profession he wishes to enter.

We have found that during the regular school year the native student rarely mixes socially with non-natives. Experience has shown that native students are inclined to eat together, room together and socialize within their own group. Strong social pressures are exerted by the group to preserve this unity. The native student who chooses to socialize outside of the group is often ostracized by them—a most painful experience if he is not yet secure enough to act independently.

Living with a family during the summer gives the student an opportunity to socialize and mingle with non-natives without the risk of social penalty from his own group. It affords him a glimpse of the kind of home and life he may someday decide he wants for himself. It allows him to meet and know people he might not otherwise encounter, and it gives him an understanding of middle-class western family which he can acquire in no other way.

At the conclusion of the Program each student was given a 13 page evaluation form, to be submitted annoymously, in which he was asked to rate the worth and interest value of each espect of the Program.

These are some of their individaul responses about the Program in general:

"I never experienced such a free atmosphere before in school, in high school I was dominatd by rules. Here I make my time and studying convenient for me."

"I truly enjoyed these six weeks here at the University and with (my host family). I know that in my years here, I will always have somewhere to go if I ever get lonely. I now have a second home."

"They weren't strangers anymore."

"I will always remember their kindness, consideration, helpfulness and the way they accepted me into their family. They will never be forgotten by me."

"I wish I didn't have to go back home. I want to stay here until I finish college then go back home."

"Everything is new and different, makes it fun to find new things. I beginning to know who I am and what I want to do. I'm not as confused as I usually am."

"My interest in outside things is improving. I find that its more fun."

"I have a better look at the totality."

"I'm beginning to find out that I have to be independent in whatever I do. I plan to make mistakes on my own accord and not with someone else involved."

"I have found that in order to make friends all you have to do is be friendly and talk."

We can make no real evaluations of the worth of this Program until we can follow our students through college. Some of them will drop out of school for one reason or another, and certain benefits of the Program may not accrue until these students have children and send them off to school. It is certain that acculturation cannot be effected in a six-week, a six-month or even a six-year program. It must begin with the earliest school experiences of the child and develop through a curriculum specifically designed to meet his needs. A dramatic modification in methodology and materials is necessary if we are to solve this problem. We hope that this pilot program represents a significant step toward the solution of many similar cross-cultural communication problems in the world today.

RELATIONSHIP OF HEALTH TO EDUCATION—ALASKA NATIVE CHILDREN

Prepared Statement of Martha Richardson Wilson, M.D., Service Unit Director, Alaska Native Medical Center

Mr. Chairman, my name is Martha Wilson, I am the director of the Alaska Native Medical Center and I am appearing with two other members of our staff, Dr. Barbara Nachmann, the psychologist from our Mental Health Team and Dr. Kenneth Fleshman, Chief of Pediatrics for the Alaska Native Medical Center. The testimony we present will be confined to those areas of health, housing, environmental factors, and separation of families since it is only in those areas that we have knowledge direct enough to be of value to the committee.

If the objective of education is to meet the specific needs of children, we think that it is important to understand what those needs are. My part of this assignment is to summarize briefly the health status of the Alaska Native people, to describe the areas where there are disparities, and to relate the disparities in the physical health to disparities in the physical environment. Dr. Fleshman will speak of the emotional and intellectual development of these children specifically as such development relates to some of the unique environmental factors bearing on these children at this time and in the recent past.

To understand the status of health of the Alaska Native people one needs to know something of their history. Basically, they are an aboriginal people relatively early in their first contact with the cosmopolitan outside world. From a health standpoint, they have followed the pattern response most aboriginal people have taken to contact with outsiders. Briefly, this pattern of response if characterized at first by explosive epidemics of acute infectious diseases from which they had always before been protected by their isolation. Such epidemics, the so-called virgin population epidemics, when compared with the usual endemic experience of cosmopolitan populations are much more serious in terms of incidence of disease, severity of illness, in death rates, and in total impact on the population. One epidemic is apt to follow another in rapid succession so that there is little opportunity between them to regain strength or to replenish stores of food, fuel and water. The death rates are high and leave critical gaps in families and communities. The weakened, disorganized, and grieving survivors are then left to face the more slowly rising but more ominous problem of tuberculosis. Many aboriginal people have been decimated by such series of events.

In Alaska, one other dimension needs to be added to the picture to gain an understanding of the health status. It is the impact of adverse environmental factors bearing on the native population. These factors are not necessarily an integral part of the Alaskan environment, nor are they a part of the native culture. They are factors associated with poverty. The native environment is characterized by poor and badly overcrowded housing, by sub-marginal food supplies, and by grossly inadequate facilities for sanitation and water. The Alaska Native homes are unique in the extent to which they permit dissemination of respiratory disease of all kinds. On this basis the Alaska Native people have suffered epidemics of tuberculosis, pneumonia, influenza, otitis media, meningitis, and bronchiectasis that have not to our knowledge been paralleled in other populations of the modern world.

The native people have participated enthusiastically and effectively with the health programs which they are now helping to design and to carry out. On this basis significant impact has been made on some of the major health problems—for others much yet needs to be done.

The graphs we have chosen illustrate disparities in health status and trends in two of the more successful health programs. These graphs compare the experience of three groups: the Alaska Native people, the American Indians of the lower 48, and the average of all races of the United States. The first graph shows the incidence of tuberculosis since 1950 and the second shows the death rates from tuberculosis during the same period. In attempting to understand the significance of these graphs, it is important to think beyond the simple dry statistics of sickness and death to the implications of these circumstances for the lives of this population. The time when the tuberculosis was in epidemic proportions is so recently passed that the older children and the adolescents were born into the thick of some of the worst of it. Many of the school population presently enrolled have, themselves, had long periods of hospitalization. Some have lost one or both parents. Some lost their parents by hospitalization temporarily but for critical segments of their lives. The next graph illustrates the trends and disparities in infant mortality. For our purpose today, it would seem that a discussion of infant mortality would be irrelevant since it is by definition, the number of all babies who died before their first birthday. However, this measure does have its use in our discussion today because it does give some indication of the extent of serious illness in childhood. Many very serious illnesses are occurring among Alaska Native children and some of those who do not die are surviving with permanent residual damage.

In summary there are factors, physical environment of the Alaska Native homes that blight the physical health of children. In the same way for some of the children there are factors in the social and emotional environment that could blight their emotional and intellectual development. Dr. Fleshman and Dr. Nachmann, each from the viewpoint of their own speciality, will speak further to some of these problems.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF J. KENNETH FLESHMAN, M.D., CHIEF OF PEDIATRICS, ALASKA NATIVE MEDICAL CENTER

Mr. Chairman, my name is Kenneth Freshman, Chief of Pediatrics at the Alaska Native Medical Center.

The Alaska Native child suffers from an excessive amount of illness. In addition to fatal conditions causing an infant mortality two or three times that of the rest of the United States, many conditions occur which lead to permanent disabilities and chronic illness. Three thousand, or roughly 15 percent, of the Native children are hospitalized each year.

There are two types of deleterious effects of illness in children: the first, directly related to the disease and the second, indirect and related to nonspecific factors such as separation from parents and long hospitalization.

There is great concern among those caring for children in the rest of the United States about these nonspecific effects of hospitalization and illness. Pediatricians make every effort to keep a child at home, with his parents, when ill. If hospitalization is necessary, frequent visiting or even rooming in is often provided for a parent. Attempts are made to prepare the child for surgical or other traumatic procedures. In spite of this many adverse effects of hospitalization are noted. An infant, six to twelve months of age, is just developing an awareness of his "self" and a trust of the parent as an individual. Separation at this time may break this trust and lead to lifetime difficulties in establishing close, trusting relationships with other persons. The preschool child often manifests separation anxiety, regression in behavior, despair and detachment. The four to six year old may be very terrified of imagined mutilation associated with surgical procedures.

If these are of concern in caring for the average child in the United States, imagine the plight of the Native child who might become ill in the village, be taken to the field hospital (often by someone other than the parent), transferred 400 to 600 miles to the referral hospital, spend one to three months, then return home (again often escorted by a stranger). It is not hard to imagine that even though the child recovers physically, significant emotional problems that occur. It is important for the teachers to understand this since a child so affected may experience serious school and learning problems.

We have seen a group of children who, as infants, were separated from their parents during the period of time that significant portions of the population were hospitalized for tuberculosis. These children are about 10 to 12 years of age, cannot relate well to their families or other persons, are failing in school, and are also failing to grow in a normal fashion physically. This has occurred even though it was the mother and not the child that was ill.

There are serious long-term results of illness that handicap many Native children. They lead to learning difficulties and a need for special understanding and programs by education systems.

Mental retardation is difficult to measure in the Alaska Native because no one has yet devised a reliable test that will exclude sociologic factors. A large number of children have definitely been identified as mentally retarded and an estimated one-half of these were previously normal but suffered permanent brain damage due to an infection, such as meningitis. It would be safe to say that each Alaskan village would contain at least two school-age children who are retarded. We are fortunate that most of the recently discovered genetic causes of retardation are not present in the population.

Hearing loss is probably the number one disability that will interfere with education and learning. Many surveys have indicated that 10 percent of the population have chronic ear infections and that about one-fourth of these have both ears involved with presumably decreased hearing in both ears. This is mainly based on physical examination of the ears and not on good hearing tests. At the minimum, it means 625 Native school children with a serious handicap. In addition many more (up to one-third) suffer acute infections during infancy and early childhood with frequent and prolonged drainage of pus from the ears. Although this may clear up later, its presence during the years of language formulation may permanently impair the individual's ability to communicate and learn. The United States Public Health Service, Alaska Department of Health and Welfare and private sectors of medicine are mounting a concerted effort to do all that is medically possible to alleviate this condition. In spite of all of our efforts a large number of children will still have a hearing loss and will need to be educated.

Visual defects do not appear to occur in an unusual frequency and vision testing and fitting of glasses is done at adequate intervals.

Gross caloric malnutrition is not prevalent; however, iron deficiency anemia, common in infancy, persists up into the school age. Dietary surveys show marginal intakes of many essential nutrients. Where school lunch programs are present it is not uncommon for over 50 percent of the daily intake to be supplied by this one meal. Contributing factors to this are not only the availability of food but lack of knowledge about proper nutrition.

I would now like to suggest the effect education can have on health. The diseases that we are dealing with are essentially unmanageable by traditional medical means. They disappeared as killers and cripplers many years ago in the rest of the United States, yielding to correction of the environmental factors responsible such as housing, sanitation, nutrition, and education. I feel it is imperative that the education system consider the tremendous gap that exists between Alaska Native pupils and the average child in the United States and to realize that poorly nourished physically handicapped or chronically ill children cannot learn nor achieve in a competitive society. The curriculum must contain a much stronger emphasis than it now does on learning about sanitation, nutrition, basic and, especially, reproductive physiology until the time these children are able to accept and utilize the contents of the traditional United States curriculum.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF BARBARA NACHMANN, PH.D., PSYCHOLOGIST, MENTAL HEALTH TEAM, ALASKA AREA NATIVE HEALTH SERVICE

Mr. Chairman, my name is Barbara Nachmann. I am the psychologist in the Mental Health Unit, Indian Health Service, Alaska Area Native Health Service.

The problems of Indian education are certainly very familiar ones. A review of the literature and the public statements about them over the years leaves one impressed with the high level of agreement among commentators about the major characteristics of the problem and about its gravity. Essentially similar conclusions have been reached over and over gain by innumerable workshops, committees, advisory groups, research organizatons, and private individuals.

I assume, therefore, that the only justification for my commenting upon it would be to mention any evidence regarding ways in which the educational situation of the Alaskan Native differs from that of the Indian populations in other parts of the country, or to offer views which are conditioned by my particular vantage point, which is that of a psychologist working in the mental health program of the Alaska Area Native Health Service, Division of Indian Health Service and occasionally loaning my services to the schools in the northern and western regions of the State. Since my contact has been mainly the rural schools rather than the boarding schools I will not comment on the latter except to join the general concensus that they were an unfortunate necessity, to me supplanted as rapidly as possible by local schools. No matter how skillfully administered they entail two circumstances antithetic to education—absolute segregation and separation of young children from their families.

The questions which we have been asked to address are: what are or should be the goals of education, what problems interfere with learning, what is being done and what could be done to remedy the problems.

THE GOALS OF EDUCATION

The question of what are and should be the goals of education has given rise to two differing views each of which has been voiced by both natives and nonnatives: (1) That schools should provide the most efficient possible move into the White culture. "Realism" is generally invoked in support of this. The assertion is that employment—ability to compete on the job market and to enter the upper occupational levels—is the impoverished group's greatest need: that the solutions to all other problems depend on this, and that the eventual absorption into the technological white economy is an inevitability regardless of what values one might put on it. A contrary assertion is that assimilation is not inevitable, at least in absolute terms. It is argued that the Native's welfare depends upon his preserving his ethnic identity. His right to detérmine what things from the old culture he will retain and what from the new he will accept is to be safeguarded and education should not be used as a tool for hammering him into an alien mold.

There seems to be emerging a stand different from either of these, which we would like to endorse and to elaborate upon. It is that there are certain skills and bodies of knowledge, and ones, which are very close to the heart of education, which have a utility whether one leaps wholly into the future or preserves something of a separate past. Since it is good to have as wide a range of choices as possible; that education is best which educates the person about and equips him to pursue a wide range of possibilities rather than prematurely cutting him off from alternatives and preempting his freedom to choose. The trend of employment and technology is such that narrow specialization on a skill tied to a specific job outlet is likely to be not only personally narrowing but even economically disadvantageous. It is impossible to predict the job market ten years hence in a rapidly changing technology. What seems the most economically practical skill at this moment may be soon totally obsolete. There is every indication that the Eskimo may be caught in an even further irony of history. We may be trying hard to instill in him the zeal for, and to equip him with the skills for competing in, a technological world just at the point when that world is ceasing to exist. Our economic competitiveness and work to earn a living may itself be becoming obsolete as more and more manual operations and semi-skilled jobs are taken over by machines and the whole economy shifts toward a condition where the old concepts of work no longer apply.

In this sense the "practical" and the "cultural self determinism" arguments become reconciled. The education which would best equip a person (Eskimo or otherwise) to exercise choice, to survive in a fast changing technology and economy, and to get durable satisfactions from life, is an education which will enable him to think, to learn easily whatever new content he turns to, to get pleasure out of problem solving, artistic creation, and the use of his intellect, his hands, his body,—out of creative activity itself apart from the economic use to which it is put, and a broad knowledge of the world and its meanings;—not a body of rote facts or a narrowly applicable trade which is drudgery to be endured as the price of survival.

It is to be noted that many of these things were a part of the cultural heritage which the Eskimos might not only do well to hang on to but to pass on to the Whites.

THE PROBLEMS

We do not have any comprehensive statistical evidence to offer about the status of the problems in education (or in the related areas of the mental health or welfare) of the Alaskan Native because our agency is primarily a service organization which does not afford the staffing luxury which fact-gathering requires. Unfortunately the same is true of the other agencies, state and local, which are more intimately concerned with education. Hence any "research" or "statistical" evidence cited in support of one position or another in Alaska is perforce exceedingly fragmentary.

As we have indicated, however, there is a large accumulation of informal evidence—and a high degree of consensus regarding the nature of the problems. It is not in documenting their existence but in devising and assessing methods of remediation that research is needed.

One may approach the task of listing and catagorizing educational problems in a variety of ways; according to their source, functionally, or according to their appearance in the individual's developmental sequence. We have found that whichever of the commonly used catagorizations of learning disorders one employs the results are essentially the same.

Elsewhere in the United States students in general have characteristically one or two main areas of difficulty (out of a possible 15–20), determined by individual circumstances. Underprivileged youth elsewhere in the country characteristically have, in addition to such idiosyncratic difficulties, one or two larger areas of impairment determined by economic and cultural disadvantages. The average Alaska Native student by contrast may show serious impairment in almost every existing category. Hence it is not surprising that only the rare exception makes his way to either academic accomplishment in the White world or to intellectual or artistic creativity in his own culture.

It is certainly clear that intellectual development can flourish only after basic physical needs are met, and that the Alaskan Native is more seriously handicapped in regard to such needs than are other non-white groups, and that any fundamental change in his educational status must wait upon the redressing of these historical inequities. Equally certain he is caught in the circularity of the circumstance that his inadequate education prevents his taking full advantage of such improvements in economic opportunity as do come his way.

Dr. Martha Wilson and her colleagues have already detailed the nutritional and physical health concommitants of poverty in an extreme climate and geographic remoteness from medical care which effect central nervous system and sensory functioning. They have also described the interaction of deafness with bilinguialism in hampering the development of basic language skills.

The following items are, in our judgment, the main types of non-physical interferences in learning and intellectual development which hamper the Native student.

1. Lack of early stimulus to learning

The pre-school years where the largest and most crucial intellectual development takes place are years of extreme stimulus deprivation for many Native children. The climate precludes outdoor play for a large portion of the year. The out-of-doors in the Arctic provides a highly simplified sensory environment. The average home is a meagerly furnished one or two room structure, largely devoid of toys, books, pictures, musical instruments, indeed most of the sensory input which stimulates the urban child's development. The parents, frequently, have abandoned or have themselves lost touch with, the skills, the stories, and the traditions, the acquisition of which was in earlier times the task of childhood. They often have not yet acquired either the goods or the skills of the White culture which could fill this gap. Hence the Eskimo child comes to his first encounter with formal schooling equipped with far less practice than the average White child at the essential perceptual, motor, and conceptual skills upon which school learning is based.

2. *Interferences in charcter development*

Prolonged or repeated separations from parents (due to hospitalizations of parents or children, removal of children to boarding schools, and other kinds of family disruptions) remain a common occurance for Alaskan families. The dangerous of these circumstances for the child's development has frequently been pointed out.

From the standpoint of educational development the most crucial result is that the necessary conditions for sturdy character development; i.e. a long term secure relationship with at least one significant adult, is often missing. Capacity to delay gratification, to develop a consistent set of values, to persist in effortful activity, and to strive for long range goals—all the necessary foundations to any real participation in education—are jeopardized. Many children reach school age thus handicapped. They then frequently encounter not the lasting relationship with a teacher which could repair some of this loss but, because of the high turnover rate in teachers and other personnel dealing with youth, a quickly shifting series of brief encounters. Consequently no matter how "good" the parents or teachers, the child experiences them as a series of starts and abortive endings, of contradictory and confusing injunctions and demands, and of promises made and hopes raised but not carried out. The capacity to believe, trust, depend upon, and care about anyone or anything is irreparably blunted.

3. *Interferences in development of capacity to sublimate*

The use of the intellect, if it is to proceed at all beyond simple rote learning, depends upon there having occurred in childhood the development of the capacity to transform the basic instinctual energies into intellectual ones. This complex process seems to require, among other things, the displacement of sexual curiosity into other areas of knowledge, the presence of certain prohibitions upon immediate instinctual discharge, the presence of considerable cognative input, as well as protection against too overwhelming a flooding with instinctual stimulation. It is difficult to provide the necessary conditions for this development in a crowded one room house where the sexual activity and the destructive violence that life entails must be viewed at close range by every member of the household. Although the details of this process are debatable there is much evidence that if it does not occur in early childhood it cannot be accomplished later on, and that its failure to occur constitutes a permanent limitation upon the capacity to get satisfaction from intellectual activity.

4. *Separation of education from other meaningful experiences*

There exist for many children not only the temporal discontinuities in personal relationships mentioned above, but also a sharp discontinuity between schooling and other meaningful experiences. Teachers are, except for rare exceptions, of a different race and class and speak a different language. Parents and other adults in the community who would ordinarily serve as models for the developing child are rarely teachers, or in any way identified with the body of knowledge which is presented by the schools. To take on that knowledge in any more than a superficial manner means for the child making a break with his home and his past far more acute and irreversible than that which is required.

5. *Teacher-student attitudes which inhibit learning*

Because of its linguistic and cultural strangeness participation in the classroom routine is experienced by many children here as exposure to criticism and to the danger of being found wanting the aim becomes to conceal ignorance and to avoid embarrassment by saying as little as possible and keeping uninvolved. School becomes a continuously defensive ordeal to be survived. It is seldom the pleasurable exploration of the world or the development of one's own capacities which can be experienced only when student and teacher are free from concern about external standards of performance and united in following curiosity rather than compulsion.

6. Perpetuation of gaps in basic skills

Through the wide spread practice of "social promotion" (on grounds that it is too embarrassing or too unwieldy to have ten and twelve year olds among the first and second graders) children who have failed to acquire the basic language and arithmatic skills upon which all subsequent learning is dependent are pushed along through the grades according to age rather than achievement. As a consequence what is taught becomes increasingly unmeaningful, and the entire educational process increasingly an empty compliance with a ritual requirement. The disparity between what the child understands and what he must pretend to know becomes wider and wider, and the possibility of remedying the gaps becomes more remote.

Funds have been made available for a variety of technical training programs for adolescents and adults but little or none for supplementing the basic academic skills which many have missed but which one *must* have to make use of special training programs.

7. Lack of supervisory aid for teachers

The lack of intensive local supervision and the disadvantages of "absentee administration" is a problem which stems from Alaska's immense distances and which education hence shares with many other occupations. Teachers are frequently new to Alaska, new to the ways of life in the remote north, and new to teaching at once. They are cut off from the means to professional stimulation and development which are available elsewhere. The local principal or superintendent is often himself too burdened with other tasks to give the kind of supervision which could best utilize the zeal and originality of novices or the knowledge and experience of seasoned teachers. Difficulties which initially would have been easy to solve snowball in dismaying proportions and teacher-turnover is high. Native, Eskimo speaking instructional aides who could be central to the whole program are relegated to peripheral tasks because no one has time to devise adequate ways of using them. High teacher-turnover and low use of native teachers, in a situation where overcoming the initial strangeness between student and teacher is so difficult a task, is the wasteful result.

Of this list of interferences in learning those which are most unique to Alaska are:

1. Early stimulus deprivation.
2. Disruption of personal relationships as barrier to character development.
3. Living conditions which interfer with the channeling of energies.
4. The linguistic and cultural gap.

These, it will be seen, are the ones which stem primarily from circumstances outside the educational system.

The latter half of our list which deals with issues stemming in part from the nature of the educational program:

1. Teacher-student attitudes
2. Social promotion
3. Supervisory needs

involves circumstances in which the Alaskan problems are an exaggeration of those prevelant elsewhere.

It seems to us quite evident that the basic problems are ones which cannot be solved by any simple changes in educational policy or practice. They are problems which must certainly prove as serious stumbling blocks to the state school system as they have to the BIA. It will be lamentable indeed if the State Department of Education is now to fall into the plight which the BIA has long suffered: that of being charged with an enormously difficult task while provided with meager resources for coping with it.

WHAT IS BEING DONE

There are evident here and there efforts of extraordinary—one might well say—heroic—quality by individual teachers, and in circumscribed local projects of great ingenuity and verve. For example there is the young Negro teacher, Paul Sterling, on Little Diomede (now at the North-East Cape) who used his skill as a teacher and his courage and compassion as a man to produce a profound effect on that remarkably intractable community—or the Hawaiian-born Fred Goo at the end of the continent in Pt. Barrow, who has devised and carried out a one-man remedial reading program that the most prosperous urban school could be proud of.

Our impression is, however, that there has been no adequate comprehensive attack on the problems but only circumscribed and intermittent ones.

The near universal problems of bilingualism and educational retardation have been mistaken for individual problems of mental retardation or emotional disorder and have hence been dealt with, if at all, as "special education." They have thus been accorded the limited, peripheral, patch-work attention and resources which such problems receive rather than being attacked as a circumstance basic to the entire educational effort.

The small size of the Indian-Eskimo population has illogically been used as a basis for assuming that small efforts would suffice. These are problems which have to do with basic lacunae in the educational development of nearly all Eskimo-Indian youth. They cannot be remedied on in a year or two and are most especially resistant to change after early childhood is passed. They are, however, like many social problems, not *necessarily* perpetual but ones which *are* perpetuated from one generation to the next, so that if sufficient resources were expended to truely eliminate them in one generation they could be eliminated once and for all.

RECOMMENDATIONS

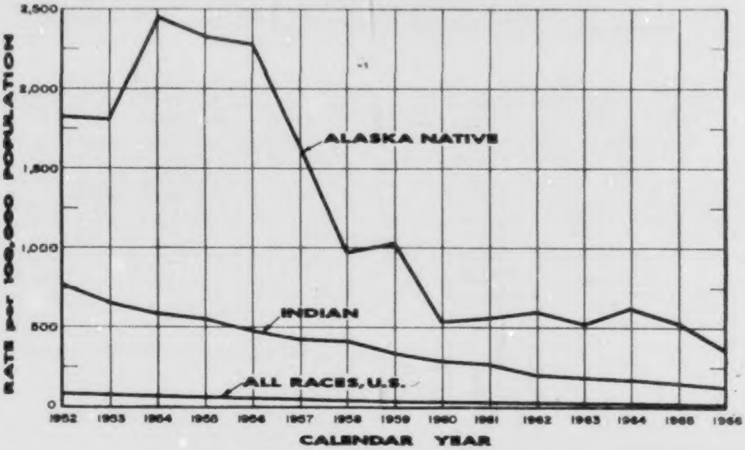
Our recommendations regarding those parts of the problem that are amendable to change within the educational system are as follows:

1. That the under-education of native youth be recognized as a universal rather than as a special, individual problem, and approached accordingly.
2. That social promotion be eliminated and that teaching staff and facilities be increased so that all children capable of learning can acquire the basic skills.
3. That pre-school and adult education be recognized as essential to the success of the regular school program and made an integral part of it.
4. That bi-linguial Indian and Eskimo teachers and teacher-aides be trained and used in much greater numbers.
5. That highly trained supervision and in-service training be provided on the local level to make the use of less highly trained and experienced teachers more feasible.

What has repeatedly been pointed out before becomes now increasingly clear: The education of disadvantaged children is a major national problem. The federally operated Indian schools provide an opportunity for creating a model system which could lead the way in research and development. Instead the national reaction has been one of simultaneously blaming and curtailing, so that they have become an example of the waste and futility of stop-gap measures.

INCIDENCE RATES FOR TUBERCULOSIS INDIAN, ALASKA NATIVE AND ALL RACES, U.S.

1952 – 1966

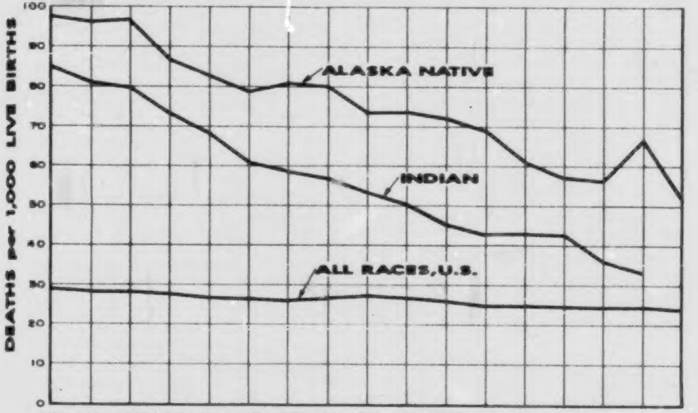


SOURCE: INDIAN HEALTH HIGHLIGHTS

PREPARED BY PROGRAM ANALYSIS BRANCH
ALASKA NATIVE HEALTH AREA OFFICE

INFANT MORTALITY RATES INDIAN, ALASKA NATIVE AND ALL RACES, U.S.

1950 – 1966

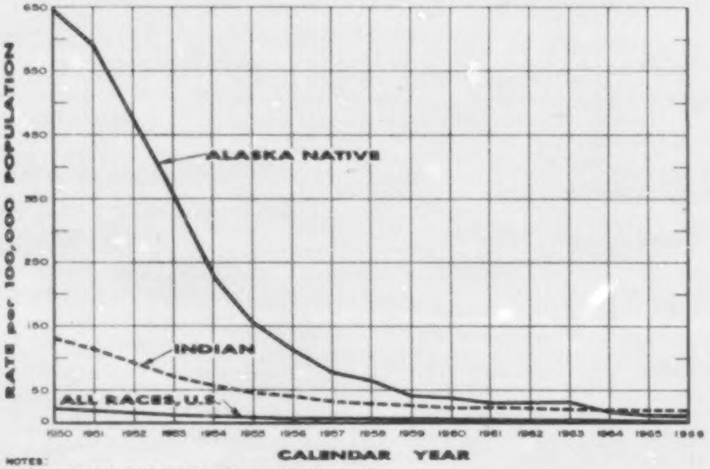


NOTES:

INDIAN RATES: *SINGLE YEAR FOR 1963, 1964, 1965*
ALASKA NATIVE RATES: *SINGLE YEAR FOR 1965*
INDIAN RATES: *3 YEAR MOVING AVERAGES 1950-1962*
ALASKA NATIVE RATES: *3 YEAR MOVING AVERAGES 1950-1964*
U.S. ALL RACES: *ALL SINGLE YEARS*

PREPARED BY PROGRAM ANALYSIS BRANCH
ALASKA NATIVE HEALTH AREA OFFICE

TUBERCULOSIS DEATH RATES
INDIAN, ALASKA NATIVE AND ALL RACES, U.S.
1950 – 1966



NOTES:
INDIAN and ALASKA NATIVE RATES: SINGLE YEAR FOR 1963, 1964, 1965
3 YEAR MOVING AVERAGES 1950–1962
ALL RACES ARE SINGLE YEAR

SOURCE: INDIAN HEALTH HIGHLIGHTS

PREPARED BY PROGRAM ANALYSIS BRANCH
ALASKA NATIVE HEALTH AREA OFFICE

PREPARED STATEMENT OF KURT W. DEUSCHLE, M.D., LAVANBURG PROFESSOR AND CHAIRMAN, DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY MEDICINE, MOUNT SINAI SCHOOL OF MEDICINE, NEW YORK, N.Y., REPRESENTING THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON INDIAN HEALTH OF THE ASSOCIATION ON AMERICAN INDIAN AFFAIRS, INC.

Mr. Chairman and members of the Subcommittee, thank you for the opportunity to appear this morning on behalf of the Association on American Indian Affairs.

The Association on American Indian Affairs is a national voluntary organization founded in 1922 to assist American Indian and Alaska Native communities in their efforts to achieve economic and social equality with other American communities. Its National Committee on Indian Health, composed of physicians, anthropologists and tribal and public health workers, has as its particular concern the physical and mental health of the native peoples and actively encourages the development of programs serving to promote an optimal level of health and well-being among them.

In recent years our Association has appeared before Committees of the Congress in support of such measures as the transfer of health services from the Bureau of Indian Affairs to the Public Health Service in 1955; PL 86–121, the Indian Sanitation Facilities Act; the establishment of preventive mental health programs, beginning with a pilot project at Pine Ridge, South Dakota, during fiscal year 1966 and in Alaska in fiscal year 1967; the initiation of a five-year comprehensive trachoma control program, also in fiscal year 1967; an increased annual appropriation for the construction of sanitation facilities in fiscal years 1967, 1968 and 1969.

Once again we wish to congratulate the Subcommittee for having authorized the creation of these pilot programs in the field of preventive mental health, the first such services to be directed to the needs of Indian and Alaska Native populations, for having launched an effective attack against the ravages of trachoma among the native peoples and for having made appropriations for sanitary construction on a scale which will lead to eliminating the sizeable backlog of need for such facilities within a period of five to ten years.

It is my wish in appearing before the Subcommittee today to comment on the budget request of the Indian Health Service for fiscal year 1970, to emphasize in particular the gravity of the problem of middle ear disease among the American Indian and Alaska Native peoples and to urge a specific action by the Subcommittee, namely:

An annual appropriation of $500,000 for the creation of an otology program within the Indian health service which would have as its aim (1) the prevention and treatment of middle ear disease, the cause of widespread hearing loss among the native peoples, and (2) the provision of restorative surgery and rehabilitation to relieve the diability of those many whose hearing has been lost or seriously impaired by it.

The inordinately high rate of crippling ear disease among the American Indian and Alaska Native populations produces serious morbidity and subsequent impairment in educability and vocational development. An otoscopic survey of over 3,000 Navajo children in 1965 demonstrated the presence of chronic otitis media in over seven percent, a ratio which is five times greater than in the general population. A 1968 survey among the White Mountain Apache community showed 8.3 percent of the population had chronic otitis media. It is among the Alaska natives that the greatest morbidity from middle ear disease is encountered. A 1965 study showed 23% of the villagers of seven Eskimo villages had a history of draining ears on more than one occasion.

It is the tragic aftermath of middle ear disease that warrants its being singled out for attack through a special combined medical-surgical-rehabilitative program. Such a program has been drafted by the Indian Health Service, and we would respectfully urge the Subcommittee to invite the Indian Health Service to present an appropriately designed program before it in order that the funds necessary for its implementation can be made available.

An example of the enormous problem posed by hearing difficulties in school children is illustrated in results of a hearing survey conducted by the audiologist retained by the state of Alaska, who recently screened all of the school children from the first through the eleventh grades in Bethel, the largest town in the Yukon-Kuskokwin delta, the area which includes the majority of the Eskimo population of the state. This survey showed that out of a total of 516 students, 53% of males and 39% of females have a hearing loss of 26 decibels or more. While more males than females have some degree of impairment, in point of fact more of the females have severe and significant hearing losses. Hearing impairments were especially severe in the age group five through eight-and-a-half.

Teachers who face a classroom of children in which half of the students have hearing impairments are frustrated and understandably demoralized. Children crippled by partial-to-complete deafness tend to learn more slowly and may exhibit social, psychological and behavioral abnormalities. They are regularly observed to be insecure, withdrawn and unable to learn at an acceptable rate.

A handicap of this magnitude, in the absence of restorative treatment or rehabilitation, will have far-reaching consequences for an individual's entire life experience. Social adjustment and productivity will both be impaired, and these deficiences will affect his future role as parent and breadwinner, and thus the harmful effects continued into the next generation. This is all the more true under today's economic conditions, when skills derived through formal education or vocational training are increasingly the major foundation of indivdual earning power.

The problem of otitis media and resultant hearing loss is not restricted to American Indians and Eskimos. High morbidity rates are also seen in other poverty groups, in fact the most obvious common denominator for high rates of middle ear disease is a poverty-related factor. In other words, the living conditions, including housing, socio-economic status, education and general environmental factors may be related to the incidence of recurrent and chronic middle ear disease and resulting hearing loss. Perhaps the most important contributory factor is the condition of crowding. Among Eskimos, where middle ear disease is the most common health problem, the average family size is 5.6 persons, and 70 percent of the homes have less than 100 square feet per person, with 37 percent having less than 50 square feet per person. This severe overcrowding enhances the spread of respiratory infection, which in turn may lead to the development of otitis media.

Heating, climate, patterns of child care all play a role. In a population where chronic otitis media is an endemic, draining ears may come to be viewed as no more alarming than a runny nose, and thus a major health education effort will be part of any comprehensive attack on middle ear disease. Similarly, there must be a massive effort to eliminate the backlog of need for safe housing among the native people. Over 80% of native housing remains grossly unfit by the federal government's own standards.

The relationship of adequate health services which are readily accessible to a high risk population is a very significant factor in the development of severe and chronic middle ear disease. Delay in seeking medical care, poor transportation, inadequate treatment may all have a serious impact on the evolution of the various forms of middle ear disease. In Alaska, physicians conducting an intensive treatment campaign in one village for the control of middle ear disease observed a drop of from 18.9 percent to six percent in monthly prevalence rates, while only a slight fall occurred in a control village. The difference was almost entirely due to a reduction in the children with continuously draining ears, rather than a reduction in new episodes. In short, early effective treatment of acute and chronic infection of the middle ear can apparently reduce the problem of draining ears sharply. There seems to be a high degree of agreement among otolaryngologists and pediatricians that penicillin therapy is the simplest effective form of treatment of these patients. Thus early effective antibiotic treatment, particularly for the acute and chronic suppurative forms of otitis media, is a high priority control approach. It must be clearly stated, however, that this is not a primary preventive measure but a secondary approach to prevention of the destructive sequelae of suppurative infection. There still remains the problem of identifying the "case" and instituting prompt and effective treatment. In Alaska and on the Indian Reservations in the lower 48 states, increasing reliance is being placed on medical treatment by local community health workers or village health aides. The degree to which these health auxiliaries can be educated, trained anid disciplined to recognize, report, treat and follow up middle ear infections will determine the degree to which these field personnel can be counted on as the front line of defense in a concerted medical attack.

What must not be overlooked, however, is the importance of improved living conditions including housing, nutrition, general hygiene and sanitation, education, employment, accessibility to good medical care, and particular attention to health education with respect to middle ear disease problems. The American Indians and Alaska Natives must become more knowledgeable and sophisticated regarding the problem, control, treatment, and rehabilitation of middle ear disease. Anything that can be done to bolster, improve, and upgrade general living, general health, and adequate health care services should have important implications for control of middle ear disease.

While most physicians can be easily trained to supervise other health personnel to carry out effective treatment for the majority of acute cases of otitis media, stubborn, difficult and complicated middle ear disorders may require highly skilled and pediatric specialty care.

The non-medical care of the middle ear disease problem falls into surgical approaches, audiologic service including hearing devices, speech therapy, and special educational and rehabilitation services. The hearing screening programs represent a first step to identifying both the medically eligible candidates and those potentially benefiting from restorative surgery, hearing aides, and rehabilitative speech therapy. Restorative surgery includes tympanoplasties and mastoidectomies. The caseloads requiring restorative surgery in the Indian Health Service Areas (Albuquerque, Anchorage, Billings, Navajo, Oklahoma, Phonix, and Portland) are staggering. The directors of the U.S.P.H.S. Indian Health Service Areas have indicated a plan for providing urgent surgery to the children and young adults on a priority basis. However, it has been underscored repeatedly by the responsible medical administrators that expanded and multiple resources will be required to reduce the backlog of cases who could benefit from restorative surgery and rehabilitation.

In order to gain a first-hand view of the problem of middle ear disease among the American Indians and Alaska Natives, during February of this year I personally visited the Phoenix Indian Health Area and the Alaska Health Area. My tour of these facilities and service areas had been set up to focus on the otologic problems there, and included visits to clinical installations, schools, an Eskimo village, village health aide stations and homes of Alaska Natives.

My assessment of the magnitude of the problems associated with middle ear disease has thus been based on examinations of patients, a review of field data and discussions with individuals with first hand clinical or research experience with this problem, as well as on a review of the pertinent scientific literature. A full report of my findings, impressions and recommendations has been submitted to this Subcommittee in conjunction with the present testimony. Many of the recommendations have to do with specific approaches to a comprehensive otology program, and the report is therefore also being submitted to the Indian Health Service for consideration in the formulation of a design for such a program. The research and field visits have impressed me vividly with the magnitude of the problem, its far-reaching impact on the lives of the people affected and the urgency of initiating measures to reduce its ravages.

1969 BUDGET REQUEST

Analysis of the President's budget for 1970 shows a request for a program activity budget for the Indian Health Service in the amount of $99,581,000, an increase of $5,299,000 over fiscal year 1969 for the same activities. Nearly 80% of this increment, however, must be allocated for mandatory pay increases and other statutorily required costs, leaving a net increment for program activities of only $1,248,000. Such a small increment falls far short of the net yearly increase of 5% which our Association has long advocated. We therefore would urge this Subcommittee to authorize an increment of $10,000,000 in the appropriations for program activities. Such an increment would mean that the preventive health program of the Indian Health Service could be expanded at a reasonable rate. Without a further increase, much needed preventive and therapeutic services will inevitably have to be curtailed.

In studying the President's 1970 budget request, we were gratified to note that provision is made in the field health program for the expansion of the preventive mental health program of the Indian Health Service. We heartily endorse this program, and look forward to seeing it expand on an even wider scale. In March of this year the Association on American Indian Affairs convened its Fifth National Conference on Indian Health, a two-day meeting devoted to a review of the experience to date with mental health programs directed toward the needs of the American Indian and Alaska Native people. It was the sense of the meeting, which was held as part of the Association's three-year inquiry into Indian mental health needs, that important successes have been won in developing programs which are effective in reducing the tragic toll taken by emotional and behavioral disorders among these groups, and that there is now a clear need and justification for expanding these services so that their impact can reach a much larger proportion of the American Indian and Alaska Native people. We would hope to lay before this Subcommittee at a future date specific programmatic and budgetary recommendations for the implementation of such an expansion. We would also urge the Subcommittee to invite the Indian Health Service to submit to it a program schedule which would plan for the delivery of comprehensive mental health services to all Indian areas within a specified period of time.

Our analysis of the President's budget also indicates an appropriation request of $372,000 for the training of an additional 100 Community Health Representatives. This represents a decrease of approximately 50% over the number who were trained during the current fiscal year. There is an estimated need for a total of 1,500 of these Community Health Representatives, Indian people trained as the first line of defense of the health of the native communities. Their importance for the success of the programs of the Indian Health Service cannot be overemphasized. It is they who form the crucial link between the expertise of the professional and the implementation and even the initiation of health programming at the community level. They are involved in the full range of their communities' health needs, from the physical to the emotional and attitudinal. Because it is at the level of movement within the community itself that the major gains of the future will be made in bringing the health of American Indians and Alaska Natives up to the level of the general population, the augmentation of this vital cadre of workers is a matter of genuine urgency. At the rate of 100 new trainees per year, an additional eleven years will be required to train sufficient Community Health Representatives just to fill the current backlog of need for an additional 1,100, since, including the 185 Village Health Aides in Alaska, there will be somewhat fewer than 400 community health workers at the end of the current fiscal year. We would urge that the appropriation for fiscal year 1970 for this essential program be increased by an additional $425,000 to allow for the training of 200 Community Health Workers during fiscal year 1970. In this way the currrent bocklog of need can be eliminated within a period of five to six years.

In the area of sanitary construction, the President's budget request for fiscal year 1970 calls for an appropriation of $17,950,000. This Association most enthusiastically endorses this request and once again stresses the urgency of the sanitary construction program of the Indian Health Service. This Subcommittee in particular deserves to be congratulated for its vision in having authorized appropriations for such construction over the past several years on a scale which will mean the elimination of the accumulated backlog of need within a few years time. The provision of sanitary facilities and a safe water supply, in conjunction with a greatly expanded housing construction program, will be the means by which the considerable residue of environmentally-related illness which still beset the Indian people can be effectively prevented. Middle ear disease, which has been stressed in our tetimony today, is a particularly tragic example of this group of infectious diseases, the development of which is intimately related to physical environment and general living conditions. The appropriations authorized by this Subcommittee for water and sanitary construction has ensured that housing construction programs could be begun on a scale meaningful for the eventual reduction of the massive backlog need. Our Association, which for the past several years has recommended to this Subcommittee an annual appropriation of $18,000,000 for water and sanitary construction, urges approval of the amount requested in the President's budget.

RECOMMENDATIONS

To recapitulate, the Association on American Indian Affairs respectfully submits the following recommendations to this Subcommittee:

1. An annual appropriation of $500,000 for a period of five years for the institution of an otology program within the Indian Health Service which would combine preventive, medical, surgical and rehabilitative approaches to the widespread and crippling problem of middle ear disease among American Indians and Alaska Natives.
2. Appropriation of a $10,000,000 increment for fiscal year 1969 for program activities.
3. A supplemental appropriation of $425,000 to allow for the training of an additional 100 Community Health Representatives over and above the 100 trainee positions requested in the President's budget.
4. Approval of the requested appropriation of $17,950,000 for water and sanitary construction.

The Association on American Indian Affairs believes these recommendations to be fully justified in view of the prevailing health conditions among American Indian and Alaska Native citizens.

A Report on the Middle Ear Disease Problem Among the American Indians and Alaska Natives.[1]

INTRODUCTION

During the week of February 17–22, 1969, the author of this report personally visited the Phoenix Indian Health Area and the Alaska Health Area in order to get a first-hand look at the middle ear disease problem among the American Indians and Alaska natives.

The U.S.P.H.S. Division of Indian Health has recognized the inordinately high rate of crippling ear disease which produces serious morbidity and subsequent impairment in normal education and vocational development among Indian children and young people. The Division of Indian Health has proposed a special budget which would support a comprehensive otology control program in all of the seven major Indian Health Areas. It has been estimated that a million dollars per year for a consecutive five-year period is required to launch a special program that would have a real impact.

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[1] Prepared by Kurt W. Deuschle, M.D., Lavanburg Professor and Chairman, Department of Community Medicine, Mount Sinai School of Medicine, New York, N.Y.

Before arriving at a decision to support the U.S.P.H.S. Division of Indian Health request for a special appropriation, a careful study of existing literature on the middle ear disease problem was undertaken; physicians, nurses, native leaders, teachers, patients, and many other individuals were questioned about this health condition, and the crude data collected from an audiology survey of Bethel, Alaska school children was carefully analyzed and reviewed for this report.

Based on a detailed study of middle ear disease among American Indians and Alaska Natives, there seems to be little doubt that there is indeed a major health problem requiring urgent and comprehensive medical attention. The U.S.P.H.S. request for a million dollar a year special program budget for five years would appear to be a conservative estimate of the financial requirements for an effective Otology Control Project.

GENERAL BACKGROUND

The infectious nature of the middle ear disease problem

The most important diseases of the middle ear are infections of various kinds with or without hearing loss. The inflammations of the middle ear are usually caused by the extension of infection from the nose and nasopharynx. Therefore, the common respiratory infections of man are the underlying source of middle ear infections and their subsequent complications. Although virus infections are most likely the primary causative agents, superimposed or secondary bacterial invasion may produce the garden-variety acute and chronic suppurative infections.

The human misery produced by middle ear disease exceeds the pain and discomfort which accompanies the inflammation. Hearing loss of a mild to complete range may also result from these infections. Moreover, secondary complications of a life-threatening nature may also occur especially if effective treatment is not applied. These complications include acute and chronic mastoiditis, brain abscess, meningitis, and thrombosis of the sigmoid sinus.

Microbiological and serological surveys of middle ear infection (otitis media) have disclosed that the antecedent upper respiratory infections are usually viral in origin. Various populations have been studied, but no characteristic or typical otitis-media producing infectious agent has yet been identified. It has, however, been repeatedly shown that the incidence of otitis media in a population is positively correlated with the incidence of acute respiratory infections. The pattern of virus agents producing upper respiratory tract infections may vary in time and place, but in point of fact no virulent group of viruses has been identified or isolated that has a specially high propensity to produce middle ear infection problems.

With respect to the American Indian and Alaska native populations, the microbiologic and serologic evidence points to frequent upper respiratory tract infections, especially in infants and young children. Dr. T. Chin, the director of the U.S.P.H.S. Kansas City Feld Station, has been studying the serologic patterns of Eskimo children from the Bethel, Alaska area. His observations confirm the high rates of respiratory infection. There appears to be a rapid interchange of viruses that sweep through the Eskimo families. (1) The most important viral patterns recently demonstrated by immunologic techniques include the respiratory syncitial virus in infnats up to age 2, parainfluenza virus types 1, 2 and 3 commonly seen in children age 3–6, and apparent epidemics of rhinovirus type 16. On the other hand, the patterns of respiratory viruses seen in the Bethel Eskimo population is not so different than that observed in other general populations.

Perhaps what can be said from the studies of Chin and his associates(1) is that there is a tendency for epidemic waves of respiratory virus infections and a rapid intrafamilial spread of respiratory infections.

The bacterial organisms which complicate middle ear disease are most commonly the following: pneumonia, B–hemolytic streptococci, H. influenza, and staphylococcus aureus. Table 1. prepared by Dr. J. Kenneth Fleshman and Dr. David D. Beal at the Alaska Native Medical Center in Anchorage, Alaska, summarizes the literature on this problem. (2)

Drs. Suhs and Feldman(3) carried out epidemiologic serologic studies in several population groups with respect to antibodies for streptococci and M. pneumonia. Among native populations from Pt. Barrow, Alaska, high titers of antibodies were observed in sera for both streptococci (ASO titers) and M. pneumoniae (Easton's agent).

TABLE 1.—RESULTS OF MICROBIOLOGIC STUDIES IN CHILDREN WITH OTITIS MEDIA(2)

Author	Year	Number of patients	Pneu-mo-nieae	Strep-to-coccus	Influ-enzae	Sureus	Mixed flora	Others	Number growth
Nielson	1945	811	48	26	16	2		4	4
Bjuggron & Tunevall	1950	178	48	21	8	12			11
Lahikainen	1953	734	38	24	15	2		3	18
Mortimer & Waterson	1956	68	40	3	13		6	2	36
School	1956	136	13	71		5			11
Van Dishoeck et al	1959	306	55	9	34	10		1	
Gronroos et al	1964	374	31	16	18			6	29
Laxdal et al	1966	20	25	20				15	40
Feingold et al	1966	90	29	2	14	4	1	3	47
Coffey	1966	267	34	2	27		3	6	28
Total or range		2,984	13–55	2–71	8–34	2–12	1–6	1–15	4–47

In summary the infection problem of otitis media can be characterized in the following way:

1. Otitis media is an inflammatory problem of middle ear, usually preceded by an upper respiratory infection. This infection is probably caused by a respiratory virus or a bacterial agent.
2. The pattern of respiratory infections—be they viral or bacterial—do not differ qualitatively among American Indians and Alaska Natives.
3. The frequency of infection, and the epidemic spread within families is a quantitative difference which may be commonly associated with American Indian and Alaska Native groups. This seems to be confirmed in the case of the Bethel Eskimo population.

The clinical and epidemiologic pattern of middle ear disease among American Indian and Alaska, Native populations

The typical symptoms of a middle ear infection include intermittent or continuous pain in the ear, a feeling of fullness in the ear, and slight hearing loss. Usually inspection of the eardrum at this stage would reveal a mildly inflamed drum and dull appearance of the eardrum. This infection, medically diagnosed as otitis media, is a common infection of childhood and often accompanies any upper respiratory infection. It may also complicate the so-called common cold, scarlet fever, measles, and influenza.

When virulent bacteria invade the middle ear, acute suppuration occurs. Severe deep throbbing pain in the ear is a cardinal symptom. This stage of the disease is usually accompanied by fever up to 104 to 105 F in infants or children, and 101 to 102 F in adults. There is a definite hearing loss. If pressure increases, the eardrum may rupture. When this occurs, a mixture of blood and pus is discharged from the ear, and the pain is relieved.

Chronic infection of the middle ear is much more common in persons who have had ear disease in childhood. The term—chronic suppurative otitits media—implies permanent perforation of the eardrum. The constant symptom of chronic suppurative otitis media is painless discharge from the ear, which may be foul-smelling or nearly odorless. There may be periods of days or weeks with no discharge, but discharge always recurs. It is frequently made worse by an upper respiratory disease. Hearing loss may be negligible or severe and complete in persons with middle ear disease problems.

The most reliable epidemiologic studies relating to the natural history of middle ear disease were conducted by Reed et al. in Alaska. (4) Among Eskimo children followed from birth to four years of age, it was observed that the population at *greatest* risk is the infant up to age two. Indeed, 65 per cent of the affected children had their first episode before their first birthday and 89 per cent before their second birthday. Thirty-one per cent of the study group had a hearing defect of 26 decibels or more (1964 ISO standards). It was also noted that the percent of children with 26 decibels or more hearing impairment increased with a higher number of episodes of otorrhea (draining ear) during the first two years of life.

Middle ear disease and hearing loss are problems not restricted to American Indians and Eskimos. High morbidity rates are also seen in other poverty groups. In a study (5) reported among a poor Kentucky Appalachian community, the most frequently diagnosed point prevalence condition among infants was disorders of the ear. The rate of this problem was 336.4 per 1000 examinations. Acute otitis media accounted for 60 percent of these cases. Among older children, disorders of the ear were diagnosed at a rate of 348.1/1000. In adults, hearing defects were found at a rate of 258/1000 examined.

The enormous differences between general populations in the U.S. and the poverty groups with respect to middle ear disease and hearing loss can be crudely summarized in the table presented by Johnson : (6)

TABLE 2.—*Hearing loss in one or two ears*

	Percent
General population preschool	1.2
General population schoolchildren	5.7
Indian children, British Columbia	31
Aleut children, Indian	26
Alaskan Indian children (all ages)	23
Eskimos	34

In an otoscopic survey of over 3,000 Navajo Indian children enrolled in boarding schools, the prevalence of chronic otitis media was over 7 percent. About one out of every four had bilateral involvement. This rate of 7 percent chronic middle ear disease is five times greater than in a general population. (6).

Dr. Zonis conducted a complete prevalence survey of chronic otitis media in a White Mountain Apache Indian community. (7) He examined 505 people, representing 93 percent of the total population, and found 8.3 percent of the group had chronic otitis media. This figure is very similar to that found among the Navajo Indian boarding school population.

In a study by Brody et al., (8) a table is presented showing the frequency of draining ears in Alaskan and non-Alaskan population :

TABLE 3.—*History of draining ears*

[More than once, in percent]

Series and Ethnic Group:	
Wasilla (primarily Caucasians homesteading in Alaska)	15
Alaska teachers' children	4
Non-Alaska teachers' children	5
St. Paul Island, Aleuts	5
Seven Eskimo villages	23

Again it appears that Eskimos natives have the most severe problem with ear infection, although no group is immune. Moreover, Caucasians living in harsh environmental conditions of Wasilla also have a high prevalence of ear infection. It is the opinion of many Alaskan physicians that acute and chronic ear conditions are unusually prevalent among non-Native Alaskans.

This review of the literature confirms the high incidence and prevalence of acute and chronic forms of ear infection with accompanying degrees of hearing loss as a major health problem among American Indians and Alaska Natives. However, high morbidity rates of ear disease are also seen in other population segments of our society.

The most obvious common denominator for high rates of middle ear disease is a poverty-related factor. In other words, the living conditions, including housing, socio-economic conditions, education, general environmental factors, etc., may be related to the evolution of this health problem.

Predisposing factors related to development of middle ear disease problem

Acute and chronic middle ear disease which plagues the Indian and Alaska Native has been shown to be an inflammatory infectious disease problem. Most certainly middle ear diseases account for the bulk of ENT work in U.S.P.H.S. field health hospitals and clinics.

What factors contribute to the development of this health problem? Many factors have been implicated. Perhaps the most important contributory influence is the condition of crowding. In Eskimos where middle ear disease is the most common health problem the famliy size is 5.6 persons, and 70 percent of the homes have *less* than 100 square feet per person. (9) Indeed, 37 percent have less than 50 square feet per person. This severe overcrowding enhances the spread of respiratory infection. The influence of cold harsh climate can further exaggerate the overcrowding in small space. Problems in heating also add to the problem.

Unfortunately, there are not readily available studies correlating family size, house space, heating efficiency, and climate to the incidence and prevalence of acute and chronic middle ear infections. Nevertheless, this writer would point very directly to the overcrowding phenomena as a critical "etiologic" factor influencing the pattern and severity of the middle ear disease problem.

Very little is truly known about the role of personal child care, especially as related to infant nose and ear hygiene among Indian and Alaskan Native children. Does the lack of simple nose and ear hygiene—particularly when acute respiratory tract infections are present—contribute to complications of middle ear disease? Some of the ENT specialists working with Indian populations contend that rhinorrhea (runny nose) plays an important part in producing middle ear disease. (7)

Little is known about behavior and attitudes, customs, and beliefs about signs and symptoms of middle ear disease among Indian and Alaska Native populations. Dr. Jaffe, (10) a U.S.P.H.S. physician who worked with the Navajo Indians, learned that Navajo mothers regarded draining ears in an infant as punishment for transgressions committed by the father during the pregnancy for the afflicted infant. (11) Many physicians insist that Indian and Alaska Native families regard draining ears as "normal."

The factor of poor nutrition is frequently suggested as a predisposing element in middle ear infection. Nutrition studies among American Indian and Alaska Natives have been conducted intermittently since 1955 to present. (12) Although a variety of mild deficiencies in nutrition have been identified. it is by no means a clear-cut etiologic factor. The evidence to date does not implicate malnutrition as a significant problem in the development of middle ear disease problems.

The relationship of adequate health services which are readily accessible to a high risk population is a very significant factor, however. Delay in seeking medical care, poor transportation, inadequate treatment may have a serious impact on the evolution of the various forms of middle ear disease. In Alaska, the physicians conducting an intensive treatment campaign for control of middle ear disease observed a drop from 18.9 percent to 6 percent in monthly prevalence rates in the intensive treatment village, with only a slight fall in a control village. (2) The difference was almost entirely due to a reduction in the children with continuously draining ears, rather than a reduction in new episodes. In short, early effective treatment of acute and chronic infection of the middle ear can apparently reduce the problem of draining ears sharply. There seems to be a high degree of agreement among ENT and pediatric specialists that penicillin therapy is the simplest effective form of treatment of these patients.

Preventive measures for middle ear disease

The multiplicity of virus and bacterial agents which can induce middle ear infections explains why an effective vaccination program is not yet practical in a public health control program. Basic immunologic and epidemiologic studies are now being conducted which may at some future date result in a feasible immunizing regimen for selected populations. However, it will require a much greater investment in field and laboratory research before practical measures for vaccine control can be anticipated.

Early effective antibiotic treatment, particularly for the acute and chronic suppurative forms of otitis media, is a high-priority control approach. It must be clearly stated, however, that this is not a primary preventive measure but a secondary approach to prevention of the destructive sequelae of suppurative infection. There still remains the problem of identifying the "case" and instituting prompt and effective treatment. In Alaska and in the Indian Reservations in the lower 48 States, increasing reliance is being placed on medical treatment by local community health workers or village health aides. The degree to which these health auxiliaries can be educated, trained, and disciplined to recognize, report, treat, and follow up middle ear infections will determine how successful and widespread this practice will become in the Indian Health Service.

What must not be overlooked, however, is the importance of improved living conditions including housing, nutrition, general hygiene and sanitation, education, employment, accessibility to good medical care, and particular attention to health education with respect to middle ear disease problems. The American Indians and Alaska Natives must become more knowledgeable and sophisticated regarding the problem, control, treatment, and rehabilitation of middle ear disease. Anything that can be done to bolster, improve, and upgrade general living, general health, and adequate care services should have important implications for control of middle ear disease and disorders.

Treatment of middle ear disease problems

The foundation stone of treatment for acute and chronic middle ear infections is of course antibiotic therapy. Most physicians can be easily trained to supervise other health personnel to carry out effective treatment. On the other hand, the stubborn, difficult and complicated middle ear disease problems may need highly skilled ENT and pediatric specialty care.

The non-medical care of the middle ear disease problem falls into surgical approaches, audiologic services including hearing devices, speech therapy, and special educational and rehabilitative services. The hearing screening programs represent a first step to identifying both the medically eligible candidates and those potentially benefiting from restorative surgery, hearing aids, and rehabilitative speech therapy. Restorative surgery includes tympanoplastics and mastoidectomies. The caseloads requiring restorative surgery in the Indian Health Service Areas (Albuquerque, Anchorage, Billings, Navajo, Oklahoma, Phoenix, and Portland) are staggering. The directors of the U.S.P.H.S. Indian Health Service Areas have indicated a plan for providing urgent surgery to the children and young adults on a priority basis. However, it has been underscored repeatedly by the responsible medical administrators that expanded and multiple resources will be required to reduce the back-log of cases who could benefit from restorative surgery and rehabilitation.

An example of the enormous problem posed by hearing difficulties in school children is illustrated in results of a hearing survey conducted by Mrs. Wood, the State audiologist in Alaska, who conducted a screening survey of children at Bethel, Alaska. The author of this report has presented a series of graphs and tables based on the hearing screening data completed by Mrs. Wood on 516 students from first through eleventh grade attending classes at the Bethel School in Bethel, Alaska.* (See Appendix 1.)

Note that 53% of males and 39% of females have hearing loss of 26 decibels or more as measured by the audiometric screening program. There is a combined result for males and females of 19 per cent with one impaired ear (complete Cps) and 26 per cent at low-medium Cps. The tables and the graphs indicate severe hearing impairments especially in the 5–8.5 year age group. While more males than females have some degree of impairment, in point of fact more of the females have severe and significant hearing losses.

Teachers who face a classroom of children in which half of the students have hearing impairments are frustrated and understandably demoralized. Children crippled by partial-to-complete deafness tend to learn more slowly and may exhibit social, psychological, and behavioral abnormalities. These children are observed to be insecure, withdrawn, and unable to learn at an acceptable rate.

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

There is no question that middle ear disease is a common health problem among American Indians and Alaska Natives. The Eskimos appear to have the highest incidence and greatest severity of this malady. Conditions of poverty—overcrowding, poor housing, socio-cultural, educational, economic, and nutritional circumstances—undoubtedly play a role in making the Indians and Eskimos a high risk group for the development of this illness.

The human misery associated with middle ear disease includes not only the pain and discomfort, and frequently draining ears, but also varying degrees of hearing impairment. Under ordinary circumstances the American Indians and Alaska Natives more often than not start life at a serious disadvantage compared to the white urban American. But when the crippling effects of middle ear disease are superimposed on the growth and development of the Indian or Eskimo child, serious retardation in educational and vocational development can result. There is already an almost scandalous back-log of middle ear disease requiring medical, surgical, and rehabilitative therapy. Moreover, new cases of acute and chronic middle ear disease are occurring every day and not receiving the benefits of modern medicine.

On the basis of the direct observations,[1] interviews,[2] and review of reports and medical literature,[3] my recommendations include the following:

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*The statistical tables and graphs were prepared by Mrs. Renata Belville, Department of Community Medicine, Mount Sinai School of Medicine.

[1] Appendix 4—Itinerary.

[2] Appendix 2—Interviews.

[3] Appendix 3—Literature Review.

1. Organize an annual and perhaps semi-annual U.S.P.H.S. Conference on Otologic Problems of the American Indians and Alaska Natives. Health and behavioral science professionals as well as medical administrators should be included as participants in these conferences. The major problems, treatment, prevention, rehabilitation measures should be reviewed. Standard procedures and evaluation criteria for otology control programs and projects, research and demonstrations aimed at answering important questions related to middle ear disease problems should be established.

2. Special education and training programs for physicians, nurses, nurse's aides, community health workers, and other health professionals in otology control procedures and techniques should be initiated. Because middle ear disease is so prevalent among the Amerian Indians and Alaska Natives, the maximum knowledge and skills to control middle ear disease must be available to all health professionals or auxiliaries connected with the Division of Health programs.

3. Each Indian Health Area should establish a comprehensive Otology Task Force at the field operations level. The representatives of these task forces should be invited to the Otology Control Conferences from the seven Indian health areas.

4. The Arctic Health Research Unit should be encouraged and supported in undertaking fundamental field and laboratory research concerning middle ear disease. Their epidemiologic and ecologic investigations should be extended and expanded. Along these same lines a University School of Medicine or perhaps even a consortium of medical schools might be invited to join the Division of Indian Health in establishing an Otology Control Center in the Southwest—perhaps Tucson, Phoenix, Albuquerque, or Denver area. Epidemiologic, serologic, clinical, surgical, and rehabilitative activities could be focused on the otologic problems which plague the American Indian. Such a center or institute could provide research and demonstration that would be comparable to the Arctic Health Research Unit.

5. The expansion of the village health aid or community health aid program, in order to extend early treatment of middle ear infection, should be supported. Careful evaluation, supervision, and guidance to these "extended doctor" programs must be provided.

6. Sociological, psychological, and anthropologic research should be undertaken in order to get a better understanding of attitudes and behavior of American Indians and Alaska Natives with respect to otologic disorders. Only when there is a basic knowledge of how American Indians and Alaska Natives view middle ear disease, can we begin to communicate effectively with them and influence their behavior and decisions concerning medical care services for this health problem.

7. There should be constant upgrading and improvement of general living conditions of American Indians and Alaska Natives with special attention to health services. Obviously any general improvement in quality and quantity of health care to these populations will have a salutory effect on the problem of middle ear disease. The obvious interrelatedness of middle ear disease to housing, overcrowding, education, nutrition, etc., has already been discussed. But this cycle must be broken and the adverse conditions creating the malignant consequences of middle ear disease must be counteracted if we are to reduce the magnitude of this problem in the future.

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6. Johnson, R. L. Chronic Otitis Media in School Age Navajo Indians. Laryngoscope, Vol. LXXVII, No. 11, pp. 1990–1995, November 1967.
7. Zonis, R. D. Chronic Otitis Media in the Southwestern American Indian. I. Prevalence. Arch. Otology, Vol. 88, pp. 40–45, October 1968.

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10. Personal Communication—Dr. B. Jaffe, February 18, 1969.
11. Jaffe, B. The Incidence of Ear Diseases in the Navajo Indians. Read in part part before the AMA Convention, Section on Otology, Rhinology and Laryngology, June 20, 1967.
12. The Alaska Dietary Survey 1956–1961. Environmental Health Series, Arctic Health. Heller, C. A., and Scott, E. M. PHS Publication No. 999–AH–2.

Appendix 1.—Audiologic Screening Survey Conducted by Mrs. Wood, Alaska State Audiologist, at Bethel, Alaska

(All children from 1st to 11th grade attending school during survey were included. Absentees and 12th grade students were not completed at time these data were collected.)

BETHEL SCHOOL POPULATION

Total number of students: 516.

Male: 326 or 53 percent.
Female: 289 or 47 percent.

Percent distribution of students by age groups

	Percent
5 to 8.5 years	36
9 to 12.5 years	33
13 to 16.5 years	25
17 to 22 years	6

NOTE.—Female and male students show the same percent distribution by age as both sexes combined.

PERCENT NORMAL HEARING BY AGE GROUP AND SEX

Age group	Males		Females		Combined	
	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number
						6
5 to 8.5	50	120	56	100	53	220
9 to 12.5	49	100	69	106	59	204
13 to 16.5	46	84	66	70	55	155
17 to 22	27	22	46	13	34	3
Total	47	326	61	289	54	615

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS WITH IMPAIRED HEARING IN 1 OR BOTH EARS, BY AGE GROUP AND SEX

Hearing loss	Age group (male)				Age group (female)				Combined (all ages)
	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV	
Same loss in both ears	32	33	29	19	32	27	16	14	28
Different loss in each ear	18	18	18	19	9	21	46	43	21
Loss in 1 ear, other normal	50	49	53	62	59	52	38	43	51
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total students	60	51	45	16	44	33	24	7	280

Age group:

I=5	8.5
II=9	12.5
III=13	16.5
IV=17	22.0

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS WITH IMPAIRED HEARING IN 1 OR BOTH EARS BY AGE GROUP AND SEX

Hearing loss	Age group—									
	5 to 8.5		9 to 12.5		13 to 16.5		17 to 22		All ages	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Same loss in both ears	32	32	33	27	29	16	19	14	30	26
Different loss in each ear	18	9	18	21	18	46	19	43	18	23
Loss in one ear, other normal	50	59	49	52	53	38	62	43	52	51
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total students	60	44	51	33	45	24	16	7	172	108

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS WITH 1 IMPAIRED EAR BY FREQUENCY AND SEX

Frequency	Male	Female	Combined
Complete cycles per second	16	24	19
Low-medium cycles per second	25	29	26
High cycles per second	59	47	55
Total	100	100	100
Total students	(89)	(55)	(144)

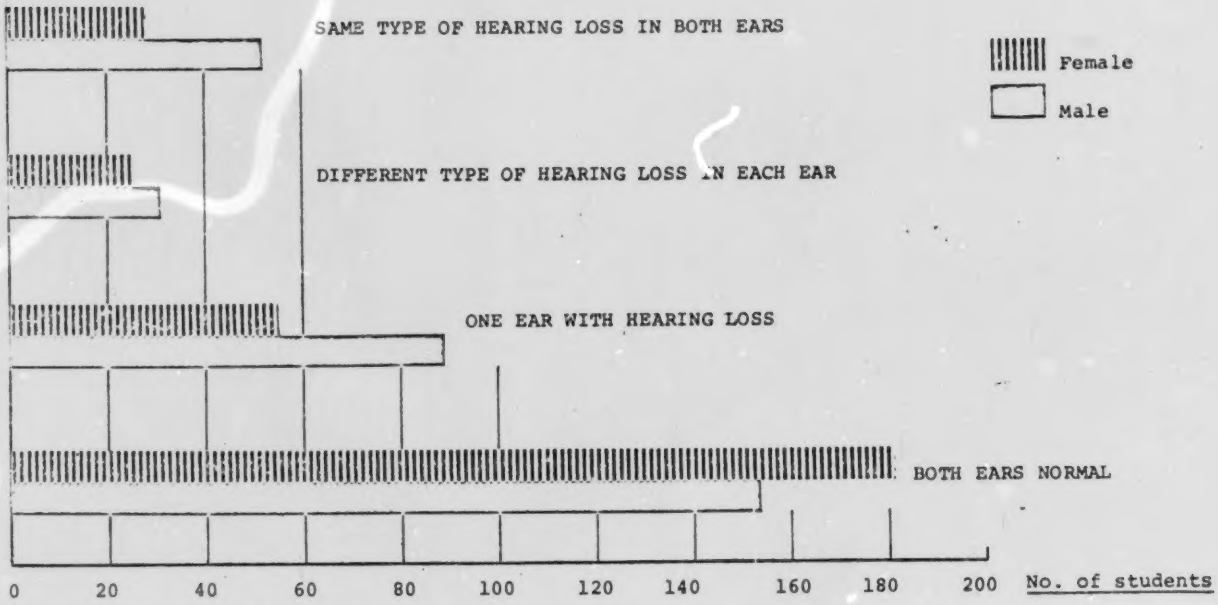
PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS WITH A DIFFERENT TYPE OF HEARING LOSS IN EACH EAR BY FREQUENCY AND SEX

Frequency	Male	Female	Combined
Complete plus low-medium cycles per second	42	12	29
Complete plus High cycles per second	39	36	37
Low-medium plus high cycles per second	19	42	34
Total	100	100	100
Total students	(31)	(25)	(56)

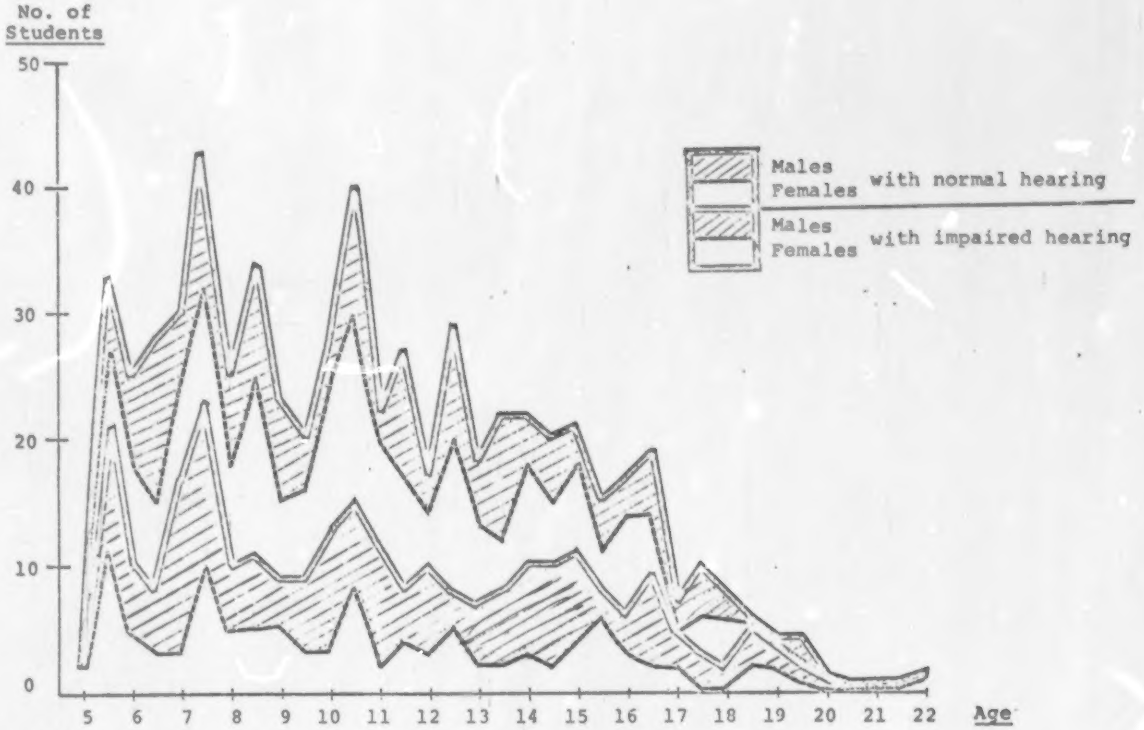
PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS WITH THE SAME TYPE OF HEARING LOSS IN BOTH EARS, BY FREQUENCY AND SEX

Frequency	Male	Female	Combined
Complete cycles per second	13.5	32	20
Low-medium cycles per second	13.5	57	29
High cycles per second	73.0	11	51
Total	100.0	100	100
Total students	(52)	(28)	(80)

NUMBER OF STUDENTS WITH NORMAL AND IMPAIRED HEARING IN ONE OR BOTH EARS



NUMBER OF STUDENTS WITH NORMAL AND IMPAIRED HEARING BY AGE AND SEX



APPENDIX 2.—INTERVIEWS WITH INDIAN HEALTH PERSONNEL AND OTHER KNOWLEDGEABLE PEOPLE

The following persons concerned with Indian Health were contacted and interviewed during my field trip to Phoenix, Arizona, and Anchorage, and Bethel, Alaska:

Charles McCammon, M.D.: Director, Phoenix Area Indian Health Program, USPHS, Phoenix, Arizona.
Alan H. Nicol, M.D.: Deputy Director, Phoenix Indian Health Area Office, USPHS, Phoenix, Arizona.
George Bock, M.D.: Director, Navajo Ava Health Office, USPHS, Window Rock, Arizona.
William Carlyle, M.D.: Chief of Pediatrics, Phoenix Indian Hospital, Phoenix, Arizona.
S. Barton, M.D.: Chief, ENT Service, Phoenix Indian Hospital, Phoenix, Arizona.
Richard D. Zonis, M.D.: ENT specialist in private practice; formerly ENT Chief of Service, Phoenix Indian Hospital, Phoenix, Arizona.
Dr. Jaffe (telephone interview): Instractor, University of Michigan Medical School, ENT and Allergy Service; formerly ENT Chief, Navajo Indian Hospital, Gallup, New Mexico.
John F. Lee, M.D.: Director, Alaskan Native Health Area, USPHS, Anchorage, Alaska.
Jean R. Goorman, M.D.: Chief, Maternal and Child Health Service, Alaskan Native Health Area, USPHS, Anchorage, Alaska.
Martha Wilson, M.D.: SUD, ANMC, USPHS, Anchorage, Alaska.
J. Kenneth Fleshman, M.D.: Chief, Pediatrics, ANMC, USPHS, Anchorage, Alaska.
A. Foster, Ph. D.: Psychologist, ANMC, USPHS, Anchorage, Alaska.
David D. Beal, M.D.: Chief, ENT Service, ANMC, USPHS, Anchorage, Alaska.
Mr. Emil Notti: President, Alaska Federation of Natives, Anchorage, Alaska.
Mr. John Borbridge, Jr.: General Manager of the Central Council, Flingit-Haida Indians, and Vice President of Alaska Federation of Natives, Anchorage, Alaska.
Mr. Gerald I. Goldschmidt: Senior Sanitarian Chief, Environmental Health Services Branch, Alaskan Health Area, Anchorage, Alaska.
Dr. R. Shimizu: OPD Physician, ANMC, USPHS, Anchorage, Alaska.
Mrs. G. Hout, PHN: Bethel Health Area, PHN, USPHS, Bethel, Alaska.
Miss Harrington, PHN: Instructor, Village Health Aid Program, USPHS, Bethel, Alaska.
Dr. J. Winklestein: Chief, Pediatrics Service, USPHS, Indian Hospital, Bethel, Alaska.
Doctors R. Hill, A. Vogel, J. Baughman and others: Health officers, USPHS, Indian Hospital, Bethel, Alaska.
Mr. J. Prior: Sanitarian, Bethel Health Area, USPHS, Bethel, Alaska.
Mr. Fancher: Superintendent, Bethel Schools, Bethel, Alaska.
Mrs. Wood: State Audiologist, Bethel, Alaska.
Dr. Mylo Fritz: ENT specialist, private practitioner, Anchorage, Alaska.

APPENDIX 3.—LITERATURE REVIEW

The following literature was reviewed in connection with the Otology Control Program for the American Indians.

1. Reed, D., Struve, S., Maynard, J. E.—Otitis Media and Hearing Deficiency Among Eskimo Children: A Cohort Study. Am. J. of P.H., Vol. 57, No. 9, September 1967, p 1657–62.
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13. Fleschman, J. K. and Beal, D. D. Chronic Otitis Media. Memo dated October 3, 1968. USPHS, Anchorage, Alaska.
14. Pumphrey, R. E. and McFarland, J. J. Letter to S. Babeau, Director, D.I.H., USPHS. October 21, 1968.
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16. Memo re: Otology Program—Alaska, November 12, 1968. USPHS.
17. Program Plan for Otitis Media—Work Draft. July, 1968. USPHS.
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21. OEO Focuses on Health of Eskimos. U.S. Medicine, February 1, 1969.
22. Jaffe, B. The Incidence of Ear Diseases in the Navajo Indians. Read in part before the AMA convention, Section on Otology, Rhinology and Laryngology, June 20, 1967.
23. Goorman, Jean R., Excerpts from a Study of the Mortality Among Alaska Native Infants in 1966. Department of HEW, Alaska Native Health Area Office, Anchorage, Alaska, 1966.
24. Hammes, L. M. Characteristics of Housing for the Yukon-Kuskokwein Delta of Southwestern Alaska. Arctic Health Research Center, USPHS, DHEW, Anchorage, Alaska. January 1965.

APPENDIX 4.—ITINERARY FOR DR. KURT DEUSCHLE, PHOENIX-ALASKA TRIP

Monday, February 17, 1969. TWA flight No. 164, leave: Tucson, 10:25 a.m., arrive: Phoenix, 10:57 a.m.

Tuesday, February 18, 1969, Western flight No. 622, leave: Phoenix, 5:30 p.m., arrive: Anchorage, 10:30 p.m.

Thursday, February 20, 1969, Wein flight No. 77, leave: Anchorage, 6:30 a.m., arrive: Bethel, 8:25 a.m.

Friday, February 21, 1969, Wein flight No. 78, leave: Bethel, 3:00 p.m., arrive: Anchorage, 4:55 p.m.

Saturday, February 22, 1969, Northwest flight No. 6, leave: Anchorage, 1:10 a.m., arrive: Chicago, 10:40 a.m.; TWA flight No. 226, leave: Chicago, 11:30 a.m., arrive: LaGuardia, 2:11 p.m.

PAUL T. DIXON & ASSOCIATES,
Anchorage, Alaska, December 16, 1968.

Mr. MOSES PAUKAN,
President, Village Council Presidents Association,
St. Mary's, Alaska.

DEAR MO: Visits to 12 of the 14 villages listed in Resolution No. 68–17 have now been completed. In addition we have managed to squeeze in additional visits to Nunapitchuk No. 2, Kasigluk, Toksook Bay, Nightmute, Kongiganak, Kwigillingok and Napakiak. Most of the additional visitations have been in connection with efforts of groups of villages who have expressed a desire to band together into natural groupings for incorporation purposes.

Our work so far has established the following facts pertaining to education.

(1) There are in existence, natural groupings of villages with strong ties. These are along cultural, family and religious lines with much dependence on each other for mutual survival in the food quest and support of commercial enterprises.

(2) The natural groupings of villages have shown a strong desire to band together as single incorporated units. Example is Nunapitchuk No. 1, Nunapitchuk No. 2 and Kasigluk, who have filed a petition for incorporation as a single city to be called Akolmiut.

(3) The average village has 15–18 students away from home in High School.

(4) An equal number of potential students for High School remain at home because of parental objection to their being sent so far from home, family financial difficulties, low levels of academic achievement and lack of space available or funds available to accomodate them in existing BIA and State facilities.

(5) There are in the AVCP area, 2 private grade schools, 5 State grade schools and around 45 BIA grade schools. There is one private High School, one State High School, and no BIA High School. The private High School accomodates 165 boarding students, the State School none and the BIA ships all it's students to Sitka or outside the State. There is only one Independent School District. That is at St. Mary's where the one private high school operates on a regional high school basis. There is prospect that that high school will soon join with the City School District in a planned program for conversion into a standard public school type facility.

(6) Our findings to date would indicate an actual High School student enrollment of 900, a conservative potential High School enrollment of 1800 and the potential of groupings of villages with High School enrollments of 68–140 for each location.

(7) Nearly every school facility suffers from insufficient classroom space, most from too many students per teacher. Teachers for the most part report that the language barrier seriously reduces their effectiveness. They feel that because of the special situation, classroom responsibility should be reduced to one-half the normal standard. They further say that to be effective, not over 20 should be the responsibility of one teacher. This is especially true for the first, second and third grades. A higher tolerance might be considered at a few places like Bethel and St. Mary's. Village total enrollment tends to remain status quo or expand annually. Only one village has been found so far with a shrinking enrollment. If the AVCP is even slightly successful in it's plans for economic development, a profound impact may be expected on the schools in terms of accelerated increased enrollments.

(8) Teacher aids appear to be very highly successful, especially in the lower grades. The professional teachers of the upper levels frequently indicate their aids could use additional formal schooling or training. A continuing program of training for teacher aids is indicated. We suggest doubling the number of aids with one half being given leave each year for upgrading personal academic achievement. In this way perhaps many would be encouraged to enter the professional teaching vocation.

(9) In spite of nearly a half century of effort theeducational system in the area has produced only five Native professional teachers, who have returned to teach at home, counting one who is due for graduation this Spring. Three of these are products of the one private high school. The place of high school graduation for the fourth is unknown. None are teaching in the BIA system. One is employed by the St. Mary's City School District, one by the State at Bethel, one by the city at Dillingham and one is at the U. of A. Three other students are known to be studying for the teaching profession at the University of Alaska. For reasons yet unexplained, the record of Village students returning as teachers among their own people is otherwise blank.

(10) Adult education programs are operating in a relatively few villages in spite of the obvious need. There is no consistency of effort or approach. VISTA Volunteers hold some classes, VISTA Associates in one of two, Mountain Village, Bethel and St. Mary's conduct well planned programs as part of their city public school efforts. Primary funding comes from the State which in turn leans heavily on the Federal Government. Funds appropriated for this purpose have been grossly inadequate. Recent appropriations by the State, for the entitre State, has

only been about $50,000 per year. Except for the three places mentioned, nearly all other efforts suffer from inexperienced planning, inadequate facilities, inadequate or no equipment at all, inadequate and insufficient text books and other supplies. None of the programs have found suitable text books. Those available from current publishers are largely useless. The BIA has produced some excellent hand printed texts, but their scope of coverage is very limited. Three major areas of improved effort are warrented; drastically increased funding, better organization and planning of effort, and development of more suitable text books.

(11) Pre-first grade schooling has taken on many forms. Lack of consistency is, again the characteristic. Head Start is looked upon with fondness by everybody. Teachers, parents and pupils are universal in their praise. Because of the capriciousness in administration of the Head Start Program over the years, however, there is much inconsistency in what is called "Head Start". The legitimate Head Start program seems to function well to everybody's satisfaction in those villages where it exists. Unfortunately, many villages who once had Head Start Programs and failed to acquire continuation of the effort, embarked on continuation of the program on their own with varying results. Many are taught by mothers, VISTA Volunteers or Church Lay Volunteers, using varying criteria in conduct of the program. Neighboring villages, frequently observing the success of efforts, have been encouraged to start original efforts of their own. All masquerade under the title of "Head Start". The original legitimate Head Start Program has thus gained a tremendous prestige that is not justified. This however should not detract from credit being given to a single individual who has put effort into his village program, for we have not found even one professional teacher who has said the village effort did not greatly improve his first and second grade starting students.

Only one village reported its Head Start Program a failure and that village was regenerating its efforts to try again. Here again the lack of funding for non-legitimate Head Start efforts is a major stumbling block. Village Councils are rarely able to raise enough money to buy all the supplies needed. We have witnessed so called Head Start Programs being conducted by VISTA Volunteers with students and teachers sitting on the floor of a Village cabin using second hand first grade or kindergarten books furnished by the State PTA. The opposite extreme is the case of Tununak where a Church Lay Volunteer has established an accerdited Montessori School; we understand, the first such school in the State. The old Village Council of St. Mary's solved its problem of loss of the Head Start Program by securing a legitimate State Kindergarten, which is now being continued by the City School District as one of its Public School efforts. The saddest part of the picture is to encounter numerous villages without any "Head Start" Program at all. In these villages the professional teachers are forced to spend the first year teaching kindergarten work. Result is that students characteristicly spend two years in the first grade, two years in the second grade, etc., until eighth graders are 18 and 19 years old. We would recommend that every effort be bent to get proper funding for every so-called Head Start Program: that the legitimate Head Start Program be expanded in the number of villages it covers and measures adopted to insure continuity of program effort. We further recommend that the AVCP prevail upon the State to recognized the Montessori Method and its licensed teachers as an accreditable program: that the State Kindergarten Program be expanded and that the BIA Kindergarten Program be immediately instituted. Perhaps, as kindergarten programs are instituted, Head Start can be phased out, shifted to other needy villages or extended to the four year old level as a still further increment in the pre-school education program.

(12) Vocational Education has appeared as an education opportunity eagerly sought by a multitude of village people. This phase of education programming holds some of the greatest promise, yet has not really started to reach its potential. Until very recent months the most serious holdback has been the lack of funds. Like adult basic education, funding has been a drop in the bucket against what is actually required. Another major drawback has been the utter confusion and unnecessary complication in law and regulation of programs. There is perhaps no other field of educational effort that is so complex and difficult to sort out, and put to practical use. Both Federal and State laws have complicated the picture. To name a few, we have the State Department of Education, Department of Labor, Department of Health and Welfare, Department of Commerce, Department of Public Works, the Federal Office of Education, Department of Labor, Department of Health and Welfare, Department of Transportation, Vet-

erans Administration, Economic Development Administration, Office of Economic Opportunity, Bureau of Apprentice & Training, Rural CAP, etc., etc., etc., . . . all in the business of vocational education or training. Some of these government units have several subdivisions, each offering one or more training possibilities. Add to this picture the many apprenticeship and training programs conducted by trade unions, contractors and other employers, you have a picture so complicated that mature school districts, like Anchorage, must hire full time specialists just to search out programs, work with criteria and draft applications.

There is in addition, fundamental differences of opinion among administrators on how such programs should be carried out. One school of thought is that such programs should be carried out in large urban centers where facilities might be the best. This is opposed by another school of thought that the programs are best carried out close to home as possible so that home and family are disturbed as little as possible and the trainee is able to take advantage of working in an environment in which he is familiar and thus receive the benefit of moral encouragement and influences suited to his nature. In spite of these handicaps, two vocational education centers have evolved in the AVCP area; one at Bethel and the other at St. Mary's. These centers have come into existence largely with the help and guidance of the State Division of Vocational Education. Bethel has initiated a long ranged training program for carpenters and other building tradesmen. St. Mary's has completed programs for bakers and pre-apprentice carpentry, has a second phase pre-apprentice carpentry program in progress, a second bakers course authorized and is on the threshold of additional programs for equipment mechanics, equipment operation and other skills designed to fill the needs of the Tundra people in meeting the challenge of implementing their own economic development plans. The forthcoming AVCP Master Economic Development Plan will certainly bring special empasis on this educational effort. Vocational education, for the most part, appears to fill the needs of men more than the women. Although there are a number of skills which are thought of as being peculiar to women, and women enthusistically take part in such training, we have noticed that vocational education is especially suited to the needs of Native men, who in terms of their own culture, are looked upon as the exclusive support of the family. The men as an overall group, appear to have lower levels of academic achievement than the women. In tracing the reasons for this, we find that most often the men were forced to drop out of school at an early age to take over family responsibilities. Our experience has also been that these same men, given the right opportunity, readily acquire employable skills that allow them to shift from a subsistance economy to a practical money economy. Vocational education at both high school and adult levels then becomes an item of prime importance to the future of your whole area. The opportunity is now present to expand the vocational education effort to further centers of population and a pattern has now become very obvious that a serious look should be given further to expand the vocational education programs of Bethel and St. Mary's to include other locations; particularly where high schools might be located.

(13) This brings us to the final fact we think important. The need for high school education. The present system of education simply does not give a satisfactory service. It is far below any set of standards applied by our nation to even the poorest of the southern 48 states. Nearly every rural community in the south 48 has access to local high school facilities. High School enrollments are not necessarily large. We have not heard of any serious penalty being imposed on the small schools simply because of their size. In fact, the opportunity for more individual attention to the students would appear to be an advantage. The students self assurance would appear to be more certain. There are those who argue that competition is more important. We are not authorities in this matter, but permit us to make a few observations. The situation is that some village schools do not have even eighth grade. There are few young adults. In some villages marriages are very rare. The number of high school graduates returned to the villages are also very rare. Grade school enrollments are high. Over 55,000 square miles occupied by some 53 villages, there are only two high schools. The BIA has followed a long standing policy of exporting high school students from the villages; the State and Private schools have attempted to keep them at home. Students are separated from their families and families are split apart. When they come home they find themselves in conflict with their parents. Most families have the bitter experience of their young members trying to find a place in the urban centers, only to also find unacceptance there. They thus become a lost generation, in between two worlds, not being at home in either. The end result is

that a vast number of social problems are generated. If there are 900 students going outside the AVCP area to Sitka, the transportation bill alone could reach $225,000: to Oregon $315,000; to Oklahoma $405,000. Then there is a matter of room and board while enroute. It would appear such expenditures would quickly amortize local school construction. A by product would be a tremendous relief in the social problem area. We have found that the natural grouping of villages would result in High School enrollments of 68 to 140 students at current village levels of population. Whereas there is proven justification for the Regional High School at Bethel, we feel that there is also justification for going beyond that to the establishment of high schools in the centers of natural village groupings. Inter-school activity programs then assume practical proportions and the brains needed for economic development of the Tundra have a far greater chance of remaining there and springing forth with the ideas for social and economic development. Such, would be the recommendation we would make.

Very truly yours,

PAUL T. DIXON.

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND SCHOOL OF MEDICINE,
Baltimore, Md., September 16, 1968.

Dr. HOLMAN WHERRIT,
Department of Indian Affairs,
U.S. Public Health Service,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR DR. WHERRIT: Just in case you haven't received a copy of the enclosed report I am taking the liberty of sending one along. The delay in getting it to you is due to the fact that I had to leave for Brazil the end of June and have just now returned.

In the event that you would like to discuss any of the points in the report, please feel free to call on me. I am in Washington at least once a week and would be delighted to get together with you at any time.

With best regards as always.

Most sincerely,

EUGENE B. BRODY, M.D.

REPORT OF CONSULTANT VISIT TO AREA MENTAL HEALTH UNIT, ALASKA NATIVE HEALTH AREA OFFICE, DIVISION OF INDIAN HEALTH, MAY 26 TO JUNE 6, 1968

By Eugene B. Brody, M.D., Consultant*

ITINERARY AND ACTIVITIES

Arrival: Anchorage Airport, 6:05 P.M. May 26. Orientation by Dr. Joseph Bloom, Psychiatrist, Mental Health Unit Director.

May 27 and 28: Work at Area Office and Alaska Native Medical Center. This included conferences with major professional personnel in the Office and the Center (see appended list) as well as Mr. John Borbridge, Native Affairs Officer. Ward visits with Dr. Walter Johnson provided an opportunity to interview patients and acquire some familiarity with the nature of their illnesses, their emotional responses to hospitalization, and their home backgrounds.

Morning, May 29: Departure with Drs. Bloom and Nachmann for Bethel.

May 29 and 30: Work in Bethel area; tour with Public Health Nurse; interviews with Rural Development personnel; home visits; interviews with staff and patients at Service Unit Hospital (see appendix).

Morning, May 31: Departure with Drs. Bloom and Nachmann for Hooper Bay Village.

May 31, June 1, June 2 Morning of June 3: Interviews in Hooper Bay with Village Health Aides, Village Council President, Vista workers, Bureau of Indian Affairs teachers (see appendix); physical examinations and interviews with patients, families, and home visits.

Afternoon, June 3: Return to Bethel; conferences with Drs. Eneboe and Stewart of SUH; home visits with PHS Nurse; interview with patient.

Night, June 3: Return to Anchorage.

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*Professor and Chairman, Department of Psychiatry; Director, the Psychiatric Institute, University of Maryland School of Medicine, Baltimore Campus. Mailing Address: 645 West Redwood Street, Baltimore, Md.

June 4, 5, 6: Conference with Dr. Wilson, ANMC; Mr. Romance and Mr. Varner; visit to Alaska Psychiatric Institute and conferences with Drs. Koutsky, Rollins and Mrs. Salisbury; visit to Welcome Center and conference with personnel there; visit to Air Force Psychiatric Service and conference with Dr. A. Wolf, Chief NP Service; several conferences with MHU personnel; conference with Miss Nicholson, Child Welfare; initial draft of phases of this report; discussion of Albuquerque meeting of Mental Health Units to be attended by Drs. Bloom and Nachmann.

Departure from Anchorage, 7:00 P.M., June 6.

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF HEALTH AND MENTAL HEALTH PRACTICES IN SOUTH CENTRAL AND WESTERN ALASKA

The effective operation of the Mental Health Unit requires an understanding of the socio-cultural setting in which it exists. The behavior of individuals and organizations is determined by their past experience and by the nature of their participation in ongoing social processes. Both past (longitudinal) and present (cross-sectional) contributions to current behavior are functions of the context as well as of the initial programming and capacities brought to it.

The following outline lists some features of the Alaskan scene relevant to problems of delivering health and mental health services. While many features, such as poverty and the minority status of natives, have aspects in common with other states of the union, a uniquely local influence is discernible. This is because: 1) to a degree no longer present elsewhere in the nation, the Alaska native is in the process of acculturation and detribalization; and 2) to a degree not found elsewhere the harsh imperatives of climate and geography force their own adaptive requirements upon the lives of both the consumers and dispensers of health services.

A. *Geography, population distribution and climate*

The 50,000 Eskimo, Aleut and Indian peoples native to Alaska comprise about one-fourth of its non-military population. Most of them are distributed in approximately 300 villages spread over a territory one-fifth that of the rest of the continental United States. The villages are usually small, less than 300 people. Hooper Bay is relatively large with almost 600 inhabitants. Some small towns, like Bethel, at 1700 people, are centers of population and services for major areas. Bethel, Kotzebue, Barrow, Tanana, Kanakanak and Mt. Edgecumbe, in addition to Anchorage, contain DIH-Service Unit Hospitals.

The numbers of native peoples now resident in the major centers of Fairbanks, Juneau and Anchorage are not precisely known. I was told that Anchorage is "the largest native village in Alaska" with between 5,000 and 6,000 natives, many of whom move out to fishing camps during the summer months.

The report is concerned partly with Anchorage and the South Western regions exemplified by the Anchorage-Bethel-Hooper Bay axis. The people here are Eskimo, most of whose customs are characteristic of those living in the Yukon-Kuskokwim river delta area of the Southwest. The Hooper Bay Eskimo, a Yupik-speaking people, were almost without exception born in the immediate vicinity.

Mountains, rivers and inlets from the sea confine rapid transport to airlines. There are daily commercial flights from Anchorage to Bethel, and twice weekly scheduled trips from Bethel to the small airstrip at Hooper Bay. Heavy use is made of chartered float planes, usually 3 passenger Cessna 180's, which switch to skis after freeze-up. Our trip into Hooper Bay on such a charter—155 air-miles WNW of Bethel—was probably representative. We carried an infant back to its family after hospitalization in Bethel, and landing in the slough at low tide soon ran aground and walked, carrying our supplies, through the post break-up mud about ½ mile to the village board-walks. Departing, we brought a fourth passenger, which necessitated leaving some baggage behind. Again at low tide the plane ran aground, but after considerable effort the pilot jockeyed it up onto the mud-flat and with that leverage skidded back into the slough and sharply up for a successful take-off.

The area is mainly treeless tundra except for a few scrub willow along the Kuskokwim. It is subdivided by innumerable waterways. In winter these freeze to form a flat plain of ice, but in summer much of the area appears impassable without a boat. The mean annual temperature at Hooper Bay village, situated on a ridge of high ground between the Bay proper and the Bering Sea, is 30.7 F, compared with 37.5 at Bethel and 43.4 at Anchorage. The climate is subarctic.

Poor visibility due to wind, fog or precipitation is common, particularly in the winter months, and the village may be inaccessible by air for days at a time. Communication with the outside world by radio-telephone (a 1966 report (1) listed five short wave radios in the village) may also be hampered by weather conditions.

Supplies are brought into Hooper Bay and similar villages by air; heavy materials and bulk deliveries of foodstuff or clothing for the store depend upon the yearly visit of the BIA freighter, *North Star*, usually in June. On the day of our departure the *North Star* which had been expected for several days was sighted riding at anchor outside the bay awaiting high tide. Short range transportation is by planked wooden boats powered by outboard motor, dog team or tracked snowmobile. In 1966 (1) fifty-one of the homes had five or more dogs. The use of snowmobiles is becoming more common and seems likely to completely replace dogs for winter travel. Their fuel demands, along with those of the outboard motors, heating plants of government installations, and stoves of the native shacks contribute to the prevalance of the rusting oil drums which, along with piles of empty cans seem symbolic of the modern village scene.

B. Poverty

This factor is difficult to judge considering the continued importance of a traditional hunting and fishing subsistence economy for the native population of the area. As Bloom (2) has pointed out there are many who are still absolutely tied to the seasonal migrations of large sea and land creatures which supply most of their food. Jobs in the accepted Western sense of the word are almost non-existent in the villages and it is only recently that natives, as an aspect of accommodation to the pressures of white society, have begun to consider them as a possible substitute for what has gone before. The increasing human and decreasing animal populations, and new values learned in schools with a concomitant failure to acquire or use traditionally taught subsistence skills, may make it progressively more valid to regard village life as poverty stricken rather than as merely-true to a cultural heritage. In the cities the lives of those natives who have abandoned their village roots are coming gradually to resemble those characterizing the urban poor in other parts of the nation.

Conventional economic indices may give a misleading picture of native life. This is because "poverty" according to current definition is less a matter of absolutes than of relative deprivation. There is still reason to suspect that the apparent discrepancy between achievement (what he has) and aspiration (what he thinks is a reasonable basic standard) is less painful for the villager than it is in the eyes of the middle-class white observer. On the other hand such indices tell something about the context of health care. The 1960 U.S. Census, for example, which lists 50.7 infant deaths per 100,000 Alaska natives in contrast to 25.4 for the rest of the U.S., compares housing and income figures for Anchorage and Bethel. Since natives constitute six to ten per cent of the Anchorage population and approximately 90 per cent of that of Bethel the figures suggest not only a city-small town comparison but a white-native comparison.

Housing.—In Anchorage the percentage of substandard housing was 12.2 as compared to 94.9 in Bethel. Again, no traditional native housing reflecting generations of adaptation to a sparce harsh environment would meet minimal white standards. A typical village home in the area containing Bethel and Hooper Bay was described as follows according to a recent survey (3): ". . . one room, 15 feet wide by 18 feet long, or 270 square feet, with enclosed entryway. Six people live here. Their heat comes from a wood stove, their light from a gas lantern. The floor is made of rough planking. Water is carried from the nearest supply. Human waste is deposited in five gallon cans . . . wet clothing strung from wall to wall . . . the exterior (is) tarpaper over weathered wood, corrugated iron or aluminum." As viewed by this consultant who visited many such homes, they reflect a somewhat less efficient adaption of the traditional half-buried sod and driftwood structures designed to retain heat and furnish protection against chilling wet winds and snow. In this sense they are part of a culture which, in the process of change, is abandoning traditional materials in favor of articles from the white world. During our visits we observed no evidence of overt dissatisfaction with the dwellings; however, it seems likely that with the acquisition of white values such dissatisfaction will develop, especially as natives have increasing contract with white standards and housing. Thus, on the highest ground at Hooper Bay there is a collection of government buildings to which the natives are exposed including a school, clinic building, and housing for BIA teachers. Indeed, there have been some reports of self-conscious attempts to "clean up" in occasional households before a visit from the "gussuks," and evidence that some villagers would like to "afford to live like the gussuk." (3) What cannot be denied is that this type of housing is conducive to spreading the tuberculosis, general respiratory infections and otitis media which plague villagers throughout the state. Its impact on the white visitor is revealed in a comment of a U.S. Public Housing Administration Commissioner: "I've never seen anything like it, even in the worst slums of our major cities." (3, p. 10).

The mental health impact of living at such close quarters is hard to gauge. There is no reason to believe that customary exposure to sights and sounds which are prohibited to middle-class white children and viewed by them only accidentally increases vulnerability to psychiatric disturbance.

Income.—The percentage of families in 1960 with an income of less than $3000 yearly was 7.7 in Anchorage and 69.4 in Bethel; the median yearly income was $8120 as compared with $1745. Data from Hooper Bay gathered in 1966 reflect the economic situation in a larger than average village. Of the seventy village households listed in 1966 just under half averaged less than $2000 cash income from all sources, and over 85% of all families received less than $3000. For 69 adults interviewed by a rehabilitation team from Anchorage the cash income source excluding general assistance welfare (which from the BIA averaged $212 for 33 households) including only 16 per cent from seasonal work, 20 per cent from state categorical welfare, 13 per cent from fur trapping, 11 per cent from making baskets and 5 per cent other. (1)

These figures reflect a relatively new but rapidly growing Alaskan phenomenon, i.e. welfare and unemployment payments. Several native informants (interviewed in all three areas visited) referred spontaneously to welfare or unemployment payments as having a deleterious impact upon native life and character similar to the impact upon physical health of such white transmitted illness as tuberculosis and venereal disease. The nature of comment varied with age. Thus, an older inhabitant of Bethel who had had no formal schooling showed us photographs taken in the early 1920's indicating that the existing houses were in better repair, and that the inhabitants raised chickens and were more economically resourceful than at present. She attributed the deterioration of the town to an erosion of native initiative, due in turn to the presence of welfare payments and other handouts. The real problem she said was "too many gussuks." She also referred scornfully to 50 or 60 shacks on the outskirts of town, containing about 450 people (out of a population of 1700) as "the slum" and said that these were families who didn't want to work and had drifted into Bethel from outlying villages hoping to get on the welfare list.

A younger more militant man, college educated, spoke in a manner reminiscent of black power advocates in other states. "We don't want to be given anymore," he said. "We want to be helped to do things for ourselves, and to make our own decisions." The current fight for native land claims was a matter of great interest to him and other young people of the educated class.

Employment and the growing need for cash.—The Hooper Bay study (1) provides data which may be extrapolated to other areas, understanding that in larger towns such as Bethel there is more conventional employment, and in the majority of villages which are smaller there is less. In September 1966 the Hooper Bay labor force included 80 men of whom 78 per cent was considered unemployed, and 58 women, 90 per cent of whom were labelled unemployed. Aside from the Native Store and the airport the major employer is the federal government which utilizes the services of maintenance men, cooks, and various aides attached to the BIA or the PHS. As indicated above most employment is parttime. Additional cash income may be obtained during July and August by ablebodied men who work at the canneries in Bristol Bay, fight brush fires, or engage in temporary duty in the National Guard. These data are difficult to evaluate in relation to the problem of poverty because of the continuing importance of hunting and fishing, and because of traditional Eskimo attitudes which still make it difficult for many to conform to regular work schedules imposed by other people. The value of money, however, is increasingly appreciated as it may be exchanged for items essential to local survival; outboard motors, snow machines, gasoline, oil, guns, nylon fish nets, and commercially made winter clothing and rubber boots which are replacing items formerly made in the village. One of the health aides, a young woman recently moved back to her home village from Bethel, told us that she doesn't even own a *parky* and her only cold-weather outer garment is a leather coat purchased in Anchorage.

Another indication of growing appreciation for cash is the rapid rise in prices for local craft items such as baskets and dolls. There is no tourism in Hooper Bay but some of these are sent out for sale in Bethel and Anchorage.

C. Education

Formal education is a relatively recent development for the bulk of Alaska natives. This is reflected in data from the Hooper Bay study (1) comparing age with educational achievement. In the age range of 45 and over men had completed on the average 2.4 years and women 2.2 years of schooling. In the group between ages 18 and 24 the men had completed an average of 9.7 and the women 8.5 years of schooling. These figures indicating an average junior high school level for young adults, may, however, be misleading in terms of what has actually been received. The Bureau of Indian Affairs which administers an extensive system of local grammar schools in addition to its few boarding high schools has been under attack for years, and the complaints are currently at a peak. Details may be obtained elsewhere. For the purposes of this report the following general criticisms, regularly heard or read in Alaska publications may be repeated: 1) the quality of secondary education, especially in ungraded high schools, is inadequate to prepare students either for college or for jobs; 2) primary education utilizes materials and content unfamiliar to students and irrelevant to native life; 3) the practice of transporting students far from their homes and communities to boarding high school for nine months of the year causes emotional difficulties and further complicates the problems of native cultural transition.

Critics have pointed to an elevated high school drop out rate and an even higher rate for those students who have been able to enroll in the University of Alaska. The degree to which these last are due to inadequate preparation or to cultural difficulties and insufficient money for clothing and other prestigeful items remains a matter of controversy.

Our discussion with primary school teachers at the village level indicated their own awareness of the problems of communication and understanding. They emphasized the poor command of English by students and parents and the importance of training aimed at the acquisition of English "as a second language." They also realized that the emotionally significant aspects of their students' lives were spent in a conceptual and social world far different from their own. Even the matter of attendance was complicated. Thus, one child of a family might come to school on time while another would not appear until noon. The child who came earlier would cheerfully explain that his brother had been asleep and that he had not thought of awakening him.

There is also some evidence that as school attendance becomes more universal, and cash jobs more desirable, the old skills are being lost. Several boys in the village don't know how to use kayaks. These skills have traditionally been taught by fathers to sons. Village boys from five to nine could regularly be seen hunting birds with bow and arrow. We were told that after returning from high school boys wouldn't consider such means of hunting, and that many were not very skillful hunters even with rifles. The drastic changes which must be endured by adolescents spending part of the year in a BIA boarding school environment and part in a single-room village shack may well have a disturbing influence.

Dr. Nachmann has been concerned with learning failures at the primary school level. Her data implicate the following factors in many cases of such failure: 1) separation of children from parents due to hospitalization at a distance; 2) hearing loss due to chronic otitis media; 3) poor command of English; 4) social promotion without regard to what actually has been mastered; 5) discontinuity in contact between parents and teachers and high turnover rate in teachers; 6) disconnection between academic materials and home values and experiences.

The teachers felt that the parents were interested and willing to attend meetings with the teachers, but that their own educational lacks made it difficult for them to help their children. They, therefore, proposed that adult education be given a high priority.

D. Minority status

Members of a minority group are classically defined as socially visible, separated from the major sources of community power, and treated collectively as inferior by the dominant society. The clear identification of discriminatory attitudes by whites toward natives is not always easy; one frequently encountered attitude may be that noted by a federal employee at Kotzebue: "Three quarters of the white people here think they are colonials—and behave like it." (This was written in the 1966 Anchorage News.) A harsher and more disturbing note was sounded by an old-timer in the "territory" with whom this consultant spoke in an Anchorage bar: "There are only two solutions to the native problem," he said. "One is to make them all white. The other? Well, maybe that guy Hitler had the right idea with his gas ovens after all."

Some of the impatience encountered elsewhere in the United States is beginning to become apparent among native leaders. This expressed in a semi-humorous way by an Indian: "We don't want to be studied, we just want Manhattan back." Although times have changed there are still memories of "white only" signs on one side of movie theaters: "* * * there is always a residual form ofdiscrimination * * * in Juneau they used to have the signs up * * * now they just have the habit." Insistence upon participation in social decisions which affect them is growing. In Juneau the local native association said that it hadn't been involved in urban planning decisions, and, therefore, came out against it. Among other things urban renewal is said to turn owners into renters. This is reminiscent of the complaints of Negro inhabitants of Baltimore and elsewhere who find themselves displaced by renewal projects with no place to go. Another issue with similar emotional aspects is that of the family planning which has stirred cries of "genocide" in some quarters.

The physicians, teachers, social workers and others with whom the consultant was in contact were all honestly committed to the well-being and social progress of their clients and patients. Even in them, however, a note of paternalism, however beneficent, was occasionally encountered. Perhaps this is inevitable in dealing with predominantly rural peoples with an inadequate command of the dominant language, and with personal philosophies which sometimes interfere with their capacity to fit the expectations of the dominant group. The documented failure of most major businesses to hire native workers until the very recent past may be due in part to reality factors as well as to discriminatory attitudes. Thus, many Eskimos who have a tradition of spending their summers in fishing camps may be reluctant to commit themselves to jobs which tie them up throughout the year. We heard repeatedly from whites that Eskimos value personal freedom and that the idea of having a "boss" is not congruent with traditional values.

In the section on employment above some native attitudes towards whites are listed. In general, based upon these and other conversations with natives several emergent attitudes may be identified: 1) most prominent today, with the newly formed natives association, is the militant move for land claims with a series of political implications; 2) less obvious, but below the surface a feeling that most of the problems now plaguing the native are due to the incursion of "gussuks"; 3) a feeling of distrust, expressed during an interview with a village council president, about promises of white people and hints of help that were never realized; 4) associated with the latter, anxiety (and inferred but not clearly stated resentment) and confusion expressed in a guarded way by a number of people, concerning lack of communication about their children and other relatives who were hospitalized; 5) a "so what" attitude mixed with resentment has been attributed by other observers to adolescents who having completed the prescribed white man's educational ladder find themselves with nothing to do and no place to go.

E. Migration and Urbanization

The migratory movements identifiable during this consultation visit were those from outlying villages to Bethel, and from Bethel and the villages to Anchorage. Accurate data as to number are not available in either instance.

Bethel and Hooper Bay.—a. *Resettlement.*—As noted above there are an estimated 450 people, i.e. forty or fifty families, in the "slum" on the outskirts of Bethel near the river edge. An elderly Eskimo informant attributed the movement of these people into the town from more distant areas for their unwillingness to work for subsistence and their wish for welfare checks. The public health nurse said that they were mostly "rejects" from their villages. Rejection was for deviant behavior which could include unwillingness to work, but was often alcoholism or an act considered particularly disturbing by the Eskimo, incest.

Bethel, with 1,700 people has attracted many new inhabitants because it offers entertainment and cash paying jobs which are not available in the villages. Its ramshackle dwellings, peeling paint, dirt roads and blowing litter seem dismal to the first-time white visitor from other states. However, with a movie, several stores, an airport with daily flights from Anchorage, a post-office, bush airlines, and area headquarters for the PHS, BIA, and National Guard, it is the central point for 66 villages in about 100,000 square miles. The movement into Bethel of villagers from this area, the lower Yukon and Kuskowin delta, contributes substantially to a yearly population growth estimated at about ten per cent yearly. Bethel, for all its poverty and bleakness, seems to hold the lure of the city of opportunity for outlying villages; they continue to come although at least half of the men, 21 years or older, are not permanently employed.

b. *Circular Migration* (3).—Perhaps the most acculturated and upwardly mobile group included those employed by U.S. federal installations. The construction of new hospitals is clearly an incentive to migration and urbanization. Employment there may be a stepping stone to work in Anchorage. In other instances, as in the case of one of the Hooper Bay health aides who had been an LPN, when personal circumstances dictate a move back to the village, the DIH Service Unit Hospital experience gives the person a certain automatic status and role in the village. Unfortunately, this has not to date been accompanied by an adequate or predictable salary. There were hints, also, that the circular migration pattern of an acculturated person with newly acquired skills may sometimes be accompanied by lack of full acceptance by senior village leaders. This may be complicated, as suggested above, by the fact that many of the more mobile people appear to be young women while the village council is made up of older men.

The Service Unit Hospital in Bethel, completed in 1954, offers employment with on-the-job training to a variety of native personnel ranging from custodial, through clerical, to licensed practical nurse status.

c. *Adolescents home from school.*—Another considerable group which might be looked on as circular migrants includes the high school students, either those home for the summer or those who have graduated. In Bethel "Mom's Kitchen," a small restaurant and soda shop, complete with jukebox and attached "ballroom," is a popular gathering place. It was easily possible to distinguish the shy villagers on pass from the hospital from the self-assured local residents. The local adolescents whom we saw there wore little that might be considered native in comparison with Hooper Bay where there was a more obvious admixture of the traditional and urban. In the latter area, where the wind was still sharp and raw and the mud deep,the thin slacks and sneakers or city shoes worn by some seemed quite inappropriate to the surroundings. The contrast was vividly demonstrated in one home where we went to examine an infant's injured arm. The mother's parka and mukluks on the floor, the guns on the wall and other equipment scattered about the typical crowded one-room shack provided an incongruous background for her high school daughter in blue slacks with curlers in her hair perusing the latest yearbook with a friend. The girls seemed shy but pleasant, and giggled when we asked them how they planned to spend the summer. They answered conventionally that they expected to "help" their mothers. A possible reflection of a need for privacy acquired at boarding school was the curtain which shielded a corner where the daughter and some other sisters slept. This area contained two ancient double beds. Platforms covered with bedding provided sleeping areas against the other walls of the room. Another hint of differing parental and high school daughter perceptions came when the mother spoke of her own injured knee. Laughing, without self-consciousness, she said that it happened when she jumped out the window to get away from her husband when he was drunk. The daughter hearing this exchanged glances with her friend and giggled again.

Discussion with a 15-year-old younger brother of one of the Hooper Bay residents with whom we spent several hours elicited no obvious sign of conflict. He said that he looked forward to leaving home for his boarding school years and that he expected, without doubt, to return to his native village. He expressed no interest in a conventional job and believed that he would devote his major energies to subsistence hunting and fishing as did his fother . While it seems unlikely that he had not considered the possibility of not returning, he evidently did not wish to confront it. The fact that his older sister, home for a visit due to family illness, had worked successfully in Anchorage did not encourage him to say more.

A gloomy picture of adolescents returning from boarding school was painted by the Hooper Bay village council president. They did not want to do traditional work, he said, and since there were no jobs they remained idle. They slept until late morning and were most active around midnight (after the 10:00 P.M. village curfew) when they drank and gambled. He said that the problem of returning adolescents and alcohol was the leading one in his village. One prominent aspect of drinking among adolescents, reported by another informant, is that while drunk they "mock the older men."

Anchorage.—The Welcome Center was established in 1967. It represents a first attempt by concerned citizens to cope with the influx of rural people into an unfamiliar urban environment. A major effort has been to find jobs. It also serves as a social club where lonely people can meet without going to the bars on Fourth Avenue. Wall placards advertising lessons in the Tlinglit Indian language indicate that the process of "revitalization," characteristic of other minority groups' searching for their abandoned cultural roots, may have also found a local base.

The Center is in a store building on a downtown street. Its plate glass front displays welcoming signs stuck onto it with scotch tape. Through the glass may be seen the reception area and bulletin board, and further into the interior are chairs, couches, a pool table, and a small exhibit of native handicraft. Around a corner, shielded by a screen, are a few soft chairs for those who wander in at night with no place to sleep. At the time of my visit three were occupied by heavily sleeping men sprawled in uncomfortable-looking positions. The young man at the reception desk, an Aleut who identified himself as an elected member of the council of "users" of the Center, said that they were probably sleeping off drunks. He was tolerant, noting that he had had an alcoholic problem and was now attending A.A. He thought that about ten per cent of the non-military residents of Anchorage were alcoholic and said that some "white winos" come into the Center for coffee. This did not appear to be a matter of concern to him, however; he seemed proud of his (unpaid) position at the Center and was very optimistic about its future.

We spoke at length with the Assistant Director of the Center, an energetic attractive volunteer worker who is devoting a great deal of her time to it. She guessed that there were as many as 100 visitors per week in some of the winter months, but agreed with the young receptionist that during the summer just beginning this had been reduced to perhaps twenty per week. Previously it had been mainly men under thirty-five (the age range of approximately 70 per cent of the natives), but since school has been out for the summer more young girls have appeared.

Many visitors are too shy at first to talk. They come in, stand around, and look. They may accept some coffee. Eventually it becomes possible "to find out what their needs are." Some have come seeking companionship. Most—especially the young ones—come because they have no work, nothing to do and they don't fit in anywhere. They may have a little background with motors from fishing, and may be sent to some local training course or to the BIA. Four have recently been employed by the Alaska Railroad. Some classes have been held there on various subjects or providing orientation to Anchorage. The recently formed Federal Personnel Council includes personnel officers from all local agencies with 25 or more employees. They are here one afternoon a week to take job applications. This is a tremendous advance and the Center is the first centralized place in which to reach the natives. However, the harsh fact is that there are insufficient jobs to go around; up to two or three years ago, according to our informants, no local businesses had native employees and there are still almost none "visible" in hotels or restaurants.

The Center is gathering momentum. It is recruiting new volunteers, both white and native. There are now three paid staff members, "intake and guidance people" who have had short courses in counselling. Two Vista workers will be assigned in mid-July. Grant support has been received from OEO and more is expected (no attempt has been made to obtain funds from local business). Another paid staff member will come from the Human Rights Commission because of its interest in possible job discrimination.

The Center is gradually expanding its functions. Most of the migrants into Anchorage probably visit there at least once. Arrangements are being made to meet some immigrants from villages at the airport as soon as they disembark. Further contact with the villages is planned. An "outreach" program is getting underway with the publication of a newsletter.

F. Native attitudes toward illness and health

It is well known that the mere provision of health services does not mean that they will be used. Studies of Puerto Rican and Negro inhabitants of New York City have indicated, further, that the degree of enthnocentrism tends to vary inversely with an orientation toward health services and advice provided by the dominant white society. In sum, the consumer of health services must be educated in order to take effective advantage of what is available.

Several special features color the attitudes of the village Eskimo.

The history of epidemic tuberculosis.—This almost resulted in his extinction before it was checked. Along with the high prevalence of other illness, particularly of a respiratory nature, and of accidents this produced a society in which people knew from early life that they might die while still young and that they could reasonably expect to lose many friends or relatives. This situation is passing. It is well documented by Hughes in his study of Gambell on St. Lawrence Island (4). In our relatively brief contacts there was no evidence of the psychological concomitants which might be expected with such a situation: the villagers were realistically concerned with the possibilities of chest disease, however, and the attitude study of Hooper Bay in March 1966 reported that of 78 respondents 40 said that they or family members had had tuberculosis (5). While one man asked us to examine his aged mother-in-law because of her psychiatric symptoms, his wife—the woman's daughter—anxiously noted that she had had tuberculosis years ago and that she had been coughing and losing weight during the past year.

Attitudes Toward Physicians.—There was no evidence of fear of consulting a physician. To the contrary, when it became known that two physicians from Anchorage were in Hooper Bay the usual daily clinic was swelled by a number of patients who had been "saving" their complaints for such an occasion. Several of these had been patients in Anchorage or Bethel more than once. They answered detailed questions at length, submitted to physical examination, and offered smiling and apparently sincere thanks at the end. One woman came to be "checked up" because she was approaching the end of her twelfth pregnancy. She seemed pleased when the doctor identified the fetal heart sounds and gave the health aide an opportunity to listen to them. Another, late in her tenth pregnancy stopped us in front of her cabin and said that she would have come for examination if she had known of our presence. She was especially concerned with identifying the expected date of confinement as she had planned to go to the "Prematernal Home" in Bethel for her last week. (Physicians in Bethel SU Hospital felt that 60 to 75 per cent of village women are now coming to the hospital to give birth; a considerable number of these stop at the Prematernal Home for some exercises and instructions during the week to ten days before delivery.)

At the same time that there was clear and sometimes inappropriate eagerness for medical examination and consultation with a physician (perhaps intensified by the fact that the last doctor's visit had been eight months earlier in October) there was a hint of ambivalence. This was not noted during the contact with patients, but was inferred by the development of rumor in the village. We learned that two rumors began circulating in the village shortly after our arrival. One, which has been repeated during visits of other strangers, was that we were Russian spies. This is apparently part of the local mythology, present at least since World War II and fostered by the knowledge of the military radar station at Cape Romanzof, 19 miles away.

The other rumor, more difficult to fathom since we saw patients during clinic hours each day we were there, was that we were refusing to see people because we wanted them to pay. This was especially hard to understand since the villagers have never been treated by private practitioners. Finally, we concluded that this must have stemmed from a prominent villager with whom we talked immediately after arrival. It was his mother-in-law whom we examined on a later day. When we first talked with him he didn't identify her as a relative, speaking only of "some old woman who lives over there, and gets up early in the morning and sits outside talking to herself." Because of his poor command of English we said that we would come back with an interpreter; since it was not possible to arrange for interpretation that day, he, perhaps, felt that we did not wish to examine the old lady and, thus, initiated the rumor.

This is at least inferential evidence for the presence of a particular sensitivity—a readiness to be rejected—underlying the over gratitude for medical help. If so, this would be an understandable consequence of life under a system of benevolent medical care administered mainly through local and partly trained intermediaries with only irregular and unpredictable visits from physicians and trained nurses—the fountainheads of care—themselves. These factors coupled with the Eskimo's lack of technical knowledge and a passive style of coping, reinforced since childhood, increase the likelihood of their having unreal expectation of the doctors' powers, repeated frustrations of which may contribute to hidden resentment.

Another indication of ambivalence lies in the nature of the threats which mothers sometimes use to discipline children. These identify white status and the medical role: ". . . if you aren't good the Gussuks will take you away to a hospital . . . the Gussuk will come and give you a shot . . ."

Attitudes Toward Hospitals.—There is no evidence of overt fear among the adult population of going to the hospital. In fact, hospitalization figures suggest some over-use—which may be inevitable in view of the lack of outpatient facilities, particularly in remote stations. It is clear, however, on the basis of many conversations that the villagers keenly feel the lack of full communication with hospital personnel about the progress of relatives or their possible dates of return home. Other observers have also noted difficulties in obtaining air transportation to get to hospitals which contribute to some negative feeling toward the medical establishment. A Bethel woman who had had a grandson hospitalized at the Alaska Psychiatric Institute said that while there had previously been a stigma associated with mental illness and some fear of the hospital she felt this to be diminishing.

Traditional Attitudes which may Interfere with Care.—Our conversations with natives did not elicit information relevant to these. Professional colleagues who had been in the field from two to five years noted a few factors of possible relevance: 1) An Eskimo attitude toward infants and young children which endows them with considerable power of decision making, or which (in operational terms) at least permits them more self-determination than is customary among whites. Thus, if a baby does not want to take his medication his mother may decide not to force it; (2) Lack of acceptance of the germ theory; this was advanced by the public health nurse as an explanation of her charges' reluctance to follow water purification rules even in the presence of evidence linking epidemic diarrhea with certain water sources. 3) The Eskimo tendency to extrude deviant members of the community which has been alluded to above. Perhaps this is linked to the use of ostracism and ridicule rather than active aggression as a means of punishing nonconformity. 4) The belief that the spirit of a dead person enters into the body of an infant who receives his name may, in at least one instance which we encountered, have influenced the behavior of parents toward a child who later (as did the dead person) became mentally ill. 5) While we were told by one native informant of earlier practices of trying to expunge mental illness through catharsis induced by feeding seal oil and dried female dog feces there was no evidence of the persistence of this practice.

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THE HEALTH SERVICES DELIVERY SYSTEM AND ITS PERSONNEL

A. Distance and communication

Modern technology makes possible communication at a distance via radiotelephone, and the semi-magical transport from village to healing center by air. Both contribute to the unreality associated with absentee power and authority. At the same time they have become familiar accepted aspects of the system. Almost no movement of hospital personnel takes place without their escorting some child to or from a village to SUH; the child in an airport with an identification tag around his neck no longer arouses anxiety. People refer in a semi-joking way to the "airplane cure" as a key feature of the Eskimo health culture. The understandable end of the line for 66 villages is the Bethel SUH. From there the trip by commercial plane to Anchorage is still a journey into no-man's land for many.

The airplane not only brings the patient into direct contact with remote authority, but makes him disappear from the village whose integrity is threatened by his illness. This is most marked when the illness is psychiatric and emotionally disturbing in nature. In these instances the return after hospitalization in Anchorage for psychosis of a person to his village may be greeted with apprehension, or at least with lack of enthusiasm. The Hooper Bay man previously referred to was obviously disappointed when we told him that his mother-in-law would be sent to Bethel for physical evaluation, but that her most disturbing psychiatric symptoms could probably be controlled by drugs and that it would be best for her to come back to the villlage after Bethel rather than be sent on to API. API personnel told us that the emotional impact upon a villager of abrupt transplantation into that hospital, surrounded by whites, often created more disturbance than had been displayed in the initial illness. A number of patients there might have been able to lead marginal lives in their own villages had local sappport been available. After a period in API, however, attempted returns were unsuccessful and there seemed no alternative to continued hospitalization; or to domicillary care if this might some day become available.

Village level.—Hooper Bay is fortunate in having a more than usually experienced health aide with an intelligent alternate. How long she can remain in the absence of adequate salary support is, however, doubtful. Like other village aides she uses the radio-telephone during daily 11:30 A.M. to 1:30 P.M. hours for consultation with physicians. The efficiency of this system is diminished by the fact that her clinic hours, held seven days weekly, are at 4:00 P.M.; thus advice on problem cases must be deferred until the next day. The schedule is dictated by other demands on her time. A further complication is that the radio in the clinic building has been out of order for several months so that she must use the one in the BIA school next door.

While Hooper Bay boasts a new clinic building, complete with examining rooms, two bedrooms and a kitchenette, it lacks some essential items. A young Vietnam veteran, recently returned, presented himself for removal of sutures placed in an overseas military hospital. Since no surgical scissors were available they were removed with a razor blade. Children with otitis media could not be adequately examined because of the absence of an otoscope. A 13 year old girl who came with a possible recurrence of rheumatic fever required a stethoscope for complete examination. None of these were available in the clinic. The aide said that she had not been taught to use these instruments, even though as an LPN she had taken blood pressures regularly in the Bethel Hospital (no blood pressure cuff was available in the clinic). When doctors made their occasional visits they brought their own instruments.

Aspirin is a frequently prescribed drug. Because it is expensive it is not dispensed at the clinic. Patients are told to buy it at the Native Store. While we were there the Store had exhausted its supplies of baby aspirin.

In Hooper Bay the aide appeared to report cases for attention via radio on the basis of need. We have heard that occasional aides in other areas utilize their status to bolster their own positions in their villages and may not report the ailments of people whom they don't like.

The president of Hooper Bay village council was especially concerned about the fact that the last physician's visit had been in October. He said several times that he had written to the Bethel SUH about this but had never received a reply.

Another serious communication problem brought to our attention by the health aides is the lack of adequate summary statements from Bethel SUH about villagers who have been hospitalized there and sent home. A medical summary would have been most helpful when we examined the girl who had rheumatic fever. Similarly, we saw an elderly man complaining of what appeared upon examination to be a retinal degenerative process impairing his central vision, and another with chronic pain in the knee and leg. Both reported previous hospitalizations in Bethel and Anchorage, but the only record was an x-ray note from Anchorage. Review of this note with the health aides revealed that they were unable to understand the technical language. Adequate communication to the field will require that reports be written in a manner understandable to nonprofessional personnel.

SUH level.—The bright young physicians at Bethel appeared hardworking and devoted to their tasks. Their lack of maturity, however, is reflected in the fact that most upon finishing their tour of duty with DIH will return to residency training. Their need to focus on immediate clinical tasks and the heavy patient load requiring urgent attention make it almost impossible for them to maintain adequate communications with families and villages. The service chief was proud of what they had done and a more adequate system of sending regular letters to families in outlying areas has just been initiated. The assignment of additional clerical or preferably social work help would improve the situation. Para or subprofessional personnel are one answer discussed in the next section.

B. Transience

This is the most characteristic feature of the professional personnel in the area. The problem of turn-over of nursing personnel was discussed by Dr. Caplan in the last Consultant's Report. At the time of my visit Bethel was facing the loss of 5 of its 6 physicians. Recruitment activities in DIH have not made the service attractive enough to bring many new career physicians into the system. The bulk of them, therefore, are young men serving two years in lieu of military duty. There are, of course, many advantages in professional people who are not part of a bureaucracy and are freer to innovate and criticize. On the other hand they carry less weight as influences upon policy making within the system. I saw nothing leading me to believe that these transient personnel were merely "putting in their time." On the contrary their dedication, energy and interest were impressive.

Perhaps the greatest, and yet the most subtle, influence of transience is upon the native patient population. In most instances they seem to be able to relate to the health system itself rather than to individual personnel. This is fostered by the fact that village aides also tend to be transient coupled with the already noted perception of real professional power and acumen as residing at a distance at the end of the airplane line, contributes to a relative overuse of clinic and hospital and a failure to assume responsibility for one's own health care. We noted that people would attend clinic hours in Hooper Bay for complaints usually treated by a mother with a bandaid in most U.S. towns. The system cannot offer the reassurance and long-term education for self-help that comes from a person, regularly part of the local scene, with status who can serve as a model for identifiction as well as supplying some continuity of care. This will be noted in the section on training paraprofessional personnel.

At the SUH level the impact of physician transience was revealed in interviews on successive days with a 21-year-old woman hospitalized following a suicidal attempt by taking a mixture of barbiturates, aspirin, mellaril and INH (medication for tuberculosis). She had had a previous admission for the same problem. Like many of the psychiatric patients we saw her problems appear to culminate in periodic crises stimulated by situational shifts with less obvious continuing guilt or self-hatred than we are accustomed to finding in white patients in other states. Unable to choose between divorce and continued life with an abusive alcoholic husband whom she had known since age 12 and whom she said she loved; she and her children were currently living with her mother. On the first day there was considerable evidence that the relationship with her husband, unsatisfactory as it might be, provided her with a stable link to her past and a feeling of some permanence in an otherwise unsettled world. By the end of the initial interview she appeared ready to think more realistically about her situation. The next morning she said that she had decided to return once more to her husband, and in spite of the failure of previous efforts, to make yet one more attempt to repair the marriage. It was during this interview that, with some probing on our part, she revealed that the present suicidal attempt was temporally linked to her having been told for the first time that the SUH physician who had been serving in effect as her general doctor for two years was going to disappear from her life within a few days. With encouragement she was able, cautiously, to reveal both some feeling of loss and of anger toward him. She denied, however, in spite of acknowledging the temporal association, that his departure had stimulated the suicidal attempt saying that, while she had never really thought about it she knew in back of her mind that the Bethel doctors usually left after one or two years and that her doctor would be no exception. Late that afternoon we encountered the patient in "Mom's Kitchen." Dressed in slacks, boots and leather jacket, with a scarf tied around her head she entered with a female friend and seemed relatively cheerful. She told us that she had talked with her doctor that day and that he had given her a pass to go into town. When we returned to Bethel from Hooper Bay, on the day before her doctor was scheduled to depart, we learned that on the following day she had left the hospital without permission and had been discharged, "AWOL."

It seems likely that with an adequately trained mental health technician on the scene to provide a continuing relationship for the patient, with supervision from the MHU, a more satisfactory treatment course might be evolved.

C. Intragency communication: Vista program

This is an important aspect of the health scene in a state where direct service by federal agencies has been traditional and where so many primary socioeconomic problems basic to health maintenance continue to exist. It is beyond the scope of this report to offer a complete review of the situation. Those aspects most closely related to MHU function are discussed in the section on the MHU. Here we will mention only the Vista workers since they are so much a part of the village scene.

We spent several hours with the Vista workers at Hooper Bay, and heard opinions about Vista from white and native personnel there and in Bethel. These are intelligent, interested young people whose effectiveness is impaired by their lack of a real task and role in the village. Some of the "projects" they are encouraged to undertake, e.g. "Campfire girls" and "Boy Scouts" seem irrelevant and even inappropriate to a hunting and fishing village. While interested in community organization they are not equipped to deal with village council members in terms of maturity, status or real connections with sources of U.S. economic power. This leads to a view of them by some as well meaning but impotent. A real problem lies in the ambiguity of their status as agents of the federal government, which has created their positions and which pays their salaries. One reflection of this was in the efforts of the Hooper Bay worker to gather signatures committing the signer to pay $5.00 for participation in the new village electrification system. We were told that Hooper Bay has been selected for electrification but that some indication of the people's willingness to support it is wanted. The Vista workers problem lay in the fact, previously unrecognized by him that as a circulator of the petition he became identified as a government agent rather than—as he wished to be—someone considered as part of the village.

In Bethel an Eskimo woman said that all the Vista workers did was teach the young girls to dance and wear lipstick. Elsewhere we heard criticism of Vista worker's proposals for local craft or industry development. One such remark dealt with a proposal to sell seal oil. The critic noted that villagers who had enough seal oil to sell were those with sufficient cash so they didn't need the extra money; those without cash needed the oil more than the money they could get for it. The integration of Vista workers into native community life is an issue that may deserve examination. In at least one case from another village which was brought to our attention the workers resigned feeling that they had no role. They noted, among other matters, that in that isolated setting the few people immobilized by weather had to devote almost all their time to subsistence activities during the winter and that in the summer the village was deserted because the people were out at fishing camps.

D. The problem of training paraprofessional workers: Alternative possibilities

Much of the foregoing suggests that a major factor interfering with the development of an effective health service system is the lack of trained native personnel. These are needed both in the villages and Anchorage. In the absence of a pool of people with a college, or even an adequate secondary school background, they will be trained relatively quickly at the para- or sub-professional level. While there has been some prior discussion of people trained as community developers these suggestions are aimed specifically at the preparation of health workers.

Needs at the Village and Service Unit Level.—The fulfillment of these requires that a helper be a residentially stable inhabitant of the village or town, and part of its information and communication system. A permanent white resident might have these characteristics, but it seems more likely that a native would have access to local information and be part of the local social structure. Some of the more obvious needs may be summarized under the heading of "five C's": Communication, Continuity, Case Finding, Counseling and Consultation.

a. *Communication.* This would involve mainly patients, their families, and SUH personnel. Such communication is particularly important in the case of young children and infants who may be transferred on to ANMC without family participation in the planning process or definite information about what to expect in the future. This is also true for children who remain for long periods of time in the SUH.

b. *Continuity.* The patient or client should be able to see the same person on a regular basis, before and after hospitalization if such becomes necessary. The absence of a sense of meaningful stable relationship with a trained helper may be a key problem in motivating patients to follow medical directives. The lack of support from such a relationship may well contribute to the repeated suicidal gestures encountered in late adolescent or young adult members of the SU patient group.

c. *Case Finding.* In the past this effort has been directed primarily to tuberculosis. The public health nurse on her rounds is still alert to this as well as to other indications of illness. Now, in addition, increasing attention should be paid to accident-proneness, alcoholism (with associated impulsiveness and child neglect) and emotional and behavioral disorders, particularly in adolescents. Sometimes early identification of these as well as family crises may permit intervention before maladaptive patterns become ingrained.

d. *Counselling.*—(1) On an individual therapeutic basis this can supplement or replace (with supervision) the efforts of psychiatrist or trained psychiatric casework with emotionally disturbed people. It may have preventive aspects as with pregnant or postpartum women. It may overlap with vocational counselling for adolescents. The counsellor should also be trained to administer tranquillizing or energizing drugs, sedatives or other psychiatrically active medication. Family or martial counselling is a natural extension of this type of work.

(2) Group counselling may have special therapeutic aspects as with groups of alcoholic patients or therapeutic social clubs; it may be an economical way of dealing with relatives of psychiatric patients or children away for long stays in hospitals.

(3) Community counselling which is difficult to distinguish from education may be aimed at reducing the pressure within villages to extrude behavioral deviates who might then become permanent residents of API or city slums. This implies that the worker should have some status as well as skills in influencing group attitudes, e.g. in village council meetings. Another educational aim is the effective utilization of available health services.

e. *Consultation.*—This may include assistance to or collaboration with:

1. Judges or magistrates regarding the mental status or disposition of defendants.
2. Vista personnel.
3. BIA teachers.
4. Public health nurse.
5. Village general health aide.

Needs at the Urban Level (e.g. Anchorage).—Many of the needs listed above are present in the larger centers of population as well as in the villages. The training of native aides here will not only provide extra hands and special communicative skills, but will help build a badly needed reservoir of people who might later go into more advanced education.

In addition, there are other problems of a kind present in most rapidly growing cities. Anchorage and other Alaskan cities, just as Baltimore and Washington, receive uneducated rural migrants and are developing a semi-permanent welfare-dependent class including individuals receiving Aid for Dependent Children. The following are a few of the additional needs present in the larger urban centers:

a. Counselling in migrant reception or community adjustment centers for new arrivals.

b. Utilization of knowledge of community resources, job possibilities, etc. (activities more akin to those of traditional social work) in advising clients and helping to stabilize families.

c. Functioning as neighborhood group or block workers.

d. Acting as liaison to developing native associations.

e. Liaison between ANHA, SUH and village level, including necessary liaison with other mental health-relevant agencies such as API.

Role Definition of Workers.—Most of the needs and tasks described above have immediate relevance to the responsibilities of the Mental Health Unit. Some, however, may be more clearly seen as falling within the purview of traditional social work. Others are more closely related to the work of the village health aide or the public health nurse. Goals commonly included under the heading of "community development" have not been listed since prior experience suggest that a more precise and narrow role definition will facilitate the development of a new class of paraprofessional health personnel.

The concept of associate support to professional in the mental health related disciplines is now new. Beginning with records from Hull House, through the early writings of Aichorn (Aichorn, A. Wayward Youth), to the graded series of technician roles in each of the health areas evolved during World War II, the idea has been discussed and put into action with demonstrated success. The problem faced by DIH is to decide what model to use, and what training will be most effective. A variety of models are currently employed in other states. In Maryland, for example, the state Department of Mental Hygiene has developed a one-year training program, analogous to the LPN curriculum in nursing, to prepare high school graduates for institutional work with mental patients (1). Budgeted positions for such personnel have been established and are being filled. Beginning with the Purdue program (2), a number of community colleges have developed a two years' Associate in Arts curriculum for mental health technicians. Pearl and Riessman's, *New Careers for the Poor*, advocated extensive training of indigenous personnel for health work in their own urban poverty areas. Projects at Howard University (3) and Lincoln Hospital in the Bronx (4) have modified the base upon which community college technician programs were to be built (5). These approaches and more recent ones, as well as problems in curriculum construction are reviewed by Vidaver in his paper, "The mental health technician: Maryland's design for a new health career," presented at the May 1968 meeting of the American Psychiatric Association.

a. *Alternatives Open to DIH.*—The needs are clear. Roles for paraprofessional workers have been established and are in the process of evolution in various centers throughout the nation. The problems to be solved by DIH, at an administrative level, are to define the nature of the workers to be produced; to decide who will conduct the training; and to which sub-unit of the ANHA the workers will be attached. Perhaps it will be possible to produce a type of worker who can be assigned to one of several sub-units, depending upon need, where additional on-the-job training to fit specific requirements might be accomplished. At any rate, given budgetary support, the nature of the end-product will be a function of the character and background of the trainee as well as of a particular curriculum; and these factors will, in turn, be determined in part by the reservoir of potential trainees.

The following are three of a number of possibilities which deserve consideration:

(1) *The mental health technician.*—This person would be assigned to the Mental Health Unit and would serve as its local and regional arm, relating both to the SUH and to headquarters at Anchorage. Training would be the primary responsibility of the Mental Health Unit with the collaborative help of Social Services and the various Medical Services. Depending upon the duration and intensity of training it would include, to various degrees, work related to the following clusters: Interviewing techniques, consultation techniques (including those suitable for such desperate groups as families of patients returning home from hospital or teachers unable to "discipline" their classes), group work, community organization, chronic illness (including familiarity with all of the factors which stem from chronicity as a "way of life"), and educational techniques.

(2) *The social work aide.*—This person would be assigned to Social Services, acting as its local and regional arm. Training would be the primary responsibility of Social Services with intensive and integral collaboration by the Mental Health Unit and related groups representing the mental health disciplines.

(3) *The health and welfare aide.*—This person would be detailed to DIH or work closely on a collaborative basis with either the Mental Health Unit or Social Services. His base would be one of the state agencies such as the Department of Mental Hyiene or the Department of Public Welfare. In this last instance the worker would be part of the RASSP Program. Another possibility would be the development of an aide, perhaps on the order of an LPN, to the Public Health Nurse. Training would be collaborative between the sponsoring state agency, the Mental Health Unit, and Social Services.

Possible Sources of Trainees.—In general these would be expected to be ambitious, upwardly mobile people. Our experience at Bethel and Hooper Bay suggests that these are more apt to be young women than men, but this may be an isolated impression. There is some evidence from other minority groups that young adult females relate more easily and less competitively to members of the dominant society, feel their own independent strivings less threatened, and may evoke fewer hostile or rejection responses. The following are some of the sources in the Alaska Native Area:

a. *Licensed Practical Nurses.*—Additional training may provide an opportunity for these people to move up a career ladder. They are already familiar with hospital practice, with the problems of communicating with whites, and to some degree with the dominant social structure.

b. *Village Health Aides.*—Most of these people are not as adequately trained as might be desirable. Like the LPN's, however, they have already certain basic technical and communicative skills which would immensely facilitate new learning.

c. *High school graduates* who might be recruited while still in school for an additional 12 to 24 month training program. This might prove an important source of young men who would otherwise be returning to their villages with no occupational niche. One of these individuals might later be recruited for advanced college or professional school education.

Possible Sources of Difficulty.—It will probably be impossible to avoid the problems that come with marginality when a native becomes a go-between with the dominant white group. Complicating this may be conflicts with the village status and kinship system, problems around confidentiality and privacy, and petty jealousies. Several upwardly mobile people who might fill the paraprofessional roles are known to the Mental Health Unit psychiatrist because of their emotional conflicts. Of course, the very fact of self-referral implies a degree of insight which may be an important asset. With these considerations in mind, it seems clear that personal counseling will be an inescapable aspect of any training program.

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THE ILLNESS PREVENTION SYSTEM

This report will not attempt to deal with the problem of primary prevention. As indicated earlier there is some evidence that many Eskimos do not accept the germ theory of disease. In the psychiatric field we have already discussed some of the social factors which may produce heightened vulnerability.

A. The problem of casefinding

The importance of extending early identification of disturbance to the psychiatric and interpersonal areas was indicated above. The sensitivity of villagers to respiratory illness in their children results in a number of infants with mild temperatures and runny noses being brought to clinic. On the other hand the average three to four year old encountered in Hooper Bay was apt to exhibit a notable nasal discharge without evidence of much discomfort and was not brought in by his mother. The Bethel public health nurse looked routinely into children's ears searching for evidence of otitis as we made rounds in the homes, and asked about people who didn't seem well. On the whole it seems probable that, with the exception of infants and very young children, disease must produce significant discomfort in the patient or in others before he becomes a case.

Reduction of disability: the ambulatory patient

There is no well-organized system of follow-up outpatient care. A more adequately trained health aide might be able to handle this in the village where she knows most of the families. In Bethel a single public health nurse tries to stay abreast of difficulties through a system of home visiting. Over five years, as the most stable member of the local health group, she has come to know a large number of the villagers and such other potentially influential persons as ministers, social workers, teachers and others whom she will not hesitate to ask for help if necessary. The main focus was on children and medications. We discovered, for example (and this could not be atypical), several half-filled bottles of INH from 1967 in a home in which two children were supposed to have been taking four tablets daily on a regular basis. The father who came in while we were in the house—mother could not be found—said that since the king salmon were in he had been fixing his boat and nets and didn't have time to look after the children. In another case where a boy had had surgery for strabismus the nurse noted that he was not wearing his glasses. The mother brought them out from a safe place where they had been carefully put in order to avoid being broken.

Paradoxically, the villages because of their very isolation and lack of development may permit the kind of marginal existence for some psychiatrically ill people that is not possible in a more highly developed area. This, of course, depends upon the willingness of the other villagers to have an eccentric person around. Thus, when we landed in Hooper Bay Dr. Bloom encountered a former patient, the only Eskimo narcotics addict he had seen. The man had gone back to his native village as a form of self-protection since no narcotics were available. Similarly, in Bethel we saw a chronic schizophrenic who was tolerated and did some odd jobs. On the other hand there are some cases of people quite capable of work who were not permitted to do so in their villages after an acute schizophrenic episode. Some of these apparently became hospital based drifters in Anchorage. One such patient who had been at API for schizophrenia and ANMC for tuberculosis was pointed out to me in the ANMC lobby, on the street and at the Welcome Center. He had been there for several years and had severed all ties with his village and family.

RESEARCH ISSUES

Broad fields which have attracted investigators of developing peoples in the past have been oriented mainly to their socio-cultures or to their health systems including particular forms of illness and treatment modalities. Hughes' study of acculturation on St. Lawrence Island is an example of the former. The numerous isolated studies of *piblokto* or "Arctic hysteria" are examples of the latter. These last have raised questions about the equivalence of hysteria and schizophrenic behavior in the Eskimo and in the white population. Given the social problems of present day Alaska the following priorities for new research are suggested:

A. A study of native adolescence

This would cut across the problems raised in the present school system; those of acculturation and return to village life; those relating to prejudice and minority group status; and a variety of other issues associated with culture conflict and lack of role definition. It might throw light on such clinically important issues as alcoholism and suicide. There is a growing interest in the problem of minority group adolescence and outside support may be available for this research (1).

B. Migration, including circular migration, and deviant behavior

This study would also cut across many areas including economic integration, cultural integration, assimilation, alcoholism, and family structure. Rural—urban movement is one of the salient features of present day Alaska and deserves immediate study if adequate planning is to be carried out.

I have not mentioned the problem of understanding retardation and learning failures because this is already under investigation. This study should by all means be continued with adequate support. Other clinical category oriented research, e.g. into suicide or alcoholism per se should in my opinion be given lower priorities.

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THE MENTAL HEALTH UNIT

The Area Mental Health Unit is just two years old and is facing the crisis of departure so common to other health groups in Alaska. Dr. Joseph Bloom, the psychiatrist director of the Unit, will soon complete his tour of duty with the DIH.

Fortunately, his replacement, Dr. John Ackerman has already visited the station, and there will be a short period of overlap so that Dr. Bloom will be present for three weeks after his arrival. Mr. Lucien Poussard, the Unit social worker, and Dr. Barbara Nachmann, the Unit psychologist, will remain.

The consultation and travel pattern

Service Unit Hospitals.—Upon Dr. Bloom's arrival he was confronted with the need to define his role in relation to the ANMC. There was considerable pressure for him to assume the traditional tasks of a hospital based psychiatrist: consultation and some therapy on the wards, and the development of a series of clinics. He believed, however, and with the support of the central administration was able to follow his convictions, that given the size and diversity of the area to be covered a consultant's role would be more fruitful. There is impressive evidence that he has been successful in this regard. The most recent Annual Report from the Bethel Service Unit offers solid documentation for this impression (I). The applications of short-term therapy, counselling and consultative, were taught regularly by precept to hospital personnel (especially Dr. Stewart, the mental health coordinator), and example by all members of the Mental Health group. This was extended on a community wide basis in Bethel through the consulting visit of Dr. Norman Paul with special emphasis on family counselling. In addition members of the Mental Health Unit themselves have established viable communication channels and consulting relationships with key people in the community including PHN personnel, Welfare and BIA workers, pastors and native personnel in key posts such as Judge Nora Guinn. These activities plus mental health clinics held on a regular basis by the travelling team in Bethel have created an atmosphere of hope and acceptance in place of the traditional one of pessimism with extrusion from the village as the only solution for mentally disturbed individuals. As Dr. Stewart noted in his report: ". . . the villagers are starting to realize that not all patients with mental illness have to be locked up, and that many can return to the village almost immediately and live fruitful lives." (I) Part of the success of the mission is reflected in the demand and Mr. Poussard's visits to Bethel were increased from every two months to at least once monthly.

The judicious mixture of roles as consultant to key community individuals and agencies, and as a giver of direct service at hospital based clinics has been supplemented by occasional immediate clinical intervention in crises brought to the attention of Unit members by people in the community. A recent example involved the counselling of a marital pair on the verge of dissolution following an acute alcoholic episode by one of them. This threatened to involve members of both lineage groups and if allowed to proceed without intervention would have, undoubtedly, resulted in the placement of the children in foster homes and the creation of yet another set of illness vulnerable youngsters. Dr. Bloom is clearly perceived by many Bethel villages as a mixture of friend and counsellor, and during our walks through the village was often stopped by former patients or acquaintances for an exchange of greetings or a request for advice. In some instances, recognizing him as a useful link to ANMC, they used him to bring messages, and in one case, a can of dried fish strips, back to relatives hospitalized in Anchorage.

While our Hooper Bay stay was Dr. Bloom's first prolonged visit to an outlying village, I was impressed by the number of people whom he had encountered at Bethel, or who knowing his affiliations were ready to look for advice of counselling.

Schools.—In addition to the above, Dr. Nachmann made a number of trips during the summer season of 1967 in conjunction with the BIA Special Education Project. These visits were to Gambell and Savoonga on St. Lawrence Island and to Point Hope; stopovers in Nome and Kotzebue permitted consultation with BIA and DPW social workers regarding clients with whom the three agencies were jointly concerned. The major focus of her interest has been with grammar school children referred by the teachers as having serious difficulty in learning in the ordinary classroom situation. This work represents a beginning approach to a series of interrelated questions: what are the actual capacities and potentialities of the disproportionally high number of native children loosely labelled as "mentally retarded"? Are there problems peculiar to the Alaskan culture which interfere with the child's ability to learn, particularly in a BIA school setting. What are the possible contributions of learning loss, disturbed family settings, bilingualism, prolonged absence from home, etc., to learning problems as well as to the related problems of motivation to work and aspirations in general? Details and some preliminary findings from this work are included in material available through the Mental Health Unit Office (2, 3).

Dr. Nachmann has also been visiting, on a monthly basis for five months, the Lutheran Youth Home at Wasilla. This is one of a considerable number of church related institutions caring mainly for orphaned or deserted children. She has consulted with the child care workers, the social workers and teachers about immediate management problems, screening the admissions, and the discharge planning process as well as issues in the learning process. There are now requests for similar consultative services from other such institutions.

A list of trips made by members of the MHU to field stations during July 1967–June 1968 is appended.

Alaska Psychiatric Institute.—Beginning with a half-day weekly Mr. Poussard now devotes alomst a full day each week to API where a regular office is assigned to him. There he deals mainly with the problems of patients referred from outlying areas and their families and maintains an effective liaison with SUH and similar stations. Dr. Bloom is also active in this liaison and makes most of the decisions as to whether native patients referred for psychiatric difficulties should be transferred to API.

As indicated in the Quarterly Report for FY 1967 (4) there appears to have been an approximately 50% reduction in the number of patients referred in to API from the Bethel and Kotzebue SUH's. Both Dr. Koutsky, Superintendent, and Mrs. Salisbury, Social Worker, at API feel that a marked reduction in inappropriate referrals has been achieved and that a considerable number of problems that might have otherwise come into Anchorage are now being dealt with locally. They express the warmest appreciation for the work of the MHU.

In April 1968 a "Memorandum of Agreement" between the ANHA Office and the Alaska State Department of Health and Welfare, Division of Mental Health was signed by the Director and the Commissioner of the two organizations respectively. This document, the fruit of much effort by Dr. Bloom and the MHU, represents the first joint statement and agreement between the two agencies in the mental health field. It provides guidelines for the interdigitation of services between the two organizations and is visualized as the first of a series of agreements in this area. This is an impressive achievement and one which should have far reaching consequences for the development of a unified system of mental health services for all of the peoples, indigenous and otherwise, of Alaska.

Alaska Native Medical Center.—At present Dr. Bloom and three part-time consultants in private practice in Anchorage will see upon request patients who present psychiatric problems on the hospital wards. Since October 1967, Mr. Poussard has been meeting with a group of ward personnel, including senior nurses, from one of the tuberculosis units on a fortnightly basis. They deal with such problems as separation anxiety, alcoholism, and interpersonal relations on the ward. Dr. Nachmann has been handling referrals from the pediatric service.

Recommendations

Consultation and Travel Pattern.—The present consultation and travel pattern with regard to field stations should be maintained and expanded. If at all possible MHU personnel should be given more opportunity to become familiar with the social structure of outlying villages, the problems which they present, and their attitudes toward the service provided.

A School Consultation and Liaison Service.—At present the development of a subsection of the MHU aimed at work with schools and related institutions appears to be a logical move. This would have both research and service functions. Research should be aimed, as indicated above, at the adolescent as well as the younger age group. A second psychologist would allow Dr. Nachmann, who has a background in this field, to devote more energy to the problems of adolescents facing graduation with no firm plans or possibilities for a meaningful place in the social structure.

From the service viewpoint the major issues are those now being approached: behavioral understanding and management; the quality of student-teacher transactions; and problems of pedology concerning the teaching-learning process.

The first step in this program should probably be consultation with the BIA aimed at the development of a plan of agreement following the model worked out with the Alaska Division of Mental Hygiene.

A Psychiatrist for ANMC.—The hospital badly needs a psychiatrist to serve as full-time consultant for problems arising on the wards as well as to develop relevant pre- and posthospital outpatient clinics. An inpatient service does not seem indicated, and the API should function as the ANMC inpatient psychiatric service. The ANMC psychiatrist would, then, have a functional relationship to API. With this new staff member it should not be necessary to retain the services of the part-time consultants whose contributions at present appear to be fragmented and difficult to schedule on a systematic basis. The ANMC psychiatrist should probably be directly responsible to the ANMC director and relate on a consultative peer basis to the director of MHU.

Increased Participation in Center Mental Health Relevant Activities.—There is some evidence that the MHU is not being fully utilized as a resource in the Center itself. This may, in part, reflect the small size of the staff and the fact that it is already thinly spread. Some possible areas of expansion include:

a. Participation in social work aide training program.

b. Expansion of seminar program for nurses with special reference to native nursing assistants at one level, and senior nurses at the top echelon. This might include a consideration of training experienced and psychologically intuitive nurses to serve as psychiatric nurse consultants for problems of patient management on the wards. This is an approach tried with success elsewhere. (5)

c. Increased participation of MHU social worker in consultations involving Center social workers.

d. Development of and participation in discharge conferences or other teaching meetings in which the tasks of planning for the future or by patient evaluation are approached with a combined consideration of general medical, psychiatric and social elements involved. These suggestions related mainly to the activities of the MHU social worker. It is not recommended, however, that a social worker subsection of the MHU be developed at this time. In keeping with existing organizational structure it would appear more desirable for additional workers to be added to the ANMC staff as possible and for the MHU social worker to be more actively involved as a regular consultant in their inservice training and supervision.

The Problem of Collaboration with Other Organizations and Programs.—A successful model has been worked out with the API. However, the regional mental health clinics cannot yet be effectively approached since a new Mental Health Commissioner has not yet been appointed for the State of Alaska. A similar model has been proposed for BIA in regard to the development of a School Consultation Section of MHU.

There are a variety of other agencies in the field, all with responsibilities which have not been clearly defined and which overlap to a certain extent. These include the Department of Public Welfare, particularly its Child Welfare Division; the Office of Economic Opportunity through Alaska Community Action Program and the Neighborhood Youth Corps; ANCHAT, the Alaska Native Community Health Aide Training Program, which is a DIH program scheduled to begin in July; and RASSP, the Rural Area Social Services Project. This last is a plan to train native people to Bureau of Children's Services Standards. They are expected to be generalists in community development, but some confusion seems to exist between the concepts of community development and social services. It is anticipated that this training will occur in Community Colleges. Perhaps there should be an integrated training program for all of these subefforts with on-the-job or inservice experience under supervision to fit them for the specific tasks of particular assignments. A new project in downtown Anchorage is the Welcome Center, as noted above, which provides another area of overlapping interest.

The task of keeping in touch with these various agencies and somehow reducing the confusion within the referral system is a major one. A mental health coordinator, either part of the ANMC or attached to the MHU, would be desirable. Perhaps the best solution would be for this coordinating task to be assigned to the office of the ANMC Chief of Social Work.

Additional Personnel for MHU.—As indicated above a new psychologist position would permit the development of necessary services and some research in the school consultation area. If another salary becomes available two posibilities present themselves. First, in order to complete disciplinary representation on the MHU group it would seem logical to employ a public health nurse with psychiatric training. Thus, psychiatry, social work, psychology and nursing would have a voice in the deliberations and work for the MHU.

A second possibility, which in the eyes of MHU personnel would be more useful, would be the employment of a native who might be trained on-the-job to participate in a variety of mental health activities. Such a person would provide a communicative channel and on-the-spot interpretation regarding contact with native patients and clients.

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SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Concerning general aspects of the social context

Education.—a. A major problem recognized by all and already in the process of correction is the practice of transporting native youth long distances from home for secondary education in a boarding school setting. Efforts at regionalization and other means of maintaining a viable connection between the youth being educated and his family are endorsed.

b. Recommendations for an intensified program of adult education at the village level are endorsed. This will reduce the communication gap across generations which produces inevitable emotional conflict impairing the educational effort.

c. The implementation, just being initiated, of recommendations to make teaching materials and devices more congruent with the children's reality, is strongly endorsed.

d. The teaching-learning process as it takes place under these unfavorable conditions requires some systematic study. It is recommended that the BIA begin to develop its own psychological staff—with appropriate social work and related colleagues—with an educational rather than a health mission.

e. A Memorandum of Agreement between BIA and ANHAO–DIH, similar in principle to that concluded between DIH and API, is strongly recommended as a means of developing effective collaboration between the MHU and schools.

Migration.—a. The Welcome Center program is an encouraging development. It is recommended that liaison be established between this Center and appropriate DIH Area Office or hospital personnel in the health and social assistance fields. On-the-job research into the possibility of intervention before migrants become transformed into patients or clients is indicated. Improved direct liaison with villages is strongly endorsed.

b. A systematic program of research into the relations between migration and behavioral deviance, with attention to strategies of prevention, is recommended.

Native Representation in Decision Making.—The Office of Native Affairs within the DIH Area Office appears to be a good beginning in this direction. It is suggested that the development of more systematic consultation between this office and the MHU and ANMC services be explored. Perhaps this would allow a more accurate estimate of the needs, wishes and attitudes of the consumers of health services, and help provide the base for a more effective system of health education with preventive value.

From the standpoint of the MHU it is important that the ONA understand its concern not only with illness and the reduction of disability, but with optimal function. This implies a view of the native population as a, so far, not fully developed human resource. The ONA should be concerned with the development of local institutions, such as the schools and courts, so that they might promote the realization of latent abilities and act as agents of useful social change. A natural point of MHU collaboration or consultation might be around the Alaska Federation of Natives grant for job training. A variety of problems involving screening, evaluation, and related matters have clear mental health components.

Interagency Communication.—This has been touched on at several points in the body of the report. Perhaps a Health and Welfare Council of Anchorage might provide the base for integration and communication down to the village level. Within DIH it is recommended that a coordinator be appointed. This might appropriately be the Chief of Social Services within the Area Office. The working relationship of the MHU and API is strongly commended. Further exploration of personnel exchange possibilities, e.g. detailing of a psychiatric nurse from API to work at SUH level with MHU consultation.

B. Concerning the activities of the village health aide

Training.—Proposals for more adequate and systematic training of the aide are strongly endorsed. This should include training to function as a health educator, and specific training regarding mental health matters, as well as that more traditionally offered.

Status and Pay.—Previous proposals for an adequate salary, and civil service or related status are strongly endorsed.

Combine Functions of Sanitarian.—The presence in a single small village of a health aide and a sanitarian, both working on a part-time basis does not seem efficient. It is recommended that these two jobs be combined. This would provide a natural point of administrative linkage between the State of Alaska and DIH, and would permit more adequate salary arrangements.

Continuing Education and Career Ladder Possibilities.—Provision should be made for regular on-the-job training during periodic visits of nursing and physician personnel with clearly identified goals. Opportunities should also be structured to permit a yearly five day refresher course in Anchorage. In this way the health aides' job would assume the dimensions of a career which might later be seen as leading to more advanced and higher status positions.

Support from SUH.—a. Adequate Equipment. Each aide should have the necessary tools for his trade including all customarily used by nurses and military corpsmen. There is no reason why stethoscopes, bloodpressure cuffs, otoscopes and surgical scissors should not be available.

b. Adequate Communication. It is strongly recommended that a system of sending simplified and easily understood hospital and laboratory summaries to the aides be initiated. The aide could also be the local agent to receive information about hospitalized relatives and other matters of personal importance to villagers.

c. Predictable Professional Visits. The aide should be able to count on such visits by physicians and nurses and should be able to let villagers know with relative certainty when they will arrive. At present when the aide herself is unaware of visits to come and has insufficient information from the SUH her status is damaged in the eyes of the villagers.

C. Concerning the training of new classes of native paraprofessional personnel

Such personnel, assigned at first at the SUH level, are recommended in order, both, to provide direct service and to improve communication with village aides. It is strongly recommended that their training include a heavy emphasis on mental health related activities such as counselling. Whether these individuals should be mental health technicians whose training is primarily a responsibility of MHU, or social work aides remains uncertain.

D. Research

High priority is recommended for systematic studies of migration in relation to behavioral deviance and health, and of adolescent problems in the native population.

E. ANMC

The employment of a psychiatrist, on the staff of the Center rather than the Area Office, is recommended in order to provide the necessary hospital consultation and outpatient services. It is assumed that he would relate in a consultative and peer capacity to the MHU director.

F. MHU

1. Continue present consultation and travel pattern.
2. Develop a school consultation and liaison service.
3. Increased participation in ANMC mental health relevant activities.
4. Addition of either a public health nurse or a native aide to the MHU team.

APPENDIX 2.—FIELD CONSULTATION PROGRAM, MENTAL HEALTH UNIT, JULY 1967–JUNE 1968

	Dr. Bloom	Dr. Nachmann	Mr. Poussard
July		Gambell-Savoonga	Bethel.
August		Kotzebue- Point Hope	Juneau-Mount Edgecumbe.
September	Bethel, Sept. 18	Bethel, Sept. 18	Bethel, with rehabilitation, Sept. 18.
October	Kotzebue, Oct. 9	Kotzebue, Oct. 16	Kotzebue, with rehibilitation, Oct. 9.
November	Kanakanak, Nov. 6	Kanakanak, Nov. 6	Bethel, Nov. 6.
December	Tanana, Dec. 11	Kotzebue, Dec. 11	
January	Bethel, Jan. 8, 1968	Bethel, Jan. 8	Bethel, Jan. 8.
February	Bethel, with Dr. Paul, Feb. 5	Kotzebue, Feb. 5	Mekoryuk, Jan. 29.
March	Valdex, Mar. 11	Juneau, Mar. 18	Bethel, Mar. 4.
	St. Paul Island (Pribilof Islands), Mar. 20.	Barrow, Mar. 25	
April		Kotzebue, Apr. 22	Bethel, Apr. 8.
May	Bethel May 13		Bethel, May 13.
June	Bethel-Hooper Bay, with Dr. Brody, June 1.	Bethel-Hooper Bay, with Dr. Brody, June 1.	Bethel, June 17.

APPENDIX I.—PERSONNEL INTERVIEWED

MENTAL HEALTH UNIT

Dr. Joseph D. Bloom, Chief
Dr. Barbara Nachmann, Psychologist
Mr. Lucien Poussard, Social Worker

ALASKA PSYCHIATRIC INSTITUTE–STATE OF ALASKA

Dr. Carl Koutsky, Superintendent
Dr. John Rollins, Clinical Director
Mrs. Clara Salisbury, Psychiatric Social Worker

DEPT. OF PUBLIC WELFARE—STATE OF ALASKA

Miss Mary Lee Nicholson, Child Welfare Supervisor

ALASKA NATIVE HEALTH AREA OFFICE

Dr. Holman Wherritt, Area Director
Dr. Charles Neilson, Deputy Area Director
Dr. Walter Johnson, Clinical Director, Alaska Native Medical Center
Mr. Richard Varner, Chief Social Services, ANMC
Mr. George Romance, Chief Area Social Service
Mrs. Frances Lyng, Social Worker, Dartmouth Medical Center, TDY Bethel
Dr. Martha Wilson, Service Unit Director, ANMC
Mr. John Borbridge, Native Affairs Officer, ANHAO
Dr. Ken Fleshman, Chief Pediatrics, ANMC

BETHEL AREA

Dr. Robert Shaw, Service Unit Director
Dr. George Stewart, Staff Physician, Mental Health Coordinator
Dr. Paul Eneboe, Staff Physician
Dr. Dave Leaman, Staff Physician
Mrs. Jorene Hout, PHN, Bethel, State of Alaska
Mr. Byron Shaquanie, Rural Development Office, NYC, Bethel
Mr. Ed Shepherd, Special Assistant to Governor Hickel, Rural Development

HOOPER BAY

Mr. Nile Smith, President Village Council
Miss Mary Toots, Medical Aide, Hooper Bay
Miss Beatrice O'Brien, Medical Aide, Hooper Bay
Mr. and Mrs. Chuck Simmonds, VISTA, Hooper Bay
Mr. and Mrs. Richard H. Sivets, BIA Teachers
Miss Dorothy Murran, Social Work Aide Trainee

ANCHORAGE WELCOME CENTER

Mrs. Arlene Hickok, Assistant Director
Mr. Jim Loe, Council Member

TRENDS IN INFECTIOUS DISEASES

Tuberculosis death rate per 100,000

United States:	
1963	5
1964	4
Indian:	
1963	24
1964	21
Alaskan:	
1963	37
1964	18.5

Down from 236 in 1954 and 158 in 1955. In 1964 the State Division of Health in their annual tuberculosis report stated: "tuberculosis is still the greatest public health problem in Alaska. The incidence of tuberculosis in 1964 was still the highest in the nation."

Case rates of tuberculosis per 100,000 in 1964

United States	29
Indian	184
Alaskan	830

Up from 535 in 1963 and 605 in 1962. In 1965 TB patients were 17 percent of those hospitalized by the Public Health Service as opposed to 57 percent in 1956. The high TB incidence indicates, in part, a great inadequacy in housing.

Influenza and pneumonia death rates per 100,000

United States	37
Indian	84
Alaskan	102

Others

Otitis Media.—first place among the notifiable diseases in 1964 with 2,380 per 100,000 and 3,125 per 100,000 in 1963.

Mastoiditis occurs with unusual frequency especially among the children.

Some degree of hearing loss is common due to infection during childhood. In the Bethel area, fully ¼ of the native population has a significant hearing defect.

Streptococcal sore throat, other respiratory infections and common childhood diseases are similarly among the notifiable diseases most frequently observed in the beneficiary population.

Upped respiratory infections rate is quite high.

Mass dental disease, especially dental caries is a severe problem.

Leading diseases among the Alaskan natives

Upper respiratory, otitis media, pneumonia, gastroenteritis, streptococcal sore throat.

Just after the Public Health Service came to Alaska in 1954, the case rate of these and other diseases fell rapidly. Now the case rate often varies greatly from year to year. It is no longer a constant downward trend in the short run. In the long run, however, frequencies are falling.

APPENDIX 3. HEALTH STATISTICS FOR ALASKA (1963)[3]

Some statistics on the health status of the Alaska Native (Eskimo, Aleut, and Indian).

Native population size—45,000.

Statistics are for 1963 unless otherwise specified. They have been rounded off to the nearest place.

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*Obtained through OEO.

Birth rate (per 1000)

United States	22
Indian	42
Alaskan	49

Eighty-one percent attended by physicans.

Average age at death

United States	64
Indian	44
Alaskan	35

Alaska was 29 in 1954.

Infant death rates (per 1,000 births)

United States	25
Indian	42
Alaskan	51

Alaskan was 75 in 1960.

Neonatal deaths (infants under 28 days)

United States and Indian	17–18
Alaskan	25

Leading causes of death in order were immaturity, postnatal asphyxia, pneumonia, birth injuries, congenital malformation. Death rate attributed to these "diseases of early infancy" has not changed greatly since 1952.

Postneonatal deaths (infants 28 days—11 months)

United States	7
Indian	25
Alaskan	26

Chief causes: influenza, pneumonia, and other respiratory diseases, diarrheas and other G.I. illness, other infective and parasitic diseases and accidents. These conditions which strike babies in the home are associated frequently with gross unsanitary conditions, poor and crowded housing, extremely rigorous environment, lack of safe water supplies, inadequate diet, and limited health education on the part of the families.

Leading causes of deaths

Accidents (more than half non-motor vehicle).
Certain diseases of early infancy.
Influenza and pneumonia.
Heart disease.
Malignant neoplasms.
Tuberculosis—9th.
G.I.—10th.

PROVIDING AN EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY FOR THE ALASKAN NATIVE—REPORT OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDIAN EDUCATION

BACKGROUND*

Recent estimates place the number of Eskimos, Indians, and Aleuts residing in Alaska at about 53,000 people, or approximately one-fifth of the total population of the State. Except for about 1,000 Indians on two small reservations, the natives live in towns and villages scattered throughout the half million square miles of the State—an area greater than the combined areas of the 19 most eastern states of the United States.

Though some migration of native persons from their original habitats has occurred, the regions are generally occupied by one of the major native groups. The Eskimos live on the western and northern coasts along the Bering Sea and Arctic Sea; they comprise somewhat more than half of the total native population. The next largest group of natives, the Indians, live in southeastern, interior, and south-central Alaska. And, in southwestern Alaska, along the Alaska peninsula and Aleutian chain, live the Aleuts, the smallest of the three. Native persons and families who have moved to urban areas, particularly Anchorage and Fairbanks, are exceptions to these patterns.

More than 70% of Alaskan natives live in 178 villages or towns in which half or more residents are native; half of these places have populations of 155 persons or less. Another 25% of Alaskan natives live in 6 urban places, but primarily in Anchorage and Fairbanks.

Migration of Natives to urban places has been fairly substantial in recent years. Between 1960 and the present, the total native population of Alaska's six largest cities has doubled to approximately 10,000.

In Alaska's largest city, Anchorage, the number of native school children has quadrupled since 1967.

Migration from rural villages to larger native regional centers is also occurring. Four of these places were visited by the Subcommittee: Bethel, Nome, Kotzebue, Pt. Barrow, Fort Yukon. Both Kotzebue and Bethel have grown to approximately 2,000 persons, nearly tripling their 1950 population. Barrow, with approximately 2,000 persons, doubled in size since 1950. Although these larger native villages consist of a largely native population, they tend to be controlled by a handful of white businessmen who own and operate, usually at considerable profit, the general trading stores, the charter airlines service, small hotels and restaurants, tourist trade facilities and services, native "slum housing" and the fuel, electricity and often water supplies. Their ownership poses a serious problem for the natives which has not yet been adequately analyzed.

Although migration to urban areas and regional centers is taking place, native villages are not disappearing from the Alaskan scene, despite many predictions to the contrary. Today there are only 12 fewer separate natives places of 25 people or more than were indicated in the 1950 census, and more than 80% of the places continuing to exist are larger than they were 17 years ago.

The median age of Alaska native population is 16.3 years. More than 77% of natives are younger than 35 years of age. The population's youthfulness is the result of a short life span, a high birth rate, and recent reductions in infant mortality. The native population is growing at a rate nearly twice that of the United States as a whole. The crude rate of natural increase is comparable to that of Southeast Asia or South America, regions typically described as having population explosions.

INCOME

More Alaskan Natives are unemployed or seasonally employed than have permanent jobs. More than half of the working force is jobless most of the year; for them hunting, fishing and trapping activities provide basic subsistence. Only ¼ of the work force, estimated to be composed of 16,000 to 17,000 persons, has continuing employment. Unemployment rates vary from a high of approximately 60% during the winter to a low of approximately 25% in the summer. Of approximately 14,000 federal employees in the state of Alaska, 1,400 or approximately 10% are Alaskan natives. Most are in lower level jobs such as laborers, building maintenance men, mess atendants—but some hold positions such as licensed and practical nurses, clerk typists; and a few hold skilled positions such as teachers, airline pilots. Native unemployment is higher than non-native unemployment in urban areas.

Year-round jobs in most villages are very few. Typically the opportunities are limited to positions such as school maintenance men, postmaster, airline agent, village store manager, possibly school cook or teacher aide. Weather or flight stations or Air Force installations offer a few additional job opportunities near some of the villages. Other sources of income are the sale of furs, fish, or arts and crafts; seasonal employment away from the villages as firefighters, cannery workers, or construction laborers; and welfare payments. Usually, natives gather the bulk of their food supply by fishing, hunting, and trapping and rely on a combination of means to obtain cash for fuel, food staples and the tools and supplies necessary to harvest fish and wildlife. Income figures available from

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*Much of the descriptive information contained in this field report has been taken from *Alaska Natives and the Land* (October, 1968), prepared by the Federal Field Committee for Development Planning in Alaska. Additional information was supplied by Mr. Robert D. Arnold of the Field Committee staff. We would like to express our appreciation to Mr. Arnold and the Field Committee for their excellent publication and their considerable assistance to the Subcommittee.

the U.S. Census of 1960 show a median per capita income of $1,204 for rural natives with income. One of three natives was totally without income. The median income per capita for urban Indians with income—no data exists for urban Eskimos and Aleuts—was $1,863 as compared to whites of the same year at $4,768.

The high cost of living in Alaska exacerbates the poverty conditions. Basic commodities cost 23% more in Anchorage than in Seattle, and up to 74% more in northern villages (1963 figures). A 25% cost-of-living allowance is added to the basic pay of federal employees in Alaska, and higher minimum incomes are allowed to beneficiaries of federal anti-poverty programs (the minimum income allowance is also 25% higher.)

Recent studies indicate that the severe poverty documented in the 1960 census persists. In urban Fairbanks in 1967 most of the Indians were living in poverty.

HEALTH

On the average, Alaskan Natives live only half as long as the average American. The average age of death of an Alaskan native is 34.5 years. Even more shocking 25% of the total native deaths occur in infants under 1 year of age.

Although the infant mortality rate has been reduced in recent years, it is still exceptional. During the period from 1 to 5 months of age, the mortality rate increases to 5 times that of whites, and among native infants age 6 to 11 months the death rate is more than 12 times higher than the death rate of white Alaskans.

In the course of its field investigation, the Subcommittee also discovered that inner ear infections which cause broken ear drums and draining pus are practically universal among Native children. We found these children in every village we visited, and every teacher we spoke with complained of her students being hard-of-hearing.

A recent Public Health Service study in Western Alaska found that 38% of the children had significant hearing handicaps by the age of four. There are presently over 2,000 children who have lost almost all of their hearing in one or both ears who are waiting their turn for surgical repair in Anchorage, Alaska. Some children have no ear drum left at all except for a rim. Others have been damaged so severely that surgery will not help and the ear is simply sewn shut to prevent any further infections. In some cases the infection has eaten its way through to the brain, causing an abcess and death or permanent brain damage.

Large numbers of Alaskan native children suffer from chronic upper respiratory infections. As a result, bronchictasis, a serious type of residual lung damage, is seen with frequency among Native children and rarely, if ever, seen among children in any other part of our nation. Despite a massive campaign over the last 14 years, tuberculosis continues at a rate 10 times the national average. Many native children now in school grew up in the midst of a TB epidemic in the early 1950's. Many have been hospitalized for longer periods of time. Many have grown up with one or both parents dead, or missing for long periods of time because of prolonged hospitalization. A recent study of a group of these children, aged 10-12, found that they cannot relate well to their families or other persons, are failing in school, and are also failing to grow in a normal fashion physically. These effects have occurred even though it was the parents, not the child, that was ill.

Infectious diseases such as impetigo and other skin infections are common among native children. In one instance a child's outer ear had been completely destroyed by impetigo. In many cases the skin infections result in permanent scarring.

Infectious diarrhea and hepatitis afflict substantial numbers of native children and often lead to death or permanent brain damage. Even cases of dysentery and typhoid fever are not uncommon. There is a high incidence of mental retardation among Alaskan native children, at least 50% of which was preventable; most of it is due to acute infectious diseases suffered in early life.

In testimony before the Subcommittee, Dr. Martha Wilson, of the Alaska Native Medical Center, placed the severity of the health problem in perspective. She stated:

"* * * the Alaska Native people have suffered epidemics of tuberculosis, pneumonia, influenza, otitus media, meningitis and bronchictasis that have not to our knowledge been paralleled in any other population of the modern world."

All of the diseases mentioned and others combine to keep a large number of children sick a significant proportion of the time. Last year three thousand, or roughly 15% of the native children were hospitalized and hospitalization itself can be a traumatic experience. Imagine a child who becomes ill in a village, who is taken perhaps 100 miles to a field hospital, often by someone other than his parents, who is transferred 400–600 miles to the referral hospital where he spends one to three months probably without seeing parents or relatives, and who then returns home, again escorted by a stranger. Severe emotional disturbance is often the result of such an experience.

In addition to disease, the Alaskan native child suffers from dietary deficiencies and general malnutrition which are debilitating in themselves as well as a significant factor in the high rate of sickness. For example, children suffering from anemia or iron deficiencies, conditions which are wide-spread among native children, have a higher frequency of illness than other children, and three out of four of their illnesses are upper respiratory infections. The Division of Indian Health has noted that general malnutrition is a contributing factor to many illnesses, that it increases the susceptibility to infections, and reduces the capacity to recover. The Division has also noted that malnutrition in conjunction with other diseases often goes unreported.

A thorough study of 11 villages conducted between 1956 and 1961 found that food supplies fluctuate enormously throughout the year, and that at no age level was the daily calorie intake equal to that recommended by the National Research Council. Of the diets examined, 75% or more were low in vitamin A and thiamin; 25% were low on riboflavine. The amount of these nutrients consumed by the villagers on a per person, per day basis compared with Americans having a per capita income of $1,250 per year. Finally, analysis of infant diets, showed that a significant proportion were inadequate in calories, iron, thiamine, niacine and ascorbic acid.

In addition to other diseases, dental diseases are nearly universal among the Alaskan Native population. Orthodontic problems reach staggering proportions and the consequences include pain, infection and loss of teeth.

Problems of mental health among Alaskan natives are serious and growing. Over a 16-year period when the population grew by about 50%, the number of suicides and alcoholics doubled. Much of the mental health problem is clearly a function of the destructive impact of the dominant society on tribal subsistence economy villages. According to Dr. Joseph Bloom, chief of the Area Mental Health Unit of the U.S. Public Health Service in Anchorage May 1968:

"If mental health problems are broadly construed to include not only mental illness and alcoholism, but also child neglect and delinquency and other behavioral problems, then mental health problems are the major health problem of Alaskan natives today."

If a significant improvement in Alaskan health is to occur it must be sought in the improvement of the socio-economic conditions under which Alaskan natives live. And if education programs are to be successful in Alaska, health conditions of babies and native children must be substantially improved.

HOUSING

Native housing in Alaska's villages is generally considered to be the most primitive, dilapidated and substandard housing anywhere in the United States. Of some 7,500 homes, about 7,100 need replacement according to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In addition, 344 new dwellings are needed annually because of population increases.

In the southwestern part of Alaska (which the Subcommittee visited first) the natives live in one-room houses made of materials which are typically available—driftwood, lumber, plywood or logs. Housing is grossly inadequate and has contributed to the presence or spread of tuberculosis, infectious hepatitis, impetigo, infectious diarrhea, and viral infection. Quality is inferior, and space per occupant and per family unit is inadequate. Poor and deteriorating construction drains scarce fuel supplies. Cold and drafty homes contribute to illnesses and likewise, tightly-sealed homes are unhealthful for lack of fresh air.

Government-owned housing of teachers or other governmental employees imported to the villages is, on the other hand, quite comfortable. Housing is usually attached to the school in a compound outside the native village, segregated from the native housing. Government housing has clean well water, electricity, oil heating and flush toilets. The natives have none of these, and the amenities are not shared. The contrast is dramatic to say the least.

The largest city in western Alaska, Nome, was also visited by the Subcommittee, here too, overcrowding is the typical situation, although the homes—many of which date to gold rush days—are somewhat larger than elsewhere in the west. Sargent Shriver visited Nome in 1967 and described its housing:

"Most of the native houses in the city are ramshackled, falling down places. But even this city has a slum that is worse than the rest of the town where 500 natives live in the most abject poverty that I have seen anywhere, including Africa, Latin America, India or anywhere else."

Location of native villagers is an important reason for substandard dwellings in village Alaska, but it is certainly not the only explanation. Federally insured loans are not available, even to those with the ability to repay if they do not possess title to the land upon which a house is to be situated; and most Alaskan villagers are landless. Nor are most other Federal housing programs available to those without water and sewer systems, and most villages are without these facilities. Minimum size and construction standards imposed by federal housing programs are inappropriate to villages. Private loans are seldom available to remote villagers.

Most villages do not have a community power source and most homes have no electricity even from private power plants. In every instance, however, the State rural school or the federal rural school has its own clean water supply, sanitation facilities, a comfortable home for the teacher, generators providing power and electricity for the school and the home, and a backup generator with substantial capacity, which most of the time is not being used. In only one instance is the additional power capacity of a federal facility in a native village used to provide electricity for that village; that exception is Barrow, Alaska, thanks to a bill passed by Congress under the sponsorship of Senator Bartlett. Even in Barrow, a dam for water storage and a processing plant were built to provide clean water for the PHS hospital and BIA school but *not* for the native village.

Present and anticipated housing programs fall far short of meeting the needs. Following a 1966 visit to the Bethel area of southwestern Alaska, the then Commissioner of the Public Housing Administration said of the housing in the area:

"I've never seen anything like it, even in the worst slums in our major cities."

And she added:

"In the forty-eight, we are trying to get rid of our privies. In Alaska we felt it would be a great advance just to have privies."

WATER SUPPLY AND WASTE DISPOSAL

In most villages, primitive and unsanitary water supply and waste disposal practices have deleterious consequences on native health. Adequate sanitation facilities are lacking in every village except Nome.

A recent survey conducted in the villages of northwestern Alaska found that 725 village households draw upon unsatisfactory surface waters for their water; only 74 draw water from wells. In the 799 households surveyed, there were only 19 toilets, and all of these but one were in a single village. More than half of the households use pots or pails indoors for human waste, and deposit the waste later on the ground or sea ice. About one-fourth of the households have privies, but half were unsatisfactory from the sanitation standpoint. Water for domestic purposes in most villages was obtained from rivers and creeks near the villages, and hauled in buckets to oil drums in the homes. In winter, ice is melted for water, even in some BIA schools.

Even in Nome the high cost of sewer and water service connections preclude most native families from having either. Only three native households (of 154 surveyed) used city water; none was connected to the sewer. Nearly all native families in Nome purchase water from a vender or obtain it from a spring three miles from town.

Human waste disposal is accomplished by box and pail toilets in the home and final disposal on the beach of Norton Sound.

Spring flooding further complicates village sanitation as floods inundate many river villages and wash the contents of latrines and refuse dumps throughout the village, polluting water wells. Pits fill with surface water and become breeding places for flies and mosquitoes. An official report states:

"Until sanitation facilities are at the minimally acceptable level, the incidence of gastroenteretic diseases and hepatitis will persist, with the potential for serious epidemics."

Since 1961, only 37 villages have had sanitation facilities constructed under provisions of the Indian Sanitation Act. Twenty-two of these village projects have been communal water and individual waste projects. The example of a village just outside of Bethel is typical. Here the individual facilities consist of a pit privy, a sink seepage pit, garbage can, storage cans and water carrying cans for each household; the community facilities consist of a fenced refuse disposal area behind the village and a community watering point within the village with a well, a well house, and water treatment and storage tank. Although a village well for common use and privy and pots and pails for each household may seem primitive, they are a vast improvement over existing practices.

Total funds available for 1961 through 1968 for Indian Sanitation have totaled 4.5 million. At this rate of funding, it will require at least 20 more years to make clean water available to all villagers and to enable them to dispose of human waste in a reasonably sanitary way. Following the subcommittee field trip in Alaska, Senators Stevens and Kennedy introduced legislation to provide more adequate facilities and reduce the 20 years to five.

POVERTY AND THE POWER STRUCTURE

As noted in the section on housing, government compounds whether H.E.W., FAA or Defense are almost always outside of the village. Working facilities along with housing and recreational facilities cluster together in a clearly defined area separated from the native village itself. The practice smacks of colonialism.

A number of examples of economic exploitation point up a second relationship between the small white minority and the majority native population whom they dominate in the larger villages. For example, few natives are employed in the entirely white-owned and largely out-of-state owned canneries in the Bristol Bay area, the site of the best salmon fishing, but the canneries rely almost entirely on natives for fishing.

The substantially growing tourist trade throughout Alaska provides another example of demeaning exploitation. In Nome, for example, the King Island Village serves as a center of attractiion for Alaskan Airline tours. Hundreds of tourists are taken to the miserably poor village by bus where the villagers dance and sell their ivory carvings, etc. Alaskan Airlines is undoubtedly profiting from the excursions but very little of those profits are accruing to the natives who are making it possible.

Another example of the relationship in Nome between natives and whites is the track system in the K–12 public schools with a 60% native student population. Almost all of the natives can be found in the bottom track and almost all of the white students in the top. Only 2 native students have been graduated from the high school in recent years.

Although nobody admits to discrimination and prejudice in Alaska, these conditions often appear in covert, paternalistic and subtle forms. In one of the larger native villages, Kotzebue, a small number of whites control the profit-making activities which includes the best polar bear hunting in the world. Approximately 300 polar bears are taken out of Kotzebue each year by hunters who fly in from the lower 48, bring their own guides and hunt from bush planes which are flown by white pilots employed by white flying services. The polar bear costs them about $2500. Out of that amount only a small part benefits the natives in any way.

In Ft. Yukon (almost entirely Indian) a military radar base is located next to the Yukon community. The base has a superb quarters, excellent recreational facilities, excellent housing, clean water, electricity—all of the things the Ft. Yukon community lacks. Indian girls from the village are invited over to club at the defense installation for dancing, drinking and other activities. Unwed mothers, or mothers who are wed for a short period of time but are then left behind, are not uncommon.

Bethel, Alaska is very striking—there are actually several compounds!—a a large PHS hospital compound, a fish and wildlife facility compound and a FAA facility compound. The BIA, strangely enough, is the farthest removed from the city (5 or 6 miles) but has the most services available to people in Bethel proper. In Bethel, the houses are substandard with poor sanitation, totally inadequate water supply, and general poverty and welfare problems. The ex-mayor of Bethel owns the only water pump thus exercising a monopoly on the clean water supply. His two trucks deliver water to each house whose residents can purchase it. Many native families get their water from the river and the creek in the worst part of Bethel. In "louse-town" a number of the people are drinking polluted water.

A housing project in Bethel is producing one new house a day under a HUD demonstration project for Alaska. However, as fast as a family moves out of "Louse-Town" or out of bad housing in other parts of Bethel, one or two new families move in immediately behind them and take over the dilapidated shack.

EDUCATION

According to census figures of 1960 only a small fraction of one percent of the natives in Alaska had completed 4 years of college or more. (There is one native college graduate in Bethel, pop. 2,000). Only 2% of the native population had completed high school. Over 50% had completed no more than 6th grade. Approximately 25% of adults had no formal education. In comparison, the median number in 1960 of years of school completed for white Alaskans was 12.4. Additional studies in 1960 indicated that of native youths 14 to 19 years of age, only 34% were enrolled in secondary schools. The remaining 66% were still enrolled in elementary school or were not in school at all.

No one can determine the percentage of school age children who are actually enrolled in school. Elementary schools are found in most but not all villages; children from areas without a local elementary school go to the BIA elementary school at Wrangell, Alaska; but where there is no local elementary school, an elementary school education is not assured. A study done at the University of Alaska found losses in BIA schools as high as 60% from grades 1 to 8. Another study recently published by the University of Alaska points out that the native student who has enrolled in college "has survived an attrition rate of 60% in grade school and an additional 54% in high school; he has left 80% or more of his first grade peers behind him as drop-outs. Yet his chances of academic success in college are even more slender than before. He has only one chance in 24 of receiving a college degree at the end of four years."

Grade retardation, or overageness of students in relation to normal age/grade placement is indicative of educational failure. Overage students drop out of school more frequently than those near normal grade placement. In one study of elementary school dropouts in BIA schools, it was found that approximately half had been retarded 5 or more years, and 7% were 9 or more years retarded. Since kindergartens are almost unknown and pre-school education is a new innovation which exists in few areas, six year olds in nearly all schools enter a beginners class; they are 7 before they enter first grade. The need to spend the first year learning the rudiments of the English language automatically places the student at least one year behind at the very beginning of his educational experience. As the need for language comprehension becomes greater in each succeeding grade, the number of years of retardation increase. One study showed 40% of students in native schools to be overage in relation to normal age/grade placement.

There is a longstanding debate as to whether the State of Alaska or the Bureau of Indian Affairs should operate the rural native schools. It is generally understood that the state will gradually assume the responsibility. A report of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board of the Department of Interior based on a recent visit to Alaska and discussions with many native groups stated the following:

"Some natives prefer BIA schools, but only because the BIA provides hot lunches. Most prefer state schools because of the tendency of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to set up a school complex as an enclave of modern buildings with all necessary facilities separate and apart from the natives' village—something like the manor of the rich or the compound of a colonial administrator. The BIA seems totally unaware of, or indifferent to, the deep resentment this breeds."

A 1968 study of graduates and dropouts of Lothrop High School in Fairbanks found that approximately 75% of the native students were dropping out of school before graduation. Native students who attended BIA schools during the majority of their elementary school years received better grades in high school than those from any other classification of school. A student transferring from a state operated rural school had the least chance of graduating and native students receiving the majority of their elementary education in state operated schools had the highest drop-out rate. 75% of the native drop-outs who were tested revealed more than enough intelligence to complete high school.

Although elementary schools have been provided in most villages with a potential enrollment of 10 or more students, these schools typically provide only a beginner's through 8th grade education. Secondary education in rural areas is extremely limited. Of the 86 rural communities, in which the state operated schools in 1966–67, only 10 offered secondary programs. Out of 73 day schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, only 6 offered secondary level education. Most village children who go to a junior or senior high school attend a BIA or state boarding school or participate in the state boarding home project initiated in 1966.

There are two major boarding high school facilities for native students from rural villages. The Bureau of Indian Affairs operates the largest of these facilities in the southeast part of Alaska on an island just off the coast from Sitka. The State runs what was first a vocational boarding school (Beltz) but now is a school with a full academic program just outside of Nome, Alaska. This school in operation since about 1966 serves primarily students from north of the Yukon.

Under the regional high school plan adopted by the State Legislature in 1965 (a bill introduced by Senator Gravel) additional regional high school facilities will be made available in the near future. Due to the lack of progress in implementing the regional high school plan, an interim program called the boarding home program was initiated by the State in 1966. It was intended to provide students unable to gain admittance to a state or BIA boarding school an opportunity for a high school education in one of Alaska's larger communities. Students live in private homes and attend the local high schools. The cost of boarding is reimbursed under Title I of Public Law 89–10 and the State supports the tuition cost. The state also runs a correspondence and home study course for rural natives which enrolled some students at the high school level in 1966-67.

As a result of the severe lack of high school facilities for native students in Alaska, well over 1,000 students must be sent out of the state to federal boarding schools in Oregon and Oklahoma. Even at that, a substantial number of native students are denied admittance every year, due to lack of space. The number of students that have left the State to receive a high school education has grown from less than 100 in 1960 to over 1,000 in 1968. The number of native students in boarding high schools has nearly tripled since 1960 despite the substantial number of rejected applications.

In 1962, Charles K. Roy, et al., published the most comprehensive study of native education in Alaska that has been undertaken since World War II. The study, *Alaskan Native Secondary School Dropouts*, highlighted a major cause of the extraordinarily high dropout rate of native students:

"* * * self-images of these students were imbued with deep feelings of inadequacy and inferiority. Such a devalued student image was very prevalent, and its existence was confirmed by many teachers. Both teachers and native students noted that one of the important reasons for school dropouts and the lack of motivation to enter high school stemmed from students feelings of inadequacy in dealing with the difficulties of the curriculum. This deep-seated, negative attitude is often transmitted to the student early in his educational career while he is trying to learn strange and often meaningless facts in a language over which he has little command."

Unfortunately, the implications of this finding have had relatively little, if any, impact on the conduct of educational programs in Alaska.

Dr. Arthurs E. Hippler of the University of Alaska pointed out in subcommittee hearings that "the roots of the problem are (historically) very deep and complex. * * *" Starting in the mid-19th century, the impact of aggressive militant Christianity and American cultural imperialism was devastating to native communities. The general was a "self-hating, confused, and traumatized" native population. In Dr. Hippler's words:

"It is very difficult not to believe that you are not inferior when someone wealthier, better educated, more powerful, and representing immense arbitrary power tells you overtly and covertly by every action of his being that you are inferior *and does so for a hundred years.*"

The result of this historical experience is the following:

"(1) Natives wish to be like whites while hating whites for what whites have done to natives;

"(2) Natives think poorly of themselves because they have never been able to achieve well in schools which were stacked against them;

"(3) Natives become adults with increasingly greater feelings of disillusionment, hopelessness, and inarticulate anger. Eventually, many become social problems because of lack of preparation or ability to work and a self-contempt which may lead to heavy drinking. They produce children for whom they then act as role models."

Although the problem is deep-seated and not easily reversible, much can be done. Dr. Hippler makes three recommendations:

"First and foremost there is a need for better quality and more adequately trained teachers. It is obviously impossible never to make mistakes in hiring which result in racists teaching natives. On the other hand, mistakes need not be the norm.

"Secondly and deeply bound up with the first need is the need to teach Alaska natives something about their history, culture and language (the first two of which most young natives are absolutely ignorant of) to help develop a postive identity and pride in that identity.

"Third, again intensely connected to the first two, there is a need to adapt educational materials to the native community and at the same time expand through meaningful education the native child's awareness of the larger rich in experience world which he will inevitably enter."

Dr. Barbara Nachman, in her prepared testimony for the Subcommittee, further substantiates the problem. She points out that "there exists (for native students) a sharp discontinuity between schooling and other meaningful experiences. Teachers are, except for rare exceptions, of a different race and class and speak a different language. Parents and other adults in the community who would ordinarily serve as models for the developing child are rarely teachers; the Subcommittee, the University of Alaska has produced only one, or in any way identified with the body of knowledge which is presented by the schools. To take on that knowledge in any more than a superficial manner means for the child making a break with his home and his past far more acute and irreversible than that which is required of children elsewhere. As a result, school becomes a continuously defensive ordeal to be survived. It is seldom a pleasurable exploration of the world or the development of one's own capacities * * *" The ultimate consequence is the widespread practice of social promotion which ultimately leads to dropping out and the wide-spread feeling among teachers that native students are mentally retarded.

Dr. Lee H. Salisbury, of the University of Alaska, provides a dramatic description of the actual experience of the native student in the classroom. His desription merits quoting at some length:

"The Native student enters a completely foreign setting—the western classroom situation. His teacher is likely to be a Caucasian, who knows little or nothing about his cultural background. He is taught to read the Dick and Jane series. Many things confuse him: Dick and Jane are two gussuk children who play together. Yet he knows that boys and girls do not play together and do not share toys. They have a dog named Spot who comes indoors and does not work. They have a father who leaves for some mysterious place called 'office' each day and never brings any food home with him. He drives a machine called an automobile on a hard covered road called a street which has a policeman on each corner. These policemen always smile, wear funny clothing, and spend their time helping children to cross the street. Why do these children need this help? Dick and Jane's mother spends a lot of time in the kitchen cooking a strange food called 'cookies' on a stove which has no flame in it.

"But the most bewildering part is yet to come. One day they drive out to the country which is a place where Dick and Jane's grandparents are kept. They do not live with the family and they are so glad to see Dick and Jane that one is certain that they have been ostracized from the rest of the family for some terrible reason. The old people live on something called a 'farm', which is a place where many strange animals are kept—a peculiar beast called a 'cow', some odd looking birds called 'chickens' and a 'horse' which looks like a deformed moose. And so on. For the next 12 years the process goes on. The native child continues to learn this new language which is of no earthly use to him at home and which seems completely unrelated to the world of sky, birds, snow, ice, and tundra which he sees around him.

"In addition, the student is likely to lose his original language in the education process. His teachers do not speak his language nor do they encourage its use during schools hours. In many schools students are absolutely forbidden to use the native language. Therefore, many native students come to feel that the language of their parents is undesirable and inferior."

The Subcommittee was amazed to find the Scott-Foresman series of basal readers used in native schools throughout Alaska. Under the leadership of the

Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, only one relatively modest project is underway to provide a somewhat more relevant basal reader for native children. Equally disturbing is the survey of elementary school social texts conducted for the Subcommittee by the Department of Education of the University of Alaska. The survey findings were:

1. Twenty widely used texts contain no mention of Alaska natives at all; and, in some cases, no mention of Alaska. Even some High School texts were found which contained no mention of Alaskan Natives.

2. Although some textbooks provide some coverage of the Alaskan Eskimo, very few even mention Indians. Many textbooks confuse Alaskan and other Eskimo groups.

3. A substantial number of texts at the elementary and secondary level contain serious and often demeaning inaccuracies in their treatment of the Alaskan Native.

It seems only fitting to close this section with a statement from the testimony of Miss Margaret Nick, an Eskimo girl from the village of Nunapitchuk. With considerable feeling, she informed the Subcommittee—

"Some people say, a man without education might as well be dead. I say, a man without identity, if a man doesn't know who he is, he might as well be dead.

"That is why it is a must that we include our culture and history in our schools before we lose it all. We've lost way too much already. *Let's move now!*"

RECOMMENDATIONS

The human waste and misery reflected in the preceding pages is a tragedy of major proportions. The difficult question is establishing priorities. With that in mind, the following proposals are presented in two parts.

A. Three primary interrelated proposals

1. A social studies curriculum should be developed for the elementary grades that is geared to teaching the native youngster about his own cultural heritage; that would include such units as language, cultural characteristics, customs, history and folk-lore. The effort should include the development of culturally relevant textbooks and reading materials, a listing of resources available and the development of a course outline study guide. The effort should take full advantage of community resources including village elders and a museum of artifacts.

2. A social studies unit should be developed for incorporation into an Alaskan history course and as an elective semester course at the secondary level. Dr. Jack Forbes' handbook for students and teachers, *Native Americans of California and Nevada*, is an excellent example, as the ongoing work of Dr. Deward Walker at the University of Idaho.

3. A curriculum similar to that developed by Dr. John Bryde for Oglala Sioux students in South Dakota should be developed for Alaskan Natives. The materials are aimed at the junior high school level which is critical in terms of drop-outs and adolescent identity crisis.

4. The development of culturally relevant basal readers for the primary grades which has been initiated by the Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory and the University of Alaska must be expedited and substantially upgraded in style and content. Furthermore, the development of these materials should be tied to an intensive in-service training program for teachers who will be using them.

B. Secondary proposals

Three additional areas of great importance are listed below. All of them require substantially new approaches.

1. Techniques based on linguistic theory and using appropriate technology for teaching English proficiency, both written and oral, must be developed. These techniques should most certainly include bi-lingual instruction methodologies. It is striking that there are presently no bilingual education projects in the State of Alaska.

2. A variety of models and approaches aimed at maximizing local control of village schools should be developed. Approaches should include changing advisory school boards to governing school boards, and training school board members. The Rough Rock Demonstration School on the Navajo Reservation is an excellent example of one successful model.

3. Training program for native educations should be developed. They should include training for positions such as tutor, teacher aide, assistant teacher, etc.,

and be structured to provide a mix of work experience with course work. In addition, a greater effort must be made to enroll native students in higher education programs and to keep them there. The COPAN project at the University of Alaska should be reestablished.

C. A comprehensive plan

In prepared testimony for the Subcommittee Dr. Joseph D. Bloom (Director of the Alaska Native Medical Health Program) pointed out that Alaska provides a unique opportunity for long-range educational planning and for substantial leadership by the natives in the development of such plans. Within the next two years, The Alaskan Native Claims Bill should have passed Congress. Channeled through a native development corporation, it will place hundreds of millions of dollars into the hands of the natives. (The range now proposed extends all the way from 500 million to one billion dollars). In addition, this settlement will permit the State to select large additional tracts of land and enjoy the full benefits of the potential oil revenues. The State in turn is destined to be wealthy. In light of these facts it seems imperative that a carefully drawn long-range plan be developed for systematic investment of resources to improve native education.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POVERTY AND EDUCATION

Although the preceding recommendations for educational change are quite necessary, major improvement in educational accomplishments will only come with a general improvement in the life of the Alaskan native. The following educational deficiencies are basically results of the Alaskan poverty.

1. Secondary school programs are not available for many native Alaskan students because schools are not available. Native students who want to pursue a high school degree must leave village and family for nine months and attend a boarding school in southeast Alaska, or for over 1,000 Alaskan natives, a boarding school in the States of Oregon or Oklahoma. Without financial influence, the natives clearly are victims of serious neglect.

2. Native students who finish high school rarely go back to the village. If they do, they find themselves no longer useful, comfortable, or well accepted. Again this situation is a function of poverty in the villages and lack of jobs. Furthermore, native high school graduates who seek jobs in cities lack saleable skills and are not adequately acculturated to succeed socially.

3. The extremely poor academic performance of children in the rural villages is another result of the poverty condition. Children come to school with dietary and physical deficiencies and the powerlessness of the people permits schools that are totally irrelevant to the way of life in the villages.

4. Opportunities for villagers to initiate educational programs of their own are absent because of their complete lack of finances. Yet the schools are foreign institutions. In addition, teachers are inadequately trained, and generally not in sympathy with the circumstances they find themselves in. The school facilities are seldom used on weekends or after classes; they serve no important community function.

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A Problem of Identity

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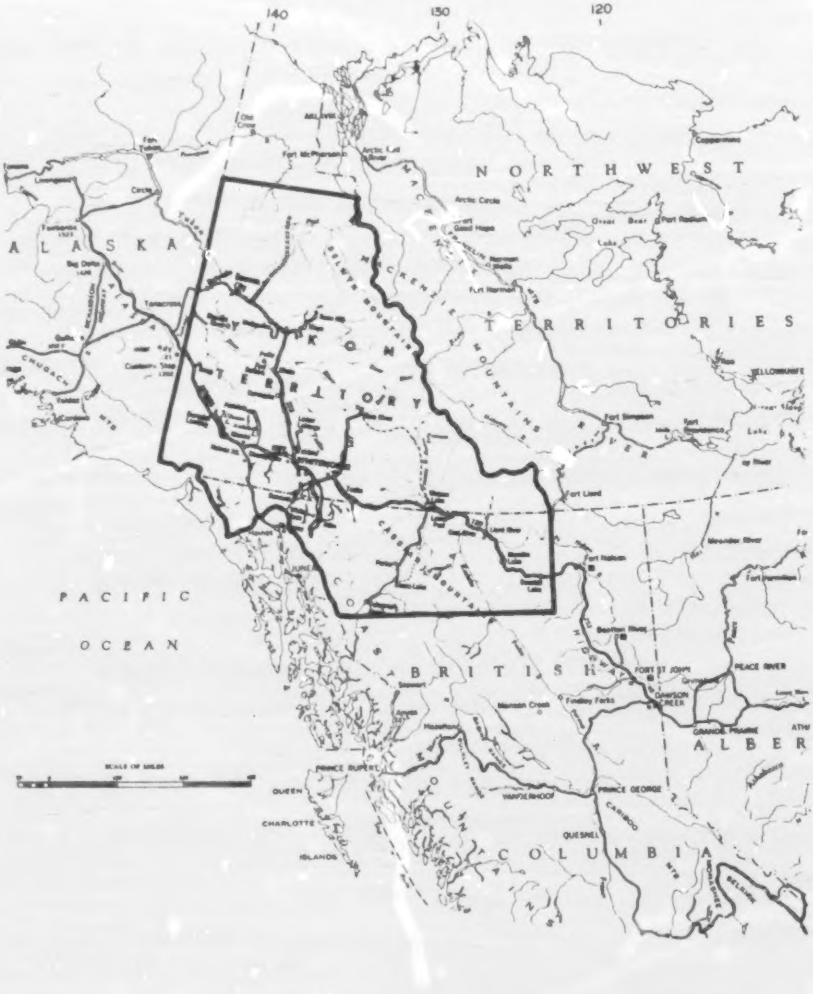
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THE SCHOOL AT MOPASS

A Problem of Identity

A. RICHARD KING
Teachers College, Columbia University

CASE STUDIES IN EDUCATION AND CULTURE

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Memorandum to Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, Re Native Education in Alaska

(From Gary H. Holthaus, development office, Alaska Methodist University, Anchorage, Alaska)

BACKGROUND I. THE INTER-CULTURE CONFLICT AND GEOGRAPHY

The people of Alaska find themselves surrounded by a series of influences that have an unusual effect on the educational processes in the area. Alaska is geographically isolated from the rest of the United States. Communication does exist, but contacts between many villages and the outside world are limited in ways that they are not limited in most other sections of the country. The people themselves are of many backgrounds. There are natives who have been born and raised in the area, representing vestigial remnants of a former culture that subsisted on the products of the sea or tundra, spoke unique languages and adapted to their Northern environment with consummate skill. There are also representatives of a white culture of Anglo-European origins that has intruded upon Alaska since the eighteenth century. The white culture has focused its attention primarily upon the exploitation of the natural resources afforded by the state. The coming of the Russians marked the beginning of the end of the native culture in this part of the United States. Geographical isolation, and the clash between the two cultures, native and white, have left their mark upon students in Alaskan schools.

Native young people reflect the pull between two varying cultures in several ways. Caught between the white and native cultures, they feel the attractiveness of white ways, but cannot totally escape the old ways, even though much of their heritage has been denied them by ignorance. They do not write their old language. Transmission of their heritage in the past depended upon oral tradition, but many of the young people now do not speak the language of their fathers and grandfathers.

The result is that in a peculiar way they are lost. Education does not mean much, for they have no more sense of orientation toward the future than they have toward the past. They do not realize that education will be a benefit. It will not help them catch more fish, for you do not learn fishing techniques studying verbs and subjects, world history, Spanish, typing, chemistry and algebra. Therefore education does not seem to have any valid purpose. A survey of Alaskan native secondary school dropouts revealed that, "If the curriculum taught in the schools does not have a realistic function in the students' society (i.e., is not geared to his future economic potential), it is likely that there will be little motivation to endure the sacrifice associated with the pursuit of an education."[1] In villages where fishing is the primary occupation, education does not seem to "have a realistic function." In the local community there is little or no opportunity to better one's economic status because of an education.

There is no pride in their native heritage. Many seem to be ashamed of the fact that they are native and try to hide it. On the other hand they are not considered by others of their group to be white. They are trapped; suspended between a past that is remote, and a future that is only a vague puzzle. The findings of anthropologist Seymour Parker about the students at Kotzebue would also apply in many other areas of Alaska.

"In a sense the youth of Kotzebue are at a crossroad; they are thinking increasingly in terms of becoming members of the larger American society. At the same time, however, they are confused about what they should accept and reject in Eskimo culture, and they are dubious about the degree to which they will be accepted in white society. Many of them are experiencing doubts about their ability to compete successfully in a relatively strange environment."[2]

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[1] Charles K. Ray, Joan Ryan, Seymour Parker, *Alaskan Native Secondary School Dropouts* (College, Alaska: University of Alaska, 1962), p. 85.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 181.

Students of all ages are aware of the problem they face in regard to identification with one another of the two cultures present. Sometimes there is a division within a family in attitudes toward this problem. One boy, conversing with his teacher, made the comment that he couldn't see why some kids seemed ashamed of being native. He added that he was part native himself and it didn't make any difference to him. The boy's sister was also in the classroom and heard the discussion. She shouted, "———, you ain't native!" A student caught this way cannot assert his native quality without risk of disapproval from his peers; neither can he deny it with honesty and integrity. He knows he is native. Telling him to forget it does not make him white.

The problems caused by this cultural and geographical isolation have been recognized in many areas of the state of Alaska.

The native student is removed from the native way of life, but he has not fully entered the white culture and so is unprepared for much that assaults him in the strange atmosphere of school. Lee H. Salisbury, of the University of Alaska, describes the native student as he attempts to learn from a standard grade school text:

"(the student) enters a completely foreign setting—the western classroom situation. His teacher is likely to be a Caucasion who knows little or nothing about his cultural background. He is taught to read the 'Dick and Jane' series.

"Many things confuse him: Dick and Jane are two white children who play together constantly. Yet he knows that boys and girls do not play together and do not share toys. They have a dog named Spot who runs around yapping and does not work. They have a father who leaves for some mysterious place called 'office' each day and never brings any food home with him. He drives a machine called an automobile on a hard covered road called a street which has a policeman on each corner. These policemen always smile, wear funny clothing and spend their time helping children across the street. Why do these children need this help?

"Dick and Jane's mother spend a lot of time in the kitchen cooking a strange food called 'cookies' on a stove which has no flame. But the most bewildering part is yet to come. One day they drive out to the country which is a place where Dick and Jane's grandparents are kept. They do not live with the family and they are so glad to see Dick and Jane that one is certain they have been ostracized from the rest of the family for some terrible reason.

"The old people live on something called a 'farm' which is a place where many strange animals are kept—a peculiar beast called a 'cow', some odd looking birds called 'chickens', which don't seem to fly, and a 'horse', which looks like a deformed moose.

"And so on. For the next twelve years the process goes on. The native child continues to learn this new language which is of no earthly use to him at home and which seems completely unrelated to the world of sky, birds, snow, ice and tundra which he sees around him."[3]

There are some who say that the Alaska native should not be encouraged to join the white culture which he sees about him. Schools and other institutions should forego their efforts to make something other than primitive natives of these people. But this is not possible, and hardly fair.

"The Alaska native is also a living, breathing human being who has been touched by Western civilization. And like people from Sarawak to the edge of the Sahara—people who have lagged behind the advancement of human knowledge—he is increasingly anxious to share in the wealth and opportunity he sees about him.

"Some Alaska natives successfully have made the transition from the old culture to the new. Most have not, despite the tens of millions of dollars spent annually by the federal and state governments in their behalf. Many live in conditions that match or surpass urban U.S. slums. Their educational progress remains well below that of non-natives who share Alaska with them. Jobs are scarce in the villages and job opportunities are not much better if they move to a larger settlement. The welfare check, in many cases, is a way of life.

"But since the first whaling vessel reached the Alaska coast, the native has been increasingly unable to retain the purity of his culture. The past is fast closing in behind him. The future is not rapidly opening before him."[4]

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[3] Lee H. Salisbury, "Communication and the Native Student," *The Alaska Review* (Anchorage, Alaska: Alaska Methodist University, Vol. II, No. 2, 1966), p. 15.

[4] Staff of the Anchorage Daily News, The Village People (Anchorage, Alaska: The Daily News, 1966), p. 43.

Regardless of the difficulties, native people have a right not only to desire a place in the majority culture of their country; they have a right to active participation in that culture so they may find a place that has meaning for them. This will require the sacrifice of many long-cherished values and many of the traditional ways of their older society. "Such a process must be a voluntary one; still there are myriad evidences to support the claim that the people themselves desire the change."[5]

BACKGROUND II. EDUCATIONAL FACTORS

The impact of these circumstances on the average student can be marked by a low level of aspiration. His whole situation conspires to defeat him before his life is well begun. He has little hope of bettering himself in the future. In fact his old cultural pattern tells him that he should be as good as—but no better than—his father in the various masculine skills. Therefore he hopes to be as good a fisherman, as good a hunter or trapper, as well-educated as his father; but he often has little desire beyond this. Educators need to be aware of this cultural force on the formation of the students' attitudes, and levels of aspiration. Children from differing socio-economic levels in a community differ in eagerness and aptitude for learning pursuits, according to Bernard. "Much as we dislike the notion of social class in a democratically oriented America, the fact is that membership in a given social class provides privilege for some and imposes deprivation for others . . . lower class pupils absorb from parents a skepticism about education that imposes the double problem of adjusting to another culture and adjusting to the curriculum . . ."[6]

In some areas of Alaska, particularly where fishing is the major resource, economics also may work against the educator. What education offers does not seem as remunerative as the mythological remuneration afforded by the red salmon runs. Young men of high school age may occasionally catch enough fish to make their income higher than their teachers. When a teacher labors for $8,000 for 9 months and his student may earn $10,000 or more in one summer month, education does not seem either desirable or necessary. In a private conversation one school superintendent in Bristol Bay put this fact into words: "You will never educate these kids until you dry up the bay!" But the reality of the fishery as an economic resource is that the average income earned through fishing is much less than teachers' except for once every five years when the runs are large. A more apt description of the fisheries as an economic resource expressed by one resident is that "fishing is like playing Russian roulette with a revolver only one cylinder of which is empty." Economic factors inhibit normal school progress not only through their negative effect on motivation of students, but because the fishing and hunting endeavors are considered (sometimes justifiably in this economy), as sufficient reason to miss school.

In the Alaskan research on dropouts, interviews showed that inferiority feelings may bring an end to education altogether, and that the negative effects of the way we have put these people down through our educational programs may cause early dropout from school.

". . . self-images of these students were imbued with deep feelings of inadequacy and inferiority. Such a devalued student image was very prevalent, and its existence was confirmed by many teachers. Both teachers and native students noted that one of the important reasons for school dropouts and the lack of motivation to enter high school stemmed from students feelings of inadequacy in dealing with the difficulties of the curriculum. This deep-seated, negative attitude is often transmitted to the student early in his educational career while he is trying to learn strange and often meaningless facts in a language over which he has little command."[7]

The negative self-image is reinforced by both the promotion system in the schools and by attitudes, both conscious and unconscious, of the teachers. A study of 760 elementary school dropouts by Overstreet revealed that "49 per cent of these students had been retarded *five or more years and that only one per cent were at normal grade placement.*"[8] Another seven per cent were nine or more years retarded.[9]

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[5] Ray, Ryan, Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

[6] Harold W. Bernard, *Psychology of Learning and Teaching* (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1965), p. 379.

[7] Ray, Ryan, Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

[9] *Ibid.*

The teacher, too, often reinforces the feelings of inadequacy, Racism, overt or unconscious, within both the state system and the B.I.A. schools, is a plaque that erects barriers between many teachers and their students. An inherent belief that our culture is better than the pupils is expressed in differing ways every day. Expressions such as "dumb native" are too common to be other than tragic. Often the teacher is led to believe this stereotyped image by the results achieved on standardized tests which are designed to be given to middle-class, American, white children in the lower states. One example of this will suffice. A reading readiness test shows some automobile tires and asks students to identify what kind of vehicle they belong on. All the members of one first grade class in Bristol Bay answered that they belong on a boat. Any child in the lower states knows that tires belong on cars, so according to the test answer, these students were wrong. A teacher who does not have an understanding of local cultures may feel that the students were not only wrong but that a mistake on such a simple problem indicates that the students are "dumb." But it is the test, and the teacher, that do not know the correct answer to the test question. In Bristol Bay the most common use of tires is to hang them over the side of a fishing boat for use as "fenders" or cushions to keep the boats from being scarred by contact with docks, scows, and other boats. Even the youngest children are smart enough to know this and are mystified by the ignorance of the test's "correct" answer.

Another way in which teachers reinforce feelings of inadequacy and inferiority was revealed in the dropout research from the University of Alaska. Teachers expressed the idea that "the only hope" for the native student was for him to go to boarding school and thus be removed from the influence of home and community.[10] The implication of this idea is that home and community must therefore be a bad influence and that the sooner the old village ways are gone the better for young people. "Results of such beliefs when stated implicity—and in some cases explicitly—led to feelings in the community that there was something 'wrong' with being native. Subsequent attitudes of defensiveness and inferiority established barriers between the teacher and the child which will not easily be overcome."[11]

This is perhaps the saddest school failure of all. Indeed, some critics of Indian school policies have said that the "most damaging of all . . . is not the educational failure, but the psychological impact of years of nation-wide effort—in which the schools played a key part—to convince the Indian, however subtly, of the irrelevance of his culture . . . and to press him, however unwillingly and unsuccessfully, into the American urban-industrial-middle-class mold."[12]

The Bureau of Indian Affairs educational policy seems bent on cultural genocide, and involves a kind of psychological murder. The insidious and subtle goal of Indian education is reflected in this statement from a Bureau of Indian Affairs publication.

"If Indians are to become mature in the white man's culture, it is essential that schools expose Indian children to experiences, situations and ideas that are basic to our cultural assumptions.

"A more rapid means by which to accomplish the same goal would be to marry off all the Indians to non-Indians, so that the children of the mixed marriages would actually live with aspects of non-Indian culture. As we will continue to have full-bloods with us for many generations, the school must serve as the culture spreading medium."[13]

This apparently benign concern implies the ultimate destruction of Indian ways and peoples. It raises many questions. Why shouldn't we plan to have full-bloods forever instead of for many generations? Why should the school be a "culture spreading medium" in only one direction, from white to Indian? Why not let the school be a true culture spreading medium with a mutual sharing of cultural identities? As Byler points out, "the impact of what has been called 'acculturation by alienation' has been disastrous."[14] The extent of the impact, according to Byler, can be measured by the statistics of Indian alcoholism, unemployment, divorce, child abandonment, suicides, assaults, delinquency and emotional disturbance. The Indian student confronting this kind of basically destructive attitude in the school must "choose between contradictory sets of values and attitudes." [15]

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[10] *Ibid.*, p. 326.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 327.

[12] William Byler, "The Disaster of Indian Schools," in *Education News* (New York: Vol 2, No. 7, April 8, 1968), p. 14.

[13] Willard W. Beatty, *Education for Cultural Change* (Chilocco, Oklahoma: Chilocco Indian Agricultural School, 1953), p. 238.

[14] Byler, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

"He is placed, in Dr. Zaslow's words, in the 'ambivalent situation of having to make a choice between the middle-class values of the school system and the traditional values of his family and tribal heritage; and whatever his choice, facing negative consequences and/or alienation from the discarded source.'

"Many simply make no choice at all and make what amounts to a psychological retreat, thereby acquiring the characteristics so many teachers and principals complain marks so many Indian students: passivity, inaction, apathy, low achievement." [16]

The immediate problem facing a teacher who is new to Alaska and confronted with a class in which the students are mostly native is communication. The teacher, because of his training and years on a college campus, is apt to have a blasé attitude toward culture. To talk knowingly about art, science, world events, is normal. But this is a world about which the student has only the most limited knowledge. Words may not trigger the same reaction in a student that they do in a teacher. Thus, when "Peter Pan" is mentioned in Naknek Village, the teacher's mind begins to associate with James Barrie, a little boy who never grew up, the English theatre, and whatever else may come to his mind from that point. But the student's mind immediately begins to think of a cannery. "Peter Pan," is the name of an old cannery, well-known throughout the bay. Thus his mind moves in the direction of fish, boats, nets, and the sea, while his teacher is thinking of something involved with the other side of the earth and totally foreign to his student. The breakdown in communications in this situation is complete.

Since the teacher is the stranger in town, and in the minority group in the village, much of the burden and effort required to develop understanding falls on him. His training and background should make the task easier for him. "Since teachers are in the position of authority and control and possess key professional training, it would seem reasonable to hope that school personnel would become familiar with community traditions in the hope of achieving better understanding of the people among whom they work." [17] Many teachers don't accomplish this understanding simply because material is not available in a usable package.

In addition, "new teachers are often too isolated or too busy with adjustments to a new location to be able to locate informative source materials." [18]

BACKGROUND III. STATISTICS

This general Alaskan Cultural problem works hardships that are reflected in statistics. "Of the 5,368 native students who were of secondary school age in 1960, 1,832 or only 34.10 percent were actually enrolled in high school." [19] Drop out rates as high as sixty percent of total enrollment were found in B.I.A. schools in grades one through eight. "While transfers from Bureau of Indian Affairs school might account for a fractional portion of the loss, the major cause is simply early dropout." [20] Surveys have disclosed that of the students who manage to stay in school through the high school years, half will not complete their freshman year of college and less than two percent are likely to continue till they receive a Bachelor's Degree. [21] The University of Alaska study also showed that, "Of 19,447 non-white adults twenty-five years of age and older residing in Alaska in 1960, 7,503 had received fewer than five years of formal schooling. 3,415 non-white adults had no formal schooling; and the median number of years of schooling completed by these Alaskan citizens is a disturbing six and six-tenths years." [22]

The evidence for the greater remunerative rewards for education is reflected in statistics compiled for an area study of Bristol Bay by the Alaska State Housing Authority. King Salmon, of three vilages in the region that were compared, has the highest grade-level of completed education, and also the highest income. Heads of households in King Salmon averaged 12.7 years of education. Income averaged $11,150.00. In Naknek, 18 miles away, the head of a household averages 9.5 years of education and earns an average of $6,520. In South Naknek, just across the river, the education completed by the average head of a household is 6.5. The average income is $3,210. The per capita incomes in the same villages reveals an even more radical drop in income. King Salmon's average per capita income is $3,266; Naknek's average per capita is $1,388; but South Naknek with an educational average approximately one-third that of King Salmon shows an average per capita income of $683 or about one-fifth the amount earned in King Salmon.[23] The above statistics reflect averages compiled of both natives and non-natives. Only Naknek and South Naknek report native heads of households, but in both villages native families reflect educational levels little more than one-half that of non-natives. Naknek shows 11.7 years of education for whites, but only 7.5 for natives, while South Naknek shows a level of 10.3 years for whites, and only 515 for native heads of households.[24] Yet prestige in the community has no connection with education. Prestige is awarded to fishing skill. The man who is respected is the "high-liner", the man who catches the most salmon during the summer run. Young people, however, need to be helped to understand that education has value in and of itself, and that in the long run it is also more remunerative.

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[15] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] Ray, Ryan, Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

[18] Arnold Granville, "Objectives for a Teaching Resource Unit on Alaska," a paper presented to the Eighth Alaskan Science Conference, Anchorage, Alaska, 1957, from *Science in Alaska 1957*, pp. 154–155.

[19] Ray, Ryan, Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

[21] Anchorage Daily News, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[22] Ray, Ryan, Parker, *op. cit.*, pp. 3–4.

RECOMMENDATIONS I. SOME POSSIBLE PROGRAMS

It is believed that two major steps could be taken to deal with the problems described to this point:

1. Develop a social studies curriculum for the elementary grades that would be geared to teaching the native youngster about his own culture. This would include units on language, cultural characteristics, customs, history and folklore. It would require the writing of our own textbooks and reading materials, drawing up a list of suggested activities for individual students and the class as a whole, listing resources available and developing a course outline to be used as a study guide.
2. Develop a social studies unit that could be incorporated into an Alaska history course, or, better, be taught as an elective semester course at the secondary level. This would help meet the need of our older students in a remedial, short-range approach.

The purpose of these programs would be to involve the native student in his own "nativity" in such a way that he would come to know and appreciate his own cultural heritage. This would make him better able to adapt wisely to other cultures. The instilling of pride in his heritage would serve to undergird and support the student psychologically and combat the expectancy of failure. The heritage of the Alaska native is one of highly successful adaptation to a difficult and hostile environment. The student needs to become aware of the prowess and adaptability of his people. It is believed that this would help change the self-image of many of the students in Alaska. That it is important for persons to hold an estimable self-image is a fact attested by psychologists. "From birth to death the defense of the phenomenal self is the most pressing, most crucial, if not the only task of existence. Moreover, since human beings are conscious of the future, their needs extend into the future as well, and they strive to preserve not only the self as it exists but to build it up and to strengthen it against the future of which they are aware."[25] This may account for the fact that many students who are disinterested in normal academic subjects in Alaska are intensely interested in discovering more about their own cultural backgrounds and heritage.

Other programs might include the following:

1. A comprehensive vocational program that would lead to the trades or semi-professional occupations such as forestry, typing, office practices, commercial cooking. As a correlative program develop shorter courses leading directly to employment in Alaskan communities—garage work, construction, carpentry. Perhaps a program like that at the Opportunity School in Denver or in the Northland Schools of Alberta, Canada, would be a good guide for this attempt.

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[23] Bristol Bay Borough Comprehensive Development Plan (Juneau, Alaska: Alaska State Housing Authority, 1966), pp. 51 and 88.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 88.

[25] Donald Snygg and Arthur W. Combs, *Individual Behavior* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1949), p. 58.

2. A first year course in oral English, based on a linguistic approach, for grade one, so that a fair proficiency in speech could be attained by those native students whose homes still use native languages. Then the reading program could be tackled.

3. A series of readers for the elementary grades which are realistically related to the way of life of the pupils and refer to economic, social and cultural activities with which the pupils can identify themselves.

4. A museum of artifacts could be developed in many villages. Village people often have examples of old crafts, artifacts, and historical documents and items that are suitable for display. Because they are dispersed throughout the community they have little impact. But if a display case (even a discarded one from the local store, or one made especially for the purpose at the school shop) could be set in a hallway at the school, the material collected could have a decided impact on native pride and concern for their heritage. Credit could be given to the owners of the items.

6. Library development is important. A simple project would be to set aside a special area in the school library that is reserved for good books about Alaska history, culture, geography, art, anthropology.

7. Develop lists of resource people in the villages who could assist teachers in preparing materials; teach units on language; relate the "old ways" to students; share insights on local history. These teachers' aides should receive appropriate remuneration for these important educational tasks. They should *not* be used only to crank the mimeograph, help take off children's boots and coats, or exclusively to do those other non-educational tasks that are an annoyance to the regular teacher.

The final three suggestions could be implemented in local situations by teachers or administrators. These programs do not necessarily require massive doses of federal monies, nor should they put great strain on local budgets.

RECOMMENDATIONS II. SOME NEW GOALS FOR NATIVE EDUCATION

The following are goals for classroom work in Alaskan villages. They do not include certain traditional educational goals such as a list of historical concepts or mathematical concepts which ought to be learned. They deal rather with a more personalized change in student attitudes.

1. The self-image of native students must be enhanced through the relationship between teacher and pupil.

2. Student self-image should be enhanced through the materials used in the classroom. That is, appreciation for and understanding of local culture and geography should be expressed in both curriculum and materials.

3. Understanding and appreciation for cultures indigenous to Alaska should be increased.

4. A psychological foundation of pride in one's cultural heritage and in one's own personhood should be fostered.

5. The options available to native students should be realistically discussed and the alternatives explored thoroughly. For instance: What is a man to do with his life? What does his own heritage expect or demand? What does the white culture expect? Are there ways in which expectations of both cultures can be met? What programs—local, federal, BIA—are available?

6. Serious attention should be given to the ways in which culture works. The methods by which one can function and maneuver within a strange culture ought to be pointed out explicitly.

7. While learning about one's heritage is crucial, it should also be pointed out that the purpose of studying the past is never to keep students harnessed in the old ways. Knowledge of one's heritage is necessary for pride, for self-orientation, for intellectural interest. But present and future years will make demands which are radically different from those made on parents or grandparents. The most aggressively adaptable people, who are flexible enough to retain the best wisdom from their heritage, and yet willing to try new ways and experiment with new forms of social structure and personal life, will have best chance of dealing with the culture that is emerging in Alaska.

RECOMMENDATION III. SOME CURRENT PROPOSALS AND ACTIVITIES

Present activities known to the writer include the following. There may be others.

1. The Rural Teacher Program at the University of Alaska seeks to train teachers specifically for service in Alaskan bush schools.

2. The Northwest Regional Educational Research Laboratory has been developing a series of readers for elementary students which will reflect the characteristics of Alaskan culture. These are being used on a trial basis this year.

3. The same organization is conducting seminars in sensitivity training and higher-level thinking processes for Alaskan teachers and administrators.

4. Alaska Methodist University is currently training teachers and assistants for Head-Start work in Alaskan villages. Child-rearing procedures, child psychology, early childhood education are topics covered in sequences of from one to four years.

5. Guidelines have been laid down for development of an experimental program at the Beltz School in Nome. This would provide for a special social studies class dealing with Eskimo culture.

Alaska Methodist University has two Educational Personnel Development proposals that deal directly with important problem areas in native education.

1. Teaching Disadvantaged Alaskan Eskimo and Indian Youth. This program is designed to retrain teachers and aides in isolated rural Alaskan schools with special emphasis on the teaching of English as a second language and development of supplementary curriculum materials utilizing regional cultural resources.

2. Inter-Cultural Curricula in the Pacific Basin: A Project in Inter-Cultural Educational Personnel Development. The program seeks to design and experiment with inte-cultural curricula for use in the public schools in Alaska, American Samoa, and the Pacific Slope. The purpose of such curricula would be to make the educational processes relevant to these isolated areas; to promote achievement of native students; to develop cultural pride and democratic participation among the peoples of these areas.

Both of the above proposals depend on funding by the Office of Education, but no word has been received as yet.

The University of Alaska has three proposals pending funding.

1. A pilot inservice workshop for pupil personnel workers, teachers and administrators for schools in Alaska. This is a program to upgrade skills of present workers and develop communications skills.

2. A planning, pilot and operating project for the training of administrators, supervisors and guidance personnel for the culturally-disadvantaged rural schools of Alaska. This is a training program to improve education for rural schools.

3. The Improvement of Reading Instruction in Alaskan Rural Schools. This seems self-explanatory.

Status of these proposals is unknown to the writer. There are no doubt other activities and proposed activities through the State Department of Education, Bureau of Indian Affairs or other agencies, but they are not programs with which I have any contact.

TERWILLIGER'S GENERAL MERCHANDISE,
Tok, Alaska, April 1, 1969.

DEAR SENATOR KENNEDY: We Kennedy fans spoke to you at the Sitka convention asking for help in getting an Indian boarding house here so the children from local villages could go to high school.

We sent our material to Senator Robert as you told us. Alas that was not to be.

Senator Gruening got us the use of two duplex apts. that were standing idle belonging to the Alaska Communications System (A.A.F.).

The kids are jammed in like sardines but it is very successful.

Fairbanks is no place to send young kids away from home, always a boom town now it is going to be more so on account of oil.

They are able here to go home weekends, their parents attend the local basketball games in the school gym, we all mix up together on the bleachers and yell for OUR TEAM. In fact two boys who were in Fairbanks from Eagles screamed until they brought them out here.

We have a fine school, good teachers who are interested in the kids.

If the government sells the ACS as they are trying to we need a building for a boarding school, or the use of the two we now use.

Also Fairbanks now has a big drive on in the paper claim 50% kids on dope. Concerned parents organization etc. No place for our kids.

The villages who come here are Tetlin, Northway, Eagle, Tanacross, Mentasta and Dot Lake. We all know each other; it is a good setup.

Yours,

MELLIE TERWILLIGER.

P.S.—I am keeping my supply of Kennedy buttons. Couldn't bear to throw them away.

We gals who went to Sitka to see Robert would love to go to Anchorage or Fairbanks to see you, but only if there will be an occasion. We want you to take care of yourself and keep rested up.

A friend just phoned a young Indian boy 18 found frozen to death between a bar and a house. He should have been in school. Was a dropout.

St. Mary's Catholic Church,
St. Marys, Alaska, May 30, 1969.

Senator Ted Stevens,
U.S. Senator for Alaska,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Stevens: In a recent news letter you stated that Congress was publishing a book containing the eulogies in memory of the late E. L. "Bob" Bartlett. I admired the late Senator as a man dedicated to, always ready to listen to the people of Alaska, and would like to have a copy of this book if it is still available.

As an Alaskan, I, for one, thank you and especially Senator Edward Kennedy for visiting the villages of Alaska. And, I am grateful that you did not let party politics effect your visit. I have been a missionary for over a decade among the native people of Alaska—in fact I had spent the Easter holidays at Pilot Station and left snow machine just the day before you arrived there—and it is so seldom that the influential people of Washington, D.C. actually visit and see what conditions in "the bush" are really like. I think it is unfortunate that there are those that would like to turn such occasions into a political football.

May I be so bold as to mention some of the poor conditions that you may have seen or heard about.

For example, when you were at Pilot Station you could not have helped but notice that the people have no running water in their homes, not even into the village. Yet the B.I.A. must have spent thousands of dollars for a water system there. Some seven years ago, a well was driven but it turned out to be bad water. Then they put in a small dam. In the "lower 48" it would undoubtedly work well, but here, where every particle or moisture freezes, expands and thaws again, anything can happen. And it did! Each year the dam has had to be repaired. Meanwhile, up the valley about a quarter-of-a-mile, is a beautiful spring that runs the year around. It must be good water as I and others have carried water from there at different times, for a number of years, and we are still alive. With a minimum of cost, and engineering, I'm confident that a gravity flow system of good water could be provided for the village and the B.I.A.

Or, perhaps you may have noticed, that despite the quite complete B.I.A. plant, there is not a shower for the women and children of the village. The men do take sweat baths, but the women and children seldom bathe the year around. Where there is a tremendous need for sanitation and cleanliness for the health of the people, even a single shower for women and children would be a help.

Perhaps also, you may have heard of the request of the Eskimo parents, of the villages, back in 1962, for the use of the vacated Air Force buildings at Bethel to be used as a boarding High School for their High School aged children. The B.I.A. took it over and spent hundreds of thousands of dollars in remodeling a building—for their purposes—which was already excellently designed for boarding facilities.

The people see these things but seem to have little recourse. I have spoken, for some, to various visiting local officials, but the usual response is that no money has been allocated for that purpose or that Washington, D.C. dictates a certain policy should be followed, e.g. drilling a deep well.

Meanwhile, alcoholism is becoming more and more of a problem. Perhaps it is an escape for them from the harsh living conditions they experience, and the ideal which they can see, but alone cannot achieve.

Enclosed (thermofaxed letters) is an incident of the past, which shows what happened on an official basis. The Eskimo gentlemen involved, resigned after becoming confused and frustrated. After complying with all the directives of the first letter, and the said District Judge appearing at St. Marys and swearing in Mr. Tyson, on, or about, August 8 (of that year), the second letter arrived! Who wouldn't be confused!

No doubt you heard much more, but it is on such occasions when you visit us that the people have an opportunity of speaking with you.

In August, Senator, we have been annually holding a convention at St. Marys. Though the primary purpose of this convention is an atmosphere of spiritual and moral renewal, it is aimed also at providing an opportunity for the people to visit one another, socialize, and share cultural ideas. In the past years Eskimo people from some 10 to 12 villages up and down the Lower Yukon River have been attending. This year it will begin on the evening of August 12 and continue through the 15th. Usually August 15 is the big day. You are cordially invited to attend.

Sincerely and respectfully yours,

Rev. PAUL B. MUELLER, S.J.

Attachments.

SUPERIOR COURT, STATE OF ALASKA,
Nome, Alaska, August 1, 1967.

Mr. WILLIAM TYSON,
St. Mary's, Alaska.

DEAR MR. TYSON: I have your letter of July 27. I will do my best to answer the questions as fairly as I can.

I believe under the circumstances you should resign from the City Board of Trustees at the time you are appointed magistrate. I intend to appoint you magistrate effective August 15, 1967.

You will be receiving a safe and books from Ludvig Ost, the former magistrate who lives at Fortuna Ledge. You are to take this State property, secure it, protect it, and place it in a place where it will not be destroyed or damaged and utilize it as magistrate.

I will endeavor to come to St. Marys and help train you for a few days or District Judge Maurice Kelliher will come down and assist you.

The City Council should: 1. as soon as possible pass city laws; 2. appoint a city policeman and 3. have a place of confinement or jail for any persons who violate the law who come before you.

I am sending to the City Council the things that they should do in order to keep the magistrate there. If I can be of further assistance to you please so advise.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM H. SANDERS.

SUPERIOR COURT, STATE OF ALASKA,
Nome, Alaska, August 25, 1967.

Mr. WILLIAM TYSON,
St. Mary's, Alaska.

DEAR MR. TYSON: I have received your application for magistrate for the Wade Hampton District and am considering it along with other applications.

Judge Kelliher mentioned to me that you may be building a building or doing other things thinking perhaps that you were the only applicant for the job. This letter is to notify you that your name will be given every consideration for the position but that you should not make any commitments depending upon the position until I have actually appointed you.

This letter is written in the hope that you will not commit yourself to any expenses or resign from the City Council until after you have received an appointment.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM H. SANDERS.

"ARCTIC NATIVE BROTHERHOOD," SUMMARY BY JEROME TRIGG, NOME, ALASKA

Majority of the people both native and white that I talk to feel that Nome Public School should not be built by Beltz School.

There seems to one or two problems, Nome School kids may or would be set back in assignment to compare with Beltz students, or Beltz students that are taking special teaching to catch up grades to their ages would have to be lowered in grades.

Nome public school should be built in different town area.

That Beltz be a good vocational training high school along with high school curriculum. That None public school students that want to take vocational training could take courses at Beltz according to teaching space. Also Beltz students that just want to take academic with plans of going to college be able to attend Nome Public School full time. This exchange system would be most beneficial to our native children also would leave free the availability of student housing at Beltz for village children.

The natives feel that all high school students are not college material, therefore good vocational training should be available.

But "good advisor" should be in school system to encourage student with good ability to go to college.

Along with plans for a Beltz School gym and swimming pool should be included. Though we live near the sea very few natives know how to swim. Several children drown every year because they don't know how to stay afloat. We would like a swimming pool at Beltz School area for all kids to learn to swim and for recreation, as recreation is very limited in the short days of winter.

Grade school children are divided into two or three groups of the same grade and are taught accordingly. They do not compete with better students so they do not do their best. These are the thinking of many parents. These children are given test at beginning of school and placed in different rooms according to their test. Usually it looks like they are just separating the natives from other races. Although they claim this will change and use an Alphabet system.

No school bus is provided and should be for King Island area and FAA area located near airport.

One of the most important factors is that some text books should be used throughout the state. By State BIA school and others different text books in different schools creates a hardship among our Nomadic natives as they move to other areas in search of work.

Any plan to teach native children near home is welcomed. We hope with high schools there will also be a Junior College in our area soon.

Most of talented natives are lured away to other area and other states because lack of jobs and lack of proper job placement officers. Thus leaving up with very little talent to work with.

To be a good student one must havce comfortable home. I am not speaking of elaborate homes, but a home that comfortable with adequate room. Most of the natives are living in kitchen and living room with no bedroom or toilet facilities. Many as 10 persons live in one room. This is a problem one cannot study at home, or take a bath. Much skin sore are predominant on native children. Being crowded at home the kids are playing in street till late at night and leave home at an early age.

Nome being one of the many places with poorest housing is always shot down. They say we can go to Bank and borrow to build houses. But the bank won't lend money to these poor natives. They say Bartlett housing Bill does not fit Nome but only to villages. But these same people are moving to Nome in hopes of bettering themselves.

There is very little poverty program in Nome and Nome area All proposals are not funded and the local cap board has given up after three years of trying. Headstart, child area centers, bath houses for King Islanders and other natives, help yourself home repair, all these have never been funded—they say there is no money.

One Vista worker is doing wonders for church kindergarten is doing wonders but this is for very few. If these something like Vista workers to help school student in certain location of the town this would be good.

As I stated there are no bath house facilities this creates a health problem also creates a personality problem as a native child will have a strong odor. Thus making a native an unwelcome in the white society. This is not just in King Island village, but exists all over Nome which is made up of many villages.

Very little is being done to preserve the Native culture, both by natives or others.

It is hoped by native leaders that natives of Alaska will get a substantial land settlement. Through Native Development Corporation we will put some of our miserable homes aside and live in warm and clean homes, upgrade our standards of living schooling and improve our health and education standard.

TLINGIT AND HAIDA INDIANS OF ANCHORAGE,
Anchorage, Alaska, April 10, 1969.

Senator EDWARD M. KENNEDY,
Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR KENNEDY: Enclosed is a deposition submitted in lieu of our appearance before your subcommittee during your recent tour of Alaska Native villages.

Although the members of this organization now live in the urban area of Anchorage, we all came from villages and we still have relatives there. We feel that we have, perhaps, some insights as to the problems of growing up in the villages and then moving into the competitive atmosphere of an Alaskan city. We have made the so-called transition, often in spite of tremendous odds, but we also recognise that there are many pitfalls yet in our way. We also recognise the immense difficulty facing the Native people, young and old, when they are required to give up an old and familiar culture without being adequately trained in the ways of the new one that will take its place.

At any rate, we hope that you will consider these views as a part of the total picture of Native educational needs in Alaska.

We wish your subcommittee, and you, every success in your attempts to alleviate conditions that can only get worse with the passage of time—if something isn't done soon.

Most sincerely,

LOUIS F. JACQUOT,
President.

THE EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF THE ALASKA NATIVE PEOPLE

(By the Tlingit & Haida Indians of Anchorage, Anchorage, Alaska)

Although education, in and of itself, is not a panacea for the ills of society, the American Experiment has shown that education is the most effective vehicle available in the acculturative process. Historically, wave after wave of peoples with a wide variety of cultural backgrounds have settled in the New World—French, Dutch, Germans, Jews, Irish, Italians, Slavs, Chinese and Japanese. At first, they tended to form sub-communities within the cities and remained relatively aloof from the larger society around them. By the second generation, however, the young began to move into the larger society and soon became an integral part of it. This process was considerably accelerated in the latter half of the nineteenth and the first part of the twentieth centuries as the nation embarked on the great experiment with mass education.

Acculturation has always been a two-way street—more so in America than anywhere else. For while the minority was being educated in the ways of the majority culture, they were also able to exert a considerable influence, by way of the democratic process, on the makeup of the overall society that emerged. (In a word, the process was one of amalgamation rather than of absorption.) As a result, American society has never been static—it is eclectic, ever changing and flexible. Problems and intolerable conditions that afflicted the Old World were more often than not resolved in the New.

To take into its bosom a diverse peoples, to change them, and in the process to be changed by them has long been an American trait much admired the world over. And in the end, this will have been America's greatest contribution to Civilization.

(It appears that a major contributing factor to the racial and ethnic unrest sweeping our nation today has been a breakdown in this amalgamative process. For while the Negro has been told to join the society, he has been hemmed in and his talents and creative energies have been diverted.)

The Tlingit and Haida people, along with Alaska's other Native peoples, propose to use education in the same manner. They know that the old ways are fast disappearing, and that they and their children must change with the times if they are to survive. They also know that education is one method of becoming acculturated within a short period of time—for they have seen sons and daughters go through the process in one generation. Yet they also desire to retain that which they know is right and has value. Therefore, they propose that they will become so much a part of the culture that will emerge, that many of their ideas and ways will be accepted and that many of the problems now afflicting the state and nation may be ameliorated. However, the Native people are not able to gain this new education by themselves at this time—they need massive help from the society at large. The scale of the assistance required may be surmised from the following facts:

> After 100 years under the American Flag the illiteracy rate in the Southwest and Northwest regions (almost wholly Native) runs between 22 and 12%. (For the U.S. 2.2%; for the state 3.5%.)
>
> The vast bulk of the Native people who have attended school have received less than an eighth grade education.
>
> Less than 200 of the state's 54,000 Natives have graduated from college.
>
> Native unemployment figures, even in the cities, indicate a rate three times that of the general population.
>
> Per capita income in predominantly Native regions remains half that of the other regions.
>
> Prospective and projective population figures indicate that a mass movement of Natives from the villages to the urban centers of the state will take place within the next three decades.
>
> Alcoholism, disease and mental health problems are most acute among those Natives who have moved to urban areas without adequate education, and who thus cannot compete on an even footing either for jobs or training programs.
>
> Yet those Natives who have had an opportunity to receive full-scope education (i.e., first grade through college) do as well or better than immigrants to the state.

In other words, a specter of massive dislocations of one-fifth of this state's population portends tremendous problems for the society in the near future. If these people were properly educated and had the tools to compete in an industrial society, they would be contributors to that society rather than a potential threat. A crisis is approaching, and it is plainly written for all to see.

The Congress has before it now, or will in this session, a bill that proposes to extinguish Native claims to the land for a large cash settlement. A multi-million dollar Native Development Corporation is to be set up that will, in ten years, be controlled by the Natives themselves. The reasoning is that the settlement monies will not be dissipated, but will be invested for the benefit of the people in perpetuity. But the basic problem still remains: where are these trained Native leaders to come from?

In order to prepare the people for the immediate future, various Native groups in Anchorage have, during this past winter, been encouraging those with potential skills to return to school either for retraining programs, college, or graduate work in crucial areas. The Bureau of Indian Affairs and other agencies were contacted in hopes of locating funding programs. (Many of the people with high skill potential are justifiably reluctant to leave their jobs when, in addition to loss of salary, they must contemplate spending $15,000 for a BA degree and another $15,000 for the Ph.D.) Some help was obtained, but by and large many excellent programs remained mere paper programs because they were not properly funded. For example, the Bureau of Indian Affairs has a very good grant-in-aid program for Native undergraduates, but has great difficulty in providing meaningful help for all those who are interested and eligible. Furthermore, the program does not include graduate students because of the lack of funds.

The state has established a system of State Operated Schools throughout the rural areas, and is in the process of absorbing Bureau of Indian Affairs schools whenever feasible. The State Constitution requires that the state provide an equal education to all of the children of the state, but again this is not always the case because of funding problems. For one thing, federal aid funds are placed directly in the state's General Fund and thence appropriated by the Legislature. Too often, urban legislators, in control of finance committees, disregard rural needs and appropriate these funds as if they came from the state treasury alone. In addition, the state has not wholeheartedly shouldered the burden of rural education—studies often remain in that stage; time schedules speak of decades rather than years; innovative programs are poorly coordinated, inadequately funded, and urban oriented. As a result, rural education in Alaska appears to be stop-gap at best.

What is needed then, is a massive educational effort by both the state and federal governments. One that is fully financed, realistically coordinated, and aimed specifically at the rural areas of this state. The needs are obvious, immediate, and increasingly critical. The time for long drawn out and detailed studies is past. (There are drawers full of educational studies tucked away in various offices around the state.)

If the Human Resources of this state are to be developed to their fullest potential, if the Native people are to be realistically acculturated in the shortest possible time and if the mistakes that created the ghetto conditions in the other states are to be avoided, then immediate steps must be forthcoming that would establish and fully fund a *total concept* educational program for the Native peoples. The program must provide training from kindergarten through college or trade school in order to wipe out the 100 years of human blight that now exists among the people.

The Native people know and love this land. They are willing to learn. They have much to offer.

Problems of Eskimo People Today

(By Edith Commons, Principal Teacher, BIA, Newtok, Alaska)

PART 1. PRIMARY PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED IN TEACHING ESKIMO STUDENTS IN BIA SCHOOLS

I. Language barrier:
- A. Eskimo spoken at home
- B. Child learns English at school
- C. English used only at school
- D. Little reason or occasion to practice speaking English

II. Hunger factor:
- A. Children hop out of bed and come right to school without eating, combing hair, or washing:
    - a. Juice and graham crackers, although served regularly, are not adequate
- B. School cook often too ill-trained, lazy, or aphathetic to cook the food which is available for the children's school lunches
    - a. Bureau backs up the cook against the principal supervisor in a dispute about whether or not the children are being fed enough
    - b. Warmed-up soup, pilot bread, milk, and dry raisins was a typical menu of a $4.50 per hour cook who had had eight years experience
- C. Children beg food at teacher's house on Tuesdays and Thursdays
    - a. Tuesdays and Thursdays are Bingo Playing Days for the parents

III. Fatigue factor:
- A. Children decide their own bedtimes
- B. Council passed a law saying all children were to be in their houses by 9:00 p.m.
    - a. Children play around school house until 10:00 or later
        - 1. The lights are here at the school
- C. Village movies at Armory begin after 8:00 p.m. on school nights
    - a. School teachers are considered bad if they refuse permission to use school for movies that start after 8:00
        - 1. The teachers are judged bad even when they postpone it to the following evening beginning at 7:00
- D. With such small houses, when one family member is sick, drunk, or having a late party, the other members do not sleep so well
- E. Houses so small that there must be wall-to-wall sleepers

IV. Hearing problems:
- A. Ten to forty percent of school population has draining ears or other hearing problems in one ear or both
    - a. Ears damaged before child ever reaches school
    - b. Doctor gives directions over radio for ear care, medical aide relates directions, the mother does it one day, skips two, does it once again and then neglects it completely
    - c. Two different parents seen in two different communities slapping their child in the ear in a public place
- B. With hearing problems, it is doubly hard for child to learn a second language
    - a. Child needs more individual attention than teacher can give in a regular classroom environment
    - b. Hearing aids and auditory trainers are slowly acquired through proper channels

1. Too often child breaks hearing aids
2. Child must wait until he is older before he is trusted with hearing aids

C. Nurses check ears, recommendations are made, nothing happens

a. One special speech and hearing teacher in Kotzebue teaches fifty students

1. That teacher may be a superior teacher who is very conscientious but, I think, it is impossible for her to do the job adequately with that number

V. Slight problems:

A. Eyes were checked this year with a device which looked to be similar to Snellen Chart

a. Snellen Chart indicates myopia only

1. Myopic children are generally among the better readers

B. Glasses provided at minimal fees or perhaps free

a. Plastic frames break easily and must be replaced by owners

1. Parents frequently delay or refuse to send $1.75 for new frames and at the same time buy a $1100 snow mobile

C. Public Health doctor would not fit less than age ten students with glasses

a. Reason given was that he was not well enough trained to fit them properly

PART 2. UNFORTUNATE RESULTS CREATED BY PRIMARY PROBLEMS

I. Overagedness

A. Students two or more years behind their counterparts in lower forty-eight

B. Reasons for overageness

a. Billingual students taught in second language
b. Child hungry and comes to school only for food
c. Child frequently too tired to study in school
d. Many children have hearing and sight problems

Parents pull underage and other children out of school whenever they have some work for him to do at home

D. Children at Newtok miss aproximately two months of school each year because parents move to another village where the fishing is better during the summer

II. Older student with negative feelings toward school can adversely affect the younger students' attitudes

A. Sense of failure felt by older student can be used as whiplash on a younger, more successful, student

B. Unsuccessful students call younger successful students "gussuk" (white man) to shame the younger students for showing them up

C. With so many groups of children who have so many special problems, the teacher cannot spend the time needed to win their respect and admiration

a. Instead of having thirty-one students on an achievement span of four or five levels, the teacher should have less than ten students on one achievement level, if possible, to be most effective

1. Children require special education techniques

III. Children are special education problems

A. Do not fit mental maturity or achievement test norms
B. Retarded two years behind normal grade level
C. Bilingual
D. Different culture
E. High prevalence of health problems
F. Isolated
G. Without TV

IV. Schools conducted as regular type classrooms

A. Trained personnel difficult to obtain and retain

B. Buildings do not keep pace with the growing school enrollments

C. Instructional aides not even required to be high school graduates because there are so few Eskimo high school graduates living in the villages

D. Possible financial problems in hiring adequate teaching staff for other than "token" regular classes

E. Public unaware of problems in Eskimo schools

PART 3. POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS TO HELP THE PEOPLE HELP THEMSELVES

I. Electricity made available
  A. Would eliminate much of the need for fuel oil or gasoline for heating, cooking, and lights
    a. Fuel oil and gasoline are expensive to have shipped so far
    b. People always run short of fuel oil and gasoline every spring and borrow from the BIA
  B. TV would be possible by satellite
    a. Children and adults would be able to practice English
II. Better mail service
  A. Weather is too determining a factor in mail delivery
  B. People often wait for months for food, ski-doos, and other ordered items to be delivered
  C. No landing strip
    a. Village mail service shut off during break-up and freeze-up because mail plane cannot land
  D. People forced to send telegrams to order supplies because mail service delayed for a month at a time
    a. Telegrams are expensive to send
III. More jobs
  A. Most people in Newtok are welfare recipients
  B. Alaska needs roads
    a. Would it be possible to hire and haul untrained, uneducated, and poor people to road building jobs?
  C. Alaska schools need more teachers
    a. Would it be possible for one well-trained teacher to supervise several untrained, but willing, instructional aides to help with the teaching?
IV. Major decisions left up to whole village votes rather than to village councils
  A. Village council presidents in both villages where I have taught have been the shaman or the son of a shaman
  B. BIA working to increase the influence or power of councils possibly are indirectly playing into the hands of the shaman
  C. Although village council members are elected by open village elections, they often do not act responsibly for the village as a whole, but rather for the good of their own family or clan
    a. Too often villagers better qualified avoid responsibility of public service
V. Better communications systems
  A. Radio. There is one commercial station usually
  B. Newspapers and magazines arrive two weeks or more late
VI. Improving education
  A. Providing for special education class sizes
  B. Making local high schools available
  C. Providing auditory trainers for students who are hard of hearing
  D. Making glasses more readily available for those students who need them
  E. Put language labs in each school
VII. Better health care
  A. Medical aides not adequately trained
    a. More extended training programs are needed
  B. Doctors and nurses need to visit the village more often than once per year
    a. Native health hospital facilities need expanding

LARSEN BAY SCHOOL,
Larsen Bay, Alaska, April 7, 1969.

Senator TED KENNEDY,
Senate Subcommittee Hearings on Education,
Juneau, Alaska.

DEAR SENATOR KENNEDY: Dolores Padilla, representing Kodiak Rural CAP, requested letters concerning village problems to take to the hearings, but the letter reached us late so I'm hoping this reaches you.

Kodiak City is trying to secede from the borough. As a village teacher I am concerned about the future of their schools. Recently Kodiak proposed dropping the villages that were beyond reach of the road system. The villages were asked to respond to the idea. I wrote to Cliff Hartman, Commissioner of Education, who advised me to advise Larsen Bay residents to request retention. Apparently the Alaska Department of Education does not want control of the village schools and neither does Kodiak. The B.I.A. did not answer my letter. The educational future in such villages as Larsen Bay is sadly insecure.

This school does not or has not ever had educational opportunities comparable to those offered in urban areas. Yet these students are expected to compete successfully when they move to Kodiak High School. Larsen Bay School consists of two rooms, twenty-six students in eight grades, and one teacher, without even so much as a closet for storage. Supplies that are considered essential in the Kodiak City schools are non-existent here. In many cases gas boxes must serve for equipment storage shelves and tables.

Larsen Bay has no roads or streets. At high tide it is impossible for students to walk to school from certain parts of the village. Some houses are in danger of falling into the ocean because of the subsidence after the 1964 earthquake. There is only one public water source besides the school well which is not polluted. At high tide it is impossible for many people to reach either of these sources.

All winter I have written to one organization after another in quest of solutions to these problems and have an impressive file of correspondence. However, to date nothing definite has been accomplished. Mrs. Padilla requested that we suggest solutions to the problems. I wish I had some. So do the people of Larsen Bay.

Much of my correspondence represents agencies who direct me to other agencies. I have followed up all suggestions. Only the district sanitarian, Mr. Kieser, has visited Larsen Bay in the past year, and I learned recently he has been transferred to the Kenai Peninsula.

Possible solutions:

1. Gather under a central head the numerous agencies which purport to assist the villages and establish a coordinated workable program reaching over a period of years. The budget should be carefully worked out and the money appropriated in advance.

2. Decide what organization will operate the village schools. At present we have three.

3. Provide rural supervisors and teachers who are sincerely interested in working in villages and with villagers.

   Examples: In several years of teaching in Alaskan villages, no supervisor has taken the time to discuss problems on any other than a rush-to-get-the-plane basis, meaning that the total village visitation amounted to a couple hours while school was in session, time which belongs to the students.

   In my opinion, the Rural Supervisor's position should be one of guide and supporter of the rural teachers in his area. The Supervisor is the vital link between village and the urban center, between teacher and supplies, current innovations in other places, etc. At present this appears not true.

4. Improved training programs for the teachers of rural teachers.

   Example: I have visited schools and attended conferences where the majority of teachers felt the natives naturally inferior and acted accordingly, a detriment to the education of those natives. In many classrooms almost no real attempt was being made to teach. Improved instruction at the college level could help to alleviate this condition. Also, adequate teacher counseling would help.

5. The dedicated, innovating rural teachers should be made known so those who wish to improve could get in contact with them. We have many excellent rural school teachers who work year after year with virtually no encouragement or recognition.

6. Promote closer cooperation among the schools and other agencies such as the Health Services, University of Alaska, etc. At present, it is far too often that the bush teacher has no way of knowing of available services until they have been staked out for the entire term by larger urban schools. Perhaps Larsen Bay is in a unique position in that it has not been able to secure film service from the Kodiak Borough School District of which it is a part and that because of its belonging to this district, it is unable to borrow recordings, films, etc., from the University of Alaska. However, other villages may have similar difficulties.

Another means of increasing cohesion and pride among villages would be the getting together periodically for play days, discussions, etc., by students, teachers and parents in villages which can be reached by water, by weasel, or by air charter. Many villages could be connected by highways also.

As to the various health services, this village school has no records concerning the health status of its students. We have had a doctor only once this school year, the dentist once (2 days each). No eye examinations by a qualified optician have been made in at least two years. No audiometer tests have been administered for several years.

When through testing urged by me the water sources proved polluted, and on another occasion when I requested vitamins for dietary supplement, I was advised by the supervisor that the children's health was not my concern. At that time at least three-fourths of the villagers were sick.

7. Equip the villages with schools which are adequate to modern instruction and see that they have text books, teaching machines, science equipment, etc., comparable to that used in urban schools.

> Example: The big dictionary we have is older than I am. We have no globes, not even one microscope, no Bunsen burner. This list could be expanded over several pages, but the above indicates what I mean.

8. Compensate rural teachers through living facilities and salaries which reflect the untold hours of service they must give in order to be effective in a foreign environment.

I will be most interested in learning the results of your hearings. Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Miss DOROTHEA M. TAYLOR,
Teacher in Charge.

AKHIOK RURAL STATION,
Akhiok, Alaska, March 8, 1969.

Senator EDWARD KENNEDY,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR KENNEDY. I have just learned that you will be coming to Alaska in April to attend hearings on the education of the Alaskan native. My wife and I are serving as Vista Volunteers in Akhiok, Alaska, a small village located on the southeastern end of Kodiak Island. We have lived in Akhiok for almost seven months and, in that time, we feel that we have developed some insights into the problem of education in Alaska.

There are, in fact, approximately 120 Vista Volunteers in Alaska, all of whom have been in their villages since midsummer and have information concerning BIA, State, and Borough schools in Alaska. I urge you to consider Vista as a resource while you are studying the education systems which serve Alaskan natives.

I would like to relate to you the experiences we have had with education in Alaska. The school in Akhiok is run by the Kodiak Island Borough. The Borough operates six such schools in the village around the island with a total enrollment of approximately 250 Aleut children. The administrators who run the Borough School District are definitely prejudiced against the village schools. A financial report just issued shows that the Borough is spending only part of the money it receives from the Federal Government for the village schools in the villages. There is no lunch program of any kind in the village schools despite the fact that free surplus foods are available for such a program from the Department of Agriculture.

The disregard for the needs of the village schools reaches fantastic proportions. The school in Akhiok was without paper and pencils for two months because an administrator "forgot" to send them down here, even though he was asked again and again to do so. Akhiok has no record player, no tape recorder, no duplicating machine, and there have been no bulbs for the film projector for over three months, despite the pleas of the teachers. The school has not had running water for three months although the threat of the State Health Department to close it may finally bring some action.

In my opinion, the attitude of the Borough has seriously retarded the education of the Aleut children on Kodiak Island. In the last few months I have watched four high school students drop out and return to Akhiok. They constitute roughly half of the group which left Akhiok in the fall to attend high school. I asked why they dropped out—I asked their guidance counselors in Kodiak, I asked the village teachers, and I asked the students themselves. The guidance counselors did not know why the boys had left. There are so few counselors in Kodiak and they are so overworked that they rarely get to know any students well. The village teachers were able to give me more of an answer. Dedicated and spending their first year in Alaska, they were appalled to report that the reading level of these boys was roughly fourth or fifth grade when they started high school. Yet they were expected to do ninth or tenth grade work at the Kodiak High School. When I spoke with the boys I was told that the work was too difficult in Kodiak and that it was hard to adjust to their new surroundings.

I could go on in this vein, but these are only the symptoms of a more basic problem which exists throughout Alaska. The various education systems which serve the Alaskan native are insensitive to his needs. The children receive their first eight years of schooling in their villages and need special programs designed to overcome the limitations imposed by this isolation. Yet instead of advanced programs designed to deal with this problem, one often finds mediocrity and sometimes even neglect.

Because of the small isolated character of the villages there are usually only two or three teachers in each village. In the course of his first eight years of education a child may have only two different teachers. One poor teacher, one eccentric, prejudiced individual, can conceivably cripple the chances of 20 to 30 or 100 Eskimo, Indian, or Aleut children of ever receiving a good education. As teachers are not properly screened and rarely fired up here, there are many such teachers in the bush right now dooming children to future educational failure.

I ask you to consider these things carefully. Much needs to be done in Alaska to put the education of the Alaskan native on a par with that received by his white counterpart in Alaskan cities and the lower 48. The Bureau of Indian Affairs and the State of Alaska simply cannot do the job unless they are given more resources and drastically revamped to bring in dedicated and capable individuals.

Please do what you can for these people.

Sincerely,

David P. Cluchey.

Gambell, Alaska,
January 28, 1969.

Dr. Clifford Hartman,
Commissioner of Education,
Juneau, Alaska

Dear Sir: At the January 7th meeting of the Gambell Advisory School Board the rural education proposal was discussed at length, and we would like to express our opinions on this subject.

1. The proposal to build facilities in five cities in Alaska to provide high school education for the students from the villages leaves much to be desired. We do not see this limited type of program as what we had anticipated when the possibility of regional high schools was proposed.

In the lower 48 states high school students have the privalege of attending schools near their homes, even in areas of widely-scattered population. It is not uncommon in such areas to have high schools with as few as 50 or 60 students enrolled. Why can't such a plan be considered for Alaska as well?

For instance, this year there are approximately 70 students from St. Lawrence Is. who are attending high schools as far away as Okla. There are also others in the village who could attend if there were a high school located on the island.

2. Two parents on the board expressed their satisfaction with their children's education and the experience gained at Mt. Edgecumbe and Chegawa, thereby expressing the gratitude of the majority of parents.

3. Although recognizing the value of travel as being educational, most parents would like their children to get their high school education closer to home. There would be an opportunity for travel when they leave for college, etc.

4. We believe that there is a decided benefit to the villages to have a high school in the community.

(a) There would be an increase in activities for the community (social, cultural, spectator sports, etc.), centering around the educational institution.

(b) There would be an opportunity for the parents to participate and take pride in their children's achievements, benefitting both the student and the parent, and hence the community.

(c) There would be a greater stimulation to the adults as they witness the benefits of learning.

(d) It would tend to unify the lives and interests of the parents and their high school-age youth, rather than to intensify the cultural and generation "gap", as the present system of education is doing.

5. We would like to urge that careful consideration be given to the development of a larger number of high schools situated nearer to the communities from which the students originate.

Sincerely,

VICTOR CAMPBELL,
GRACE SLWOOKO,
MARILENE AHINEN,
NANCY WALUNGA,
ABRAHAM KANINGRK,
Members of the Advisory School Board, Gambell.

PAUL T. DIXON & ASSOCIATES,
Anchorage, Alaska, May 15, 1969.

Hon. EDWARD KENNEDY,
Senator, State of Massachusetts, United States Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: We are transmitting herewith, for your information and follow up as you see fit, Resolution No. 16 of the Association of Village Council Presidents.

Respectfully yours,

PAUL T. DIXON.

[Attachment]

ASSOCIATION OF THE VILLAGE COUNCIL PRESIDENTS RESOLUTION No. 16

Whereas, the Native people of Alaska lack the knowledge of the history of their people and;

Whereas, the culture of the Native people is disappearing rapidly due to the transition of the Native people; and

Whereas, the younger generation is in danger of losing their true identity, Now therefore be it resolved that the Association of Village Council Presidents request an accurate history of the native people of Alaska be written; and

Be is further resolved that the Association recognizes the value of the title III, ESEA, Project which begins this program and is proposed by the State for the Bethel and St. Mary's high schools and requests approval of that program.

PIA THOMPSON,
Secretary.
MOSES PAUKAN,
President.

SHELDON JACKSON COLLEGE,
Sitka, Alaska, November 25, 1968.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Committee on Labor and Public Welfare,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I have just read in the Tundra Times of the hearing which you plan to hold the first week of December on Indian Education in Alaska. I am President of Sheldon Jackson College, an institution owned and operated by the Board of National Missions of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Sheldon Jackson schools have for 90 years been meeting the changing educational needs of native Alaskans, beginning with a training school, an elementary school, an accredited boarding high school for 50 years, and now an accredited two year college. Sheldon Jackson schools are the oldest continuing series of educational institutions in Alaska that have been predominately concerned with native education. It is for these reasons that I would request you to include representatives of Sheldon Jackson College in your hearing in December. The personnel of Sheldon Jackson can provide a dimension as a private institution that other agencies cannot supply.

Senator Bartlett, Senator Gruening, and Representative Pollock, all three are familiar with the program and work of Sheldon Jackson schools. Yearly these men visit our campus and speak to the student body. You might wish to contact them as to the advisability of including us in your December meeting.

I offer to you the facilities and hospitality of the Sheldon Jackson campus in which to hold your sub-committee hearing. There might be some importance in the fact that this important hearing could be held on the campus of the oldest institution in the state that has historically dealt with native education. Also, Mt. Edgecumbe High School, the largest B.I.A. secondary institution in the state, is located in Sitka and this would provide the committee with ready access to two significant institutions that are involved in native education.

Enclosed are answers to questions which were specified by the Sub-committee in the article in the Tundra Times. The answers are predominately from a higher educational viewpoint which is now the major educational concern of Sheldon Jackson College.

Let me know if I can be of service to you and your Sub-committee as you develop plans for the hearing in December. I hope that you will seriously consider including representatives from Sheldon Jackson College to parictipate in the hearings.

Most cordially yours,

ORIN R. STRATTON, *President.*

A PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS OF ALASKA NATIVE EDUCATION PROBLEM AREAS SUGGESTED BY SENATOR MORSE'S SUBCOMMITTEE

A. What are Goals of an Educational Program for Alaskan Natives?

1. As evidenced by present BIA and State programs?

Answer. In the simplest terms, an educational program for Alaskan natives should provide a quality educational experience at all levels which is at least equivalent to the quality of education which is provided for predominately Caucasian students at the large school districts in the major cities of Alaska.

2. What do you and your organization believe the goals should be?

Answer. Sheldon Jackson College agrees wholeheartedly with the previous statement and goals in that the state of Alaska should provide equal opportunity and equal quality for all the children of the state, including the disadvantaged minority of the native population. Emphasis should be placed on special education, particularly for the mentally retarded and handicapped child. Although not documented, it would seem that there would be a higher proportion of mentally retarded and handicapped children among the native population than among the Caucasian group.

Our goals as a two year accredited college are to provide an overall quality educational experience that will equip particularly Alaskan natives to succeed in higher education. Currently we are offering two year terminal technical courses in Business Education, Business Administration, Forestry, Fisheries, and Logging Management. These technical courses are designed to provide native Alaskans with knowledge and skills that will equip them to work in the major natural resource industries in Alaska. In addition to the technical curricula we offer liberal arts courses which parallel the course offerings typically offered by four year colleges and universities. Our unique purpose as a two year college particularly dedicated to the education of the Alaska native is to provide a cultural, academic, social, and emotional transition from the small village and high school into the contemporary higher educational system.

B. What are the educational problems of Indian and Native students that are of concern to you and your organization?

Answer. As indicated in question A, Sheldon Jackson College considers its major role in higher education in Alaska to provide an educational and social environment in which the acculturation of the Alaskan native can take place. This acculturation process includes the acquisition of marketable skills as well as increased academic competence so the Alaskan native can compete in the competitive higher educational enterprise. The major problem is to convince more native Alaskans of the necessity for post high school education. If the Alaskan native is to compete on an equal basis in the future for jobs and is to provide the kind of creative and productive leadership which his community needs, he must be convinced of the importance of higher education. Related to this problem is the difficulty to convince the Alaskan native to attend a higher educational institution where he has a reasonable chance of success. Currently less than one percent of the Alaska natives succeed in the larger institutions like the

University of Alaska or four year colleges and universities in the "South 48". They need a transitional experience that will provide them with an academic, social, and emotional stability in order to achieve ultimate success.

C. What are the Causes of the Problems Identified Above?

Answer. The causes of the minimal participation and lack of success in higher education can be attributed to three basic causes:

> 1. The large majority of Alaska native youth have not been exposed to the contemporary technological world of a rapidly developing urban society. Consequently, they do not see the need for further education that will equip them to compete with more highly educated individuals for jobs in the modern contemporary world.
> 2. They receive little or no parental support or encouragement to pursue higher education. The parents face the same problem as is indicated in No. 1 and consequently they do not encourage their children to seek post high school education.
> 3. The quality of educational experience that the native community is currently receiving by and large does not equip them academically for success in higher education. This problem will ultimately be solved when they have a quality education in the elementary and secondary schools which is equal to the Caucasian middle-class.

D. What is being done to solve these problems and to meet the Educational Goals of the Native Student?

Answer. Again, speaking from the higher educational viewpoint, Sheldon Jackson College is doing everything possible to develop not only educational programs that are particularly adapted to Alaska and the Alaskan native, but is currently involved in an intensive recruiting effort to attract native Alaskans to Sheldon Jackson to begin their higher educational training. Every agency which is listed, Federal government, B.I.A., U.S. Public Health Service, U.S. Office of Education, Office of Economic Opportunity (Head Start and Upward Gound), state and local educational agencies and Indian and native associations are all involved in one way or another in trying to upgrade Alaska native education.

E. What should be done that is not now being done to assure the Indian and Native students the education to which they are entitled?

Answer. I think the most important task at the present time, in order to deal with the problems of Alaska native education, is to get the Alaska State Department of Education, the B.I.A., and the appropriate Federal agencies together to develop a long range, comprehensive plan that will provide a quality education at all levels for *all* Alaskans. At the present time there are many groups trying to deal with the problem but there is no overall coordination or direction in accomplishing these goals. The development of a comprehensive educational plan for the state by the B.I.A., the State educational officials, and the Federal government would channel the energies, ideas, and funds in a coordinated direction.

MARBLEHEAD, MASS., *April 14, 1969.*

Hon. EDWARD M. KENNEDY,
Chairman, U.S. Senate, Subcommittee on Indian Education, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR KENNEDY: Attached to this letter is written testimony which I would like to have introduced into the record of your committee investigating Indian education. I spent two years as psychiatrist with the United States Public Health Service in Alaska, and met Mr. Adrian Parmeter last year during his trip to Alaska.

I hope that this testimony will be of some help. I feel that your committee is extremely timely and hope that some positive action will come from your deliberations. Please let me know if any further information or clarification of what I have written might be helpful.

I wish you well in this venture.

Sincerely,

JOSEPH D. BLOOM, M.D.

TESTIMONY TO THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDIAN EDUCATION

I would like to offer for the record the following brief testimony on Indian education. My experience with the situation is as follows: I spent two years 1966–68 as psychiatrist and Chief of the Mental Health Unit of the Alaska Native Health Area Office, Indian Health Service, U.S.P.H.S. Presently, I am a Fellow in Community Psychiatry at the Laboratory of Community Psychiatry of Harvard Medical School. My testiony represents my opinion only and not either the Indian Health Service or the Laboratory of Community Psychiatry.

Because my work was limited to Alaska I cannot speak to the total problem of Indian Education, but am most familiar with the situation as it existed in Alaska. The basic structure of education for the Alaska Native is as follows: Most children from the rural, or bush parts of the state are now able to attend grade schools within their own villages, either administrated by the State of Alaska or, the majority, by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (B.I.A.). Those few young children who still must travel to day school away from their parents are to my knowledge quite a limited number. Even so, from a mental health point of view this is a very serious situation with repercussions for the entire family.

The major dislocation of children and discontinuity of family life in the Alaskan population occurs during the high school years. It is at this point that the boarding school and its associated ills are felt. The system of high school education is, again, divided between the State of Alaska and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The BIA maintains three boarding schools for the education of Native Alaskan Adolescents. One is located at Mount Edgecumbe, in Southeastern Alaska; and two are located outside of Alaska: one in Chemawa, in Oregon; and the second in Chilocco, Oklahoma. The total population in the BIA boarding schools, as far as I remember, approximates 1500 children. Nearly one thousand of these children have to leave their home state for nine months a year, in order to attend high school, a situation, which very few of us in this country would tolerate.

The State of Alaska maintains regional facilities in slowly increasing numbers in places like Bethel, Nome, Dillingham and Tanana. Some of these serve only the population of the rural town itself as in Dillingham, Tanana and Bethel, with little or no real provision for boarding facilities; the Beltz school in Nome is attempting to serve as a regional high school with boarding facilities. There is also a plan for boarding children in private homes in the larger cities like Anchorage and Fairbanks, while they attend high schools in these cities. But these are limited to a small number. Thus, the basic system of high school education, as I see it, is a dual system, with the BIA depending on the boarding school as its key unit and the State moving toward regionalization of educational facilities. This duality is extremely unhealthy. The goal of education often becomes lost in the split territorial problems which inevitably are present between these different agencies. There is, as far as I could see, no coordinated plan for educational programs.

Let me point out early in this statement that as a psychiatrist, I do not define mental health in the narrow sense of the phrase, confining it to the case by case management of labeled mentally ill people. Rather, I see an intimate relationship between the processes and institutions of society and the casualities produced by these institutions. This is especially clear in the cross-cultural situation. The institutions of the dominant culture are extremely important as sources of conflict. If this point were accepted one could immediately see the ramifications of many of the problems inherent in the educational system. For that matter, the same could be said for the other institutions dealing with the native peoples of Alaska. There is a very serious lack of uniform or "congruent" [1] planning between and within agencies of both the state and federal governments. The existence of dual and often competing systems of education attests to this fact. I would feel that this duality in the education system must be settled.

With that as background let me touch on some aspects of the current scene, given the fact that I believe major changes are in order.

1. There needs to be much greater attention paid to the grade school student and his actual level of achievement. Problems related to English as a second

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[1] Leighton, Alexander: Is Social Environment a Cause of Psychiatric Disorder? Psychiatric Epidemiology and Mental Health Planning: Psychiatric Research Reports, American Psychiatric Association; Chapter XV; pp. 337–345; 1967.

language, discontinuity of teaching staff, inadequate preparation of teachers for cross-cultural living, significant health problems, housing problems and other family crises, lack of parental involvement in the school all tend to mitigate against the native child's attaining age and grade specific levels of achievement. Emphasis placed at the grade school level would serve to keep the child out of the casualty network as he progresses on in his school career. Imaginative plans for attaining continuity of teaching personnel and emphasis on bilingual teaching staff must be undertaken; and this obviously means much wider training of native people to participate in the education programs, as well as promoting empathy in the non-native teachers, so that a sense of community can be fostered in the teachers. There also should be an expanded traveling team concept of cross-discipline professionals who could work productively as consultants with the day school people. Educational, psychological and anthropological advice is sorely needed in every day school I saw. Unified training procedures must be undertaken, again an impossibility given a dual system. Imaginative programs for training both teacher-aides and new teachers have been developed at the University of Alaska, but these have been for too few people, and limited by inadequate financial resources for follow-up and continued education.

2. At this point let me digress and say that I believe that through their Associations, the native people should have a substantial input in determining the direction of education for their children. Further I think that their ability to have a weighty voice in these deliberations will depend mainly on the settlement of the Native Land Claims and the amount of resources and power it places in the hands of the native leadership. I would see this as the key determinant for the potentially strong participation of the native people in any program, be it education, health, etc. This area cannot be overstated; the lessons of reservations, paternalism, isolation, cultural alienation without access toward reorientation of cultural goals, should be clear by now. The Native Land Claims and potential settlement are without any doubt the most important situation in current Alaska. It offers the possibility of coordinated planning for changing institutions, involving the people themselves, a possibility which does not exist in Alaska currently and indeed exists in few places in this country.

3. In regard to the high schools and the boarding school situation, much will depend on the administrative solutions and future direction of the high school program. As the boarding schools now exist I think that they are the cause of serious and stubborn problems. With all the money that they spend they are continually understaffed, both in the classroom and, especially, in the dormitories. The plants are out-dated and geared to the production of students who are ill-prepared for most undertakings, be they vocational or towards a college education. Quite significant to me is the fact that the BIA boarding schools as I know them have little or no commitment to finding out about their products. I know of no follow-up studies, no drop-out studies, no attempt to obtain the kind of feedback which can reflect on functionings. There is almost an "out of sight out of mind" attitude instead of an inquisitive desire for feedback and action-oriented research.

From the mental health service point of view, the boarding schools don't give adequate service. There are few, if any, services available directly at the schools. When I left Alaska, Chemawa and Edgecumbe each had one full-time social worker for the entire school and access to psychiatric consultation. The BIA didn't employ any full time educational psychologists and most cases were handled when they tended to become crises rather than by picking up the situations as they developed over a period of time.

There is one more problem worth mentioning, and this has to do with the isolation of the boarding schools. The children are not in their home communities, nor are they in any other communities. I have seen Mt. Edgecumbe and Chemawa: both are quite isolated and provide little healthy interaction between the students and local non-Indian communities. Attempts to improve this situation were being made at both schools, again with substantial financial limitations. However, this type of isolation can only enhance the sense of cultural discontinuity and should be eliminated as soon as possible.

4. Let me say a few words about the regional high school concept. Although the regional high school provides the type of situation which I believe is much healthier for the child and family, it will still face serious problems of teacher recruitment, training and retention. This is because of the isolation of rural Alaska and is the problem of other regional institutions in Alaska such as the PHS hospitals. There is little to suggest that this is not the case at present with the functioning regional schools. This again leads us to the idea of stronger

participation by the native people themselves in the education of their children. There is need for an emphasis on training of native people on a large scale who can work in the schools, both in teaching and administration.

Another area of concern to me as a psychiatrist is the poorly planned introduction of regional schools into communities which already have substantial problems due to cultural change, lack of job opportunities, housing shortages, ill-health. There is mounting evidence in the field of psychiatric epidemiology that there are communities which can be described as socio-culturally organized or disorganized.[3]

Although formal field studies have not been done in Alaska, there is sufficient evidence to support the idea that many of the rural Alaskan communities can be viewed as "disorganized communities." This applies most particularly to some of the larger rural communities, rapidly growing towns which are intermediary points between the native villages and the urban centers. It is these larger rural communities which are the natural sites for regional high schools as these communities now function as regional centers for other state and federal institutions and private enterprises.

It should be clear that haphazard introduction of regional high schools into socio-culturally disorganized towns would increase educational problems, rather than improve the education picture. What I am advocating is a balanced and coordinated attempt at planning so that the regional school develops in concert with efforts at regional planning. The emphasis should be on the process of reintegrating disorganized communities. There are methods of approach along this line which I will not discuss here since this is not the central topic.

In conclusion, what is neded is the development of regional high schools in towns where the students can learn in an atmosphere of hope rather than despair. The regional school must be part and parcel of a regional plan for economic and social development.

STATE OF ALASKA DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION,
Juneau, April 11, 1969.

Hon. TED KENNEDY,
Chairman, Subcommittee for Indian Education,
Washington, D. C.

Re: *Critical Needs—Native Education.*

DEAR SENATOR KENNEDY: The attached Prospectus will provide for you and your committee an overview of a seven-year plan to meet the critical housing needs—classrooms and dormitories—for native and Caucasian students living in the unorganized borough in Alaska. At least 1,100 secondary students of native extraction in rural Alaska are attending schools in Chilocco, Oklahoma and Chemawa, Oregon. Another 615 native students are being transported to the southern panhandle of Alaska to attend the Bureau of Indian Affairs Mt. Edgecumbe School at Sitka.

The attached plan provides for a number of choices for native students in obtaining a secondary education. Because of the differing needs of students—culturally, socially, and academically—no one method will meet the needs of all. Area secondary, or junior high schools, Grades 7 through 10, are planned for some of the smaller areas such as Fort Yukon, Tanana, St. Mary's, McGrath, Tok, and ultimately other locations. Larger regional high schools, Grades 9 through 12, with supporting dormitories, are planned in areas including Bethel, Nome, Kotzebue, Anchorage, Fairbanks, Sitka, and Kodiak.

A third choice; namely, the boarding home program is a part of the overall secondary education plan. In this program the students from the rural areas would live with foster parents of Caucasian or native extraction in various areas of the State offering high school opportunities. A fourth program would be the provisions for secondary education in the immediate village or town, including such areas as Barrow and Glennallen. Wherever the regional area schools are built the students living in those communities would, of course, attend the established unit.

More details may be obtained by examining the attached plan. It should be noted that a minimum of $22 million will be needed for the construction of classroom spaces and an estimated $25 million for dormitories. Operational costs for the plan in School Year 1973–74 are estimated at $13 million.

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[3] Leighton, Alexander: My Name Is Legion. Foundations for a Theory of Man in Relation to Culture: Basic Books, 1959.

The State is making efforts in various ways to improve facilities, equipment, and staff in the 100 schools under the operation and administration of the Department of Education. This critical need must be met if students are to be successful in a secondary program. More funds are needed for staff in-service education and training, since many teachers, of necessity, must be recruited from the "South 48." Courses in native arts and crafts, native dialect, anthropology, etc., are essential ingredients in the inservice program. The University of Alaska, the Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, along with the State-Operated Schools, are involved in projects to develop relevant instructional materials for our native students.

A third critical need in rural Alaska is preschool education. This involves programs for the three- and four-year olds, as well as kindergarten experiences. It is estimated that there are 4,000 students in rural Alaska, ages 3 through 5. To meet the needs of this number would require 200 teachers trained in preschool and early childhood education, an equal number of teacher aides, and a minimum of 200 classrooms. Research has shown beyond a doubt that organized social and educational experiences at this early age have the greatest impact on the development of language, cultural, and social habits and attitudes as compared to any other period in a child's educational development.

The fourth critical need in rural Alaska is adult education. Experiences for students become more meaningful and valuable if a parallel program in adult education is carried out. Such education should not include only the development of skills for jobs, but a set of social and economic values as well.

A man without a culture is more desperate than a man without a country. The emphasis, therefore, on all programs—public school, preschool, and adult—should attempt to develop a pride in the native culture, extending to him the human dignity that he rightfully should feel. Classroom programs should include the best that is to be retained in the native culture and introduce the best in terms of values and attitudes of the Western culture. In this way, and only in this way, can the native people find security and the opportunity to make choices concerning their own welfare in future years. The regional secondary school plan is designed to provide for educational choices close to the home environment, or in the event a student is ready, educational opportunities at the urban centers.

Yours sincerely,

CLIFF R. HARTMAN,
Commissioner of Education.

ANCHORAGE, ALASKA, *January 24, 1968.*

Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY,
Chairman, Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education,
Washington, D.C. 20510

DEAR SENATOR KENNEDY: I have recently read that you are the chairman of the Senate Sub-committee on Indian Education and am taking this opportunity to send some newspaper articles pertaining to this subject. My experience has been confined to the Bureau of Indian Affairs system so my remarks are primarily about that agency, although my understanding is that the state system is not much better. Of particular interest are the articles entitled "Education Will Shape the Future"; "BIA College Aid Methods Anger UA Native Students"; and "Respect for Natives Urged as Step to Understanding". I have enclosed the other articles because they give valuable background on the problems of the native people of Alaska. They have a bearing on the subject of education because in many respects the situation is different than the lower 48 reservation and should be treated as such. I feel that only a visit to the Alaskan villages will reveal the true picture but these articles may be helpful.

My husband and I, who come from New York, have been VISTA volunteers in Alaska since April 1966 and spent 15 months in the Eskimo village of Noorvik. Our first reaction to the educational system in the villages was one of shock and the picture became grimmer as time went by. The enclosed articles point out some of the more outstanding defects—inadequate and irrelevant curriculum, segregation not only in the schools but between the teachers and the community they serve, and the literal raping of pride and cultural values.

An Eskimo girl from Wainwright, Alaska related to us her difficulty in learning to read from the Dick and Jane series, which are still used today. She said that for the longest time she could not say "Oak Tree Hill" because in Wainwright there are no trees or hills and she had no idea what the book was even talking about. This girl managed to survive in the educational system and has graduated from the University of Alaska but she is exceptional. What of the others who are so confused and overwhelmed by the foreign images in their books (cars, mailmen, even streets and sidewalks) and that English language remains completely foreign to them? To make a comparison one could picture children in the first grade of a New York school learning to read from books that spoke of Tunu and Putu watching their father hitch up his dogs before setting out to hunt caribou.

This type of curriculum not only impedes the learning process (in Noorvik many of the eighth graders tested were at the fourth grade level) but impresses on the children that they are inferior to this white race that are pictured in their books. Many BIA teachers are prone to reinforce this myth either overtly or subtly by their methods of dealing with the students and the community at large. Thus, it was possible for an intelligent man, member of the Noorvik village council, holder of a master navigation ticket, who served in the intelligence division of the Army, to tell us in all sincerity that he knew Eskimos were not as smart as whites and never could be. And he was not alone in this sentiment. Time after time people actually apologized to us for having to live among them and referred to themselves as "dumb Eskimos" or "dirty Eskimos". This is what the BIA system of "education" has done to the people of Noorvik, educated them into believing that they are second-class citizens. These are a people who have a rich and noble ancestry with much to be proud of, and who have survived in the most inhospitable climate in the world without any of our modern conveniences.

One of the articles describes the separatism of teachers from the villagers. I am enclosing a picture that is worth more than words illustrating this. Teachers are cautioned against being too friendly with the members of the community and one teacher in Kotzebue felt that his job was threatened because he had entered an Eskimo home. In addition there is little or no orientation of incoming teachers as to the background of the native culture and the problems of transition that beset them now. We have met teachers who have been with the BIA in rural Alaska for five or ten years and had no more insight into the people than the average man in New York. They viewed Eskimos merely as welfare recipients who were either too stupid or lazy to learn. I feel that this lack of contact and understanding on the part of the teacher is very significant. It would seem almost impossible for a white middle class citizen to teach members of such a vastly different culture effectively without extensive training and constant dialogue with the people of the particular community he serves. Aside from this, the segregation helps to perpetuate the white superiority myth and if a man has lost his pride what motivation is there for learning?

I have also enclosed a copy of the Tundra Times, a weekly newspaper with a wide village circulation, edited by Mr. Howard Rock, an Eskimo man from Point Hope. It features an article that illustrates the BIA policy of paternalism and humiliation. The circumstances it describes are unusual only in the fact that the native students spoke up about the unfair treatment. Some villagers consider themselves lucky to have a school at all so the quality of the education does not enter their minds. And others who may have their doubts also have their fears since the BIA represents the United States Government with all its money and power.

Among some of the teenagers and young adults however, is growing a new feeling of bitterness, hatred and fear of the western culture. These young people have attended segregated high schools and attained enough knowledge to realize that they are being cheated, treated as second-class citizens. If radical changes are not forthcoming it is not inconceivable that in ten or so years there will be a "Native Power" movement in Alaska.

The BIA has made some changes but they are too slow and appear much better in writing than they do in practice. In the light of my experience, I would suggest:

1. The introduction of textbooks adapted to the rural Alaskan child.
2. The introduction of courses in Eskimo or Indian history—relating past cultural values to the present.
3. That prominent native Alaskan leaders and topics such as the formation of native associations and the land claims be included in current affairs discussions.
4. That at least a month long orientation course be held for *all* new teachers, not just one-fourth of them.

5. That involvement by teachers in the community life be actively encouraged, if not mandatory. By this I do not mean merely getting together at basketball games. Teachers should endeavor to find out all they can about their particular village (folklore, history, available game) and this could be incorporated into the curriculum as well as help the teacher to a better understanding of the people.

6. That the present system of sending students to segregated high schools thousands of miles from home be ended.

7. That a wide-scale recruitment campaign for qualified and properly motivated teachers be launched by the BIA. This agency seems to enjoy clothing itself in secrecy and unfortunately many of the teachers who do find out about it are interested only in the high salaries and the prospect of hunting on the weekends.

8. The BIA sponsored teacher-aide program—where local people are trained to assist in the village school is a commendable one. They intend to incorporate the New Careers concept into this program so that eventually these people will be certified teachers. But, judging from the bureau's past rate of progression, "eventually" might not be until 10 or 20 years from now. If this program could be expanded and speeded up, the results would be well worth the additional expense. In the long run it would be much cheaper for it would eliminate the expense of importing teachers and upgrade the quality of education since these foreign teachers have so much difficulty relating to their students.

I do not claim to be an expert on native affairs or education but it is a matter of conscience that I write this letter to you. There are many native leaders in Alaska mentioned in these articles (William J. Hensley, Byron Mallott, Dan Lisburne, Hugh Nichols, Howard Rock, John Sackett) to name a few, who would prove to be a more valuable source than myself. You have recently visited some Indian reservations in the lower 48. If there is any possibility that you could make such a visit to Alaska I would urge you to do so. Aside from education, there are many needs that remain to be met among the village people and if a prestigious senator such as yourself could learn first hand about the problems and lend support to a developmental program it might make all the difference in the world.

In the minds of the rest of the U.S., or at least the Congress, Alaska is still "Seward's Folly", as illustrated by the ignorance or indifference that led to that legislative body turning down $1 million request for native housing in 1967 when many times that amount is actually needed; and to that same body excluding any Alaskan cities from the Model Cities Program when even San Juan, Puerto Rico was included. Mr. Sargent Shriver, during his Alaskan visit last summer, made the statement that Nome was the worst slum he had ever seen. There are over 100 rural villages that have the same housing conditions, if not worse, as Nome. In the future, Congress may be considering a bill on the settlement of the native land claims in Alaska. I pray that they will act more fairly and wisely than their past record shows.

This nation is certainly not proud of her record of dealing with the American Indian. The aboriginal people of Alaska have not yet been placed forcibly on land that no one else wanted, so let us learn from our mistakes instead of repeating them. Let us help integrate these people into western society, for those who want it, by respect and fair treatment, by adequate education, by including them in the advances of our "Great Society" with due consideration to preserving cultural values—not by jamming the Americanization process down their throats and leaving them to choke on it, our consciences salved.

These almost two years as a VISTA volunteer have been an awakening for me, an involvement in my country and her problems, and I feel it is more than a temporary thing. I am grateful to your brother John, whose idealism fostered such programs as the Peace Corps and VISTA and I feel it is a tribute to him that young people have responded so well to the call for service. President John F. Kennedy and all he stood for will not easily be forgotten, particularly among my generation, just as the knowledge and sense of caring that we have gained will not be forgotten. My only wish is that he were still here so that I could thank him personally.

Thank you for your attention to this letter. If I could be of any further help or if you should need more information, I would be glad to assist you in this matter.

Respectfully yours,

Mrs. Rosaire M. Kennedy.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF THE EDUCATION COMMITTEE, SITKA ALASKA NATIVE BROTHERHOOD CAMP NO. 1, SITKA, ALASKA

A. What are the Goals of an Educational Program for Alaska Natives?

The BIA program for high school education for Alaskan Natives seems to be one that will make a good report on paper rather than a genuine concern for the individual result of their efforts, we need graduates that are prepared to go on to higher education or as an alternative graduates that will be ready to make a living in the complexities of social 1968.

The goals as evidenced by the product seems to be to put the young people through mechanics of high school then give them a diploma when the logical day of graduation comes. Social growth is not a part of their education except by chance.

Educational goals our organization believes should be are: Integrated public school education. While the BIA is charged with the greatest part of Native education—the goal should be quality education with a wide choice in higher education institutes open to graduates. Greater emphasis should be given to social participation as a prologue to village citizenship or society anywhere.

B. What are the educational problems of Indian and Native students that are of concern to you and your organization?

1. A separate school system.

2. A tremendous turnover in teachers.

3. Recruiting practices. The challenge to service and the attitude of helping the native to enter the mainstream of society with pride in his heritage is lacking. Natives are not a part of the basic orientation.

4. Relating learning to everyday life through education needs to be a natural part of learning.

5. Many of the high school graduates "go on" but *where* they go is limited. BIA Grant Support is probably lifuited to: U of A. Haskell Institute: Santa Fe Institute of Arts: Fort Lewis, Colorado. A few to Sheldon Jackson College and A M U.

6. Grading in the non-graded system is puzzling. Attendance record at Mount Edgecumbe is good. No drop-outs were allowed at Mount Edgecumbe last year or for the last several years. Some students with discipline problems have been sent home this year.

7. Native boarding schools do not put emphasis on social growth through dorm life or student activity outside the campus.

8. Mt. Edgecumbe High School has stated that students come to that school from elementary schools operated by both the BIA and the state, with a poor grasp of English and reading comprehension. This points out the need for greater emphasis on language and its use.

9. There is no plan known to the public for Regional High Schools for all of the students for rural Alaska. There is the enabling Act but no plans. This organization is concerned that Alaska Natives be heard on pending plans and be allowed to become involved in them. To date more than two thousand high school students (native) are sent away from home for high school education with about eleven hundred being sent out of state to Oregon and Oklahoma

10. Psychological and emotional problems in reference to Mount Edgecumbe High school, the barracks style housing aggravates such problems by the very fact that far too many students are housed together in one building without doors.

Often, disturbed students are returned to this school year after year with no program for help for that student. Screening is not used to separate these problems nor is there a rehabilitation program to help them. Non-directive help is available.

11. As far as high school is concerned, there is no parental involvement on a person to person basis. The students leave home in most cases to go to high school. There is little by way of letters between teachers—dorm workers and counselors. There are form letters that state Johnnie is a good boy or not. He is good when he gets on the Honor Roll, he isn't when he gets drunk.

Community involvement: Mount Edgecombe High School is located on Japonski Island accessable by converted Navy launch only. This has been so since the beginning of operation after take-over from the Navy. Sitka was not involved with the operation of "the island" when it was a military installation and has not been involved with it during its history as a school. Students are allowed "town leave" in groups on Saturdays for the purpose of shopping. Community activity participation is minimal both with personnel and students. It is an isolated community. Shopping and church attendance in Sitka covers most of the community involvement. Inter-school activities are also minimal.

C. What are the causes of the problems identified above?

1. There are cultural differences between the students and school staff. Identification of the student to his heritage in society and to our state and national history doesn't seem to be known. The first citizens of Alaska do not have a program of learning that will help him develop a pride in his heritage.

2. Language, history, social studies, science and math are all relevant but *why* they are relevant can be an interesting part of learning. Subjects then make more sense. Simply finishing an assignment isn't learning.

3. Teacher preparation in teaching the student from a different cultural background should not result in watering down the subjects or over-simplifying the foundation given in high school for higher learning. Graduation from high school should means the student has actually met all the requirements and is ready to go on to college or he should know he isn't yet prepared to go on. Counseling in this area should not be left to non-teaching counselors who seem to wait for the student to come to see them, which they may never do. Especially those that need it.

4, 5. Good mental health is only a by-product. Crowded student housing is a contributing factor to contagious diseases as well as the psychological and emotional problems at Mount Edgecumbe High School. In the two main dorms, there are no doors nor walls that separate the living sections. Partitians and curtains allow for some semblance of semi-privacy. The pressure of perpetual close living is apparent in the behavior of the students in their dorm life.

6. Separation of the child from the family during school years is like agreeing to give up your child to the unknown hoping that it is the best thing for him. Parents can't be involved with what he is learning nor to help in his perspective on what this learning can means to the village. There can be no parent-teacher discussion or involvement nor enough correspondance between parent and child. Some parents have to find someone to write for them is one reason, another being irregular mail deliveries. All students wait eagerly each day for the "mail list" to be posted. When they don't hear from home—they get anxious, even disturbed. This connection to home is most important.

7. Many young people leave home for some distant place for high school education so his "self-concept" as a member of a village is detached. As a member of the dominant society? He is placed for his education in an artificial society where everything is scheduled by others, planned by others and supported by subsidy. Mount Edgecumbe High School does not relate to the Sitka community as a whole. It is considered a privilege to have town leave or to be checked out for a visit.

8. A very important part of the students life—his life in the dorms, is neglected.

D. What is being done to solve these problems and to meet the educational goals of the native students?

Community involvement: Our organization recognizes the need to involve the city of Sitka with Mount Edgecumbe students and staff to gain from what they can share as well as to share with them the rich history and social activities availale here.

The superintendent of Sitka Public Schools has invited students from Mount Edgecumbe High School to join them in certain classes that are not offered at Mount Edgecumbe as well as to the community college.

One of the most important efforts being made by our camp is to insist that the BIA and the state seek out the help of the natives themselves to involve them with these problems. Paternalistic solutions will not be successful.

The Federal Government through the BIA is providing high school education until the state can afford to?

The Public Health Service is asking the natives of Alaska to work with them side by side to identify needs and to help implement programs to correct health problems. This has become their policy.

The state of Alaska is being challenged by the local camp and other supporting organizations to hold public hearings on a Master Plan for Education for rural Alaska. And that no plans be made without native participation of those who will be affected. No plans have been made yet on the Regional Concept for High Schools. Continued delays cannot be tolerated. Alaska natives under our state constitution, are entitled to public school education but the scape goat used by the state is the BIA. No guidelines for priorities is evident though the State Commissioner of Education has shown our committee a working basis for a plan.

This is not, however, a plan. The BIA system of education needs to be more effective but as long as a bureau determines what it will be, those affected have little involvement.

FAIRBANKS, ALASKA, *November 19, 1968.*

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Chairman, Special Subcommittee on Indian Education,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: In reply to your letter of Oct. 15th regarding Indian Education:

The goals of the educational program in Alaska for Indians is one which is totally inadequate. Their programs are all planned for the future, five to ten years away, and nothing to cover the present crisis, that of not having any facilities for high school education in Alaska for the present.

The need for such facilities is badly needed in the interior of Alaska as about 75% of the students attending Mt. Edgecumbe are from the interior or north of the range.

The Indian Bureau teachers, for the most part, are inadequate. There is at present a teacher in the Bureau system teaching our Indian children with only an eighth grade educaton. Also I met one not too long ago that had an southern accent so pronounced everyone had a hard time understanding what she was saying.

The goals of the Bureau and the State of Alaska should be one that is the same as those established by local school districts in Alaska and they should be from the first grade throughout high school.

There shouldn't be special programs in schools because of race or cultural differences. The Indian Bureau has held this over the Indians so long that we are getting tired of it. The Mt. Edgecumbe graduate, according to our study and findings, is approximately one and one-half years behind an Indian graduating from public schools. This accounts for a great many drop-outs in their first year of college.

If you were to ask the Indian Bureau how many have graduated from college under the Indian program in the last 100 years or 20 years the answer would still be the same. Approximately five graduates. There are however, many more who are receiving college degrees through efforts of their own. Many have been denied the Bureau scholarships because they were not worthy of a scholarship, so they are told from the Educational Specialist from the area BIA.

There isn't any Indian participation on any education policies. The Bureau merely tells us what is good for us and we are getting tired of being told after 100 years.

I also believe the government should not provide quarters for teachers living or teaching at Mt. Edgecumbe.

I trust that I have answered some of your questions and look forward to being able to testify before your committee when you come to Alaska and we hope Fairbanks.

Thank you.

Yours truly,

RALPH PERDUE, *Tanana Chiefs.*

DECEMBER, 2, 1968.

Senator EDWARD M. KENNEDY: Having had the chance to read the report of Father Jules M. Convert, S.J. intended for the Indian Education Committee, I decided to add my bit. His ideas agree very much with what I learned during my 42 years as a missionary in approximately the same area in which Father too had worked.

The sooner we quit hauling out hundreds of native children to BIA schools in various parts of Alaska, and the lower 48, the better it will be for everybody! Let us put high schools in the main centers from which the natives come, and let us suit the courses given to the needs of the children to be educated. There are relatively few boys and girls now, no matter what their talents, who under our present system, become useful members of our state or anywhere else. A great many fine boys and girls end in our cities as human and spiritual wrecks. And I hardly think that the fault is all theirs.

And the argument that high schools in the bush area are not financially feasible seems to me to be a rather worthless quibble. No schools in that area are financially feasible. The same argument that is applied to high schools holds for any kind of grade school too. And still we build these everywhere; we do not ask if they are financially feasible. They are *needed*, and that is enough to justify them.

Under our present system, we generally admit to high school mainly those that we think capable of going on to something higher. Not much attention is given to those of less academic ability. Moreover, boys and girls with talent for vocational training, but poor in academic subjects, are often turned down when they apply for high school. Apparently no thought is given to the idea of training them to go back to their own areas where vocational skills are so badly needed.

From all this results a social problem: all of our best boys and girls syphoned off to our cities, and we are left with the culls. So, necessarily, our young parents are now for the most part, people with very little, or even no education. There is besides, a great dearth of marriageable young people. In villages where there used to be half a dozen or more marriages a year, we now have one, sometimes not even that, in a year. Pretty often the villages do not even have left qualified persons for local Vista Volunteers, Head-Start programs, and the like. At the same time they have as many as 30 young men and women attending high schools in other parts of the country.

I have heard of from government workers who go travelling around the country on federal funds and various pretexts: "Why do you talk of development here? That costs money! And in 20 years from now there will be no one left in this area anyway" To me that seems a pleasant dream. And some government programs seem almost to be geared towards this objective. Birth-control literature is displayed on grammar school bulletin boards. Relocation programs, the general migration of all high school students to schools elsewhere, are giving some observers the idea that the government is set on a course of genocide of our native people in order to depopulate the bush area, and save money on welfare checks. That impression is, of course, wrong. These mistaken programs are meant to help the native people. But the impression given is excusable. The present program sounds much more like: "Let us eradicate, not educate" the native people.

JOHN P. FOX, S.J.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF FATHER JULES M. CONVERT, S.J., CATHOLIC CHURCH, TELLER, ALASKA

I am not a Specialist in Education, but, a Catholic Priest, I consider my first responsibility one of education, understood as the formation of the person to enable one to reach his eternal spiritual destiny thru the use of all his human faculties in this life.

Having consecrated my life to this goal among the Native Population of Alaska, I trust twenty seven years spent among the people who live in the small villages of Western Alaska Bering Coast and the Lower Yukon have qualified me to express a certain number of opinions: they are based on my actual experiences.

I would like to quote here from a Report I had prepared in 1961 for Governor Egan and the Legislature on the problems of these Bush areas, as I believe some paragraphs are pertinent to the question that interests us to-day. I shall do it again at the end of this presentation:

". . . Within a few short years, the compulsory School programs will bear fruition on a large scale and all the youngsters will have completed their elementary schooling by the time they are fifteen or so: then, what? Will further education be aavilable to all? And what kind?" . . .

The word "education" is so general, and so often understood so differently by different people, thus leading to nebulous and unrealistic discussion, that I'd like at the start to precise the word and its meaning as I shall understand it here. I believe one of the best definitions I have ever heard is the one that was given us some six years ago at the University of Antigonish in Nova Scotia where I took a Summer Session on Adult Education: "Education is what is left once you have forgotten everything ever crammed in your head in the classroom: it is the *ability to think objectively for yourself* so you may *choose intelligently* your goals in life and the means to reach them, independently or in spite of the many pressures from exterior sources, people or circumstances." Education therefore is the formation of the whole person and its character; to this formation process, the classroom and the authoritative lessons play a role, but to it also contribute many other influences and different processes. This formation can and often is acquired quite independently of the traditional classroom, witness the *Equivalent Diplomas* granted by our State to people who hardly ever went to school, but have obtained equivalent results thru their reading and still more personal experience in their life and work.

It seems, in general, that all our Alaska Schools, BIA, State or private have failed to precise their goal at the start in an exact manner: rather they have bought without much thought the generally accepted thing: the traditional academic curriculum, sanctioned by a diploma after so many years of reasonably successful grades in a school operating more or less like thousands of other schools throughout the country, though in very different circumstances.

My contention is that, accepting the above definition of education as a point of departure, and making abstraction of the actual worth of the American system at large, our Educators should more or less start from scratch and consider the Alaska Bush circumstances and what are the desirable goals; then they shall discover the original solution that will truly answer the needs of the Native youngsters at this stage of the evolution of the traditional village surroundings and way of life. Formal education must give them the tools they will need to lead a truly useful and successful life, not only as individuals, but also as citizens with responsibilities to larger groups, their community and our State.

When we have purely and simply brought to our native communities the accepted style of academic education following the elementary years of schooling, here are some of the things that have and are happening:

Individuals with gifts above average for that type of education, with real character and personal ambitions, are given a chance to go ahead all right, but in most cases, they do it only as individuals, escaping from their social responsibilities as well as from their native surroundings. Their diploma allows them to obtain a better life in our 'Great Society', but for themselves alone since there are but few outlets for their newly acquired skills, so they move to the city or often to other States. In this process, the Native Community is deprived of its best potential leaders, and the State itself is the poorer for it.

The individual less brilliantly gifted doesn't fare as well: he has been uprooted, has possibly managed to get the famous diploma, but will probably never have a truly satisfying life: he'll simply disappear in the anonimity of the city and some obscure job, and again we shall have been deprived of a potential leader. As to those who don't have the talents or character to pursue academic education all the way, they simply drop out and eventually drift back to their village, condemned to be misfits the rest of their life.

It may also be pointed out that the girls may succeed better than the boys in these academic endeavors: if they succeed, few will think of marrying a native man who is less educated and as a rule won't ever be in a position to offer all the comfort and niceties of life to which she has become accustomed. Also, if they don't actually succeed and drop out, they won't come back to their village with its hard life, but will drift to city jobs, easier to find for them than for the boys, and again they'll usually end by marrying a white man.

The reason for lesser interest in academic studies from the part of the boys probably comes from the environment in which they have grown, with practically complete freedom and no pressure of any kind to do anything but what they wish at any particular moment. And even some of those who have actually succeeded in their studies have come back to the village soon afterward, even if they had jobs, drop outs of life itself.

Thus academic education seems to deprive the village of its natural leaders, and also deprive our young men of much choice when it comes to pick a wife . . . if indeed there is much of any choice at all since in many places the young men outnumber the young women. Our present education system is thereby creating a very serious social problem.

I would also like to make a personal observation: while it is most important to pay great attention to the special needs of the native youngsters, I rather object to the words 'Indian Education' if it involves more than just a useful label; education is concerned with the human person, basically the same under all latitudes and climates. Accidental differences come from circumstances themselves accidental and it is taken for granted that any educator worthy of the name shall take the background of his students into consideration. What I am driving at is that I believe that education shall not tend to help the native student to continue in his own cultural milieu, but to assist him in the process of aculturation since there is no question of turning the clock backwards. The American culture, dominant in Alaska, will eventually prevail: but we must note that our national culture is the result of all the riches brought in and shared by many groups of vastly different racial and national origins, and the Alaska native people have their own responsibility to bring in our national heritage what constitutes their particular riches, as well as the right to share in others' treasures. I believe it is exactly what is happily taking place under our eyes at a rather rapid pace: without denying his racial origins nor being ashamed of them, the Alaska Native is more and more aware of the fact that he is an American, and it is as such that he is taking his rightful place in all aspects of the life of the State, political, economic and social, bringing with him all the resources of his native background and culture.

Rather than bring out criticisms of such or such aspects of the operation of our schools, I would rather offer a few positive suggestions to help those who have the responsibility to elaborate the best possible program of education of the native youngsters in Alaska:

1. The kind of segregation represented by the BIA Schools must come to an end as rapidly as possible: the education of all the youngsters of this State is the responsibility of the State and its elected representatives, and all its aspects must be placed under their direct supervision. If the Federal Government recognizes some special obligations to the Natives, such subsidies should be given directly to our own Dept. of Education to improve education in the villages.

2. In the present economic situation prevailing in all the native villages, the immediate goal of 'Indian Education' must be immediately practical: by the time a boy finishes High School level training, since in the foreseeable future he will still be older than the average stateside youngster, he must be qualified to get a paying job without much more time taken by training. High School programs must be tailored to this very urgent and real need, and primacy must be given to the vocational over the strictly disinterested academic; doing this, we are not at all advocating the creation of some kind of second class citizens who will be forever denied as compete as possible human development, we are simply recognizing that the ability to think for oneself and develop one's mind can be taught as well thru the study of mechanics, carpentry or any other manual skill as by studying greek or latin.

3. Since actual jobs are not easy to come by, it is imperative that education programs of a given areas be closely geared to the plans made for the economic development of this area.

4. Specially gifted youngsters only should be encouraged to go on with higher academic education, and encouraged to enter fields of economic or social import so they may come back to their own people and share with them their knowledge and skills, assuming the positions of leadership among them.

4. For the average-gifted girls, I'd suggest at the High School level a program modeled on the 'Family Institutes' of Canada's Quebec Province where higher education is imparted to girls coming from the rural districts thru advanced programs of Domestic Sciences and Home-Making; this would allow the average village girl to come back and fit in their own village and initiate, at the home level a new mode of life in which they could find the same comfort and niceties as in the cities where they are now attracted in large numbers.

Basically, this was the type of education I had advocated in my already-mentioned Report to the Governor in 1961:

"Let's take the possibilities in the Yukon area, from Tanana to Holy Cross: the River banks are rich black soil and it has been established that successful crops of basic vegetables can be produced year after year; the River and the creeks are full of fish, the woods are full of game and good size timber. I visualize a young man who has received adequate education of character and qualifications for a manual job (heavy equipment, carpentry, construction); he builds for his family an excellent house of logs, with no restriction on size since winter fuel for heat is plentiful and free right at his doorstep; he clears a good area for cultivation, plows it and seeds it in early spring, then goes to his well paying seasonal job; meanwhile his wife and children can take care of the family garden, salt dry or can fish and pick berries. When he comes back in the fall, he has a fairly good amount of ready cash for the better things of life since his basic food and fuel requirements are already taken care of. For at least half the year, this man can live leisurely with his family, be his own boss and still make some additional money thru trapping.

A more or less similar way of life is also probably possible for the villages of the Coast if a scientific survey was made of the seafood resources and the people were given technical and financial help to exploit them. It seems that in recent years the people of the Lower Yukon have been doing quite well with their salmon commercial seasons, but I wonder if we are not abandoning the Bering Sea to the Russians and Japanese and how long we'll be able to keep them off our Coasts if we don't exploit its resources ourselves.

I don't think the picture above is too far from what may really happen if we give our youngsters the proper orientation and preparation . . . and certainly the State could not find better human material to develop our rural resources than among our youngsters from the villages." . . .

My experiences in the villages since I wrote these lines have not changed the opinion expressed then; I may say they have rather contributed to strengthen these views. That is why I am grateful for the opportunity given me today to present them again.

Office of Economic Opportunity,
Washington, D.C., May 13, 1968.

Hon. Robert L. Bennett,
Commissioner of Bureau of Indian Affairs,
Department of Interior, Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Bennett: I have enclosed a copy of a self explanatory letter from William J. Bicknell, M.D., our Western Regional Health Consultant, who recently returned from an Alaska survey visit. Both our agencies are vitally concerned with the welfare of the Eskimo, and I feel Mr. Bicknell has pinpointed one area where rapid administrative response can result in dramatic health benefit to the Eskimos with no increase in our resource allocation.

In my capacity as Chairman of the Subcommittee on Health of the Alaska Field Commission's Advisory Council, I would urge and request you to take all necessary steps to see that Dr. Bicknell's suggestions about the Kasigluk Bureau of Indian Affairs' water supply are implemented. In addition, our agency and particularly the VISTA volunteers in Alaska would be happy to work closely with the Bureau of Indian Affiairs in other villages similar to Kasigluk with a bad water supply in the town and a relative surplus of good water available from the BIA school water supply system.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph T. English, M.D.,
Assistant Director of the Office of
Economic Opportunity for Health Affairs.

The Kasigluk Water Supply

A common problem among the Eskimo villages in the Bethel area, and quite likely elsewhere, is inadequate water supply associated with infant and childhood diarrheas, particularly in spring and summer. The Kasigluk story is given in some detail as it is both an illustrative case history and it also demands immediate action on our part as there is a solution so easily at hand.

Kasigluk is a village of approximately 35 families and 250 people, about 30 miles west of Bethel. It is a river village located on a slough (a slowly moving backwater). When I asked the vice president of the village council, Mr. Alexie Pavilla, what the major health problems were in the village as he saw them, I was astonished when he said "Our problem is a bad water supply and the associated diarrheas of children, particularly in spring and summer." Mr. Yako Slim, the health aide, concurred that in spring and summer the water supply and infant diarrhea is a real problem in this village. He and I reviewed the present water and sewage 'systems' in the village and then explored possible improvements.

At present water in the winter time is obtained from melted ice and is apparently relatively pure. It is generally not boiled before use and chlorination by hand, although possible, has not been practiced and may not be feasible. In addition, the villagers, when they have used chlorinated water, have objected to the taste. In the summer water is obtained out of the river. This is only a few yards from the edge of the village, adjacent to where the dogs are penned, but as far as possible from the waste disposal area. The river in this area is slow moving, often grossly dirty. A water sample on November 6, 1967 processed by the State of Alaska Department of Health and Welfare Division of Public Health, Laboratory No. 29424, revealed the most probable number of coliform bacteria present was greater than 16. A notation on the laboratory report states the supply was "unsatisfactory . . . unsafe unless treated! . . . boil!!" An application for a village water supply was investigated by Mr. Jolie Morgan and the village council and they received the impression that it would be a minimum of two years before a village water supply could be installed under Public Law 86–121. (Correspondence attached.) As Mr. Pavilla and I were discussing the possibilities and difficulties of chlorinating muddy water, running pipes out into a faster moving area of the stream, drilling wells, etc. it became apparent that the Bureau of Indian Affairs School had a water supply. Fortunately the maintenance man for the school, a native of Kasigluk, was present and we went up and talked to the teacher, Mr. Bill Ferguson. He didn't see that there was any specific reason why the Eskimos couldn't use some of the BIA water. I inspected the water supply and it appears that the school has a well greater than 150 feet deep that is electrically wrapped, preventing freeze-ups, and is pumped by a Jaccuzi Century C–8 pump. Water is automatically chlorinated, stored in three tanks, each with a capacity of approximately 700 gallons, and is then transferred to two pressure tanks and distributed throughout the school buildings. These tanks supply water for the teacher and his wife, the school rooms, flush toilets for the pupils, and probably the heating plant boilers. The water system was built for a capacity of at least twice the current size of the school as it was anticipated that the village was going to grow and this would be a type of demonstration facility.

Mr. Pavilla indicated the village had the money to buy at least a moderate amount of inexpensive (possibly plastic) pipes with which to run a line from the school through the middle of the village. There is also a BIA trained plumber resident in town—a Mr. Oscar Beaver. In Bethel I discussed this problem and its potential solution with Dr. Shaw of PHS Hospital and his sanitarian, Mr. Larry Sickles. Mr. Sickles and Dr. Shaw promised the technical assistance of the PHS. However, they pointed out they do not have the authority to fund the purchase of hardware, such as piping, joints, valves, etc. They also noted that in one other village in the Bethel area, Kwethluk, the BIA was already sharing water with the villagers. THUS WE HAVE A SITUATION IN THE NEXT MONTH OR TWO WHERE WE WILL CERTAINLY SEE INFANTS AND CHILDREN GETTING SICK DUE TO A CONTAMINATED WATER SUPPLY. IT IS NOT UNLIKELY THAT THIS VILLAGE COULD SUFFER ONE OR TWO INFANT DEATHS. The solution appears simple and virtually immediately achievable. Mr. Jolie Morgan, Kasigluk VISTA, is aware of all aspects of the problem and is following up. However, approval for water-sharing by the school may well be necessary. If this approval is achieved through the usual channels there is a likelihood spring and summer will pass before it is achieved. Therefore I urge OEO Washington to contact BIA Washington in a way that will generate maximum possible productive administrative momentum. In addition, it seems not at all unlikely that a solution such as this might well be generalizable and applicable in numerous other villages.

It should be clear that the water supply at the school is probably not sufficient for all the water needs of the village and school. Even if flush toilets for the students are shut down there would still not be adequate water for washing and other purposes in the village. However, there would probably be quite enough for drinking for all concerned. If there ever was a drinking water shortage, then thought should be given to shutting down the school flush toilets as the rest of the village uses honey buckets for human waste disposal. (This is just a bucket with some disinfectant in the bottom into which one deficates. When it is full you take it to appropriate dumping ground and empty it.)

Mr. Pavilla, Mr. Morgan, Mr. Sickles, Dr. Shaw and myself all discussed the need for a health education program to accompany the water supply so that the health habits of adults and children could be changed as rapidly as possible. We all agreed this was necessary but did not feel it would be overwhelmingly difficult or in any way be interpreted as a reason for not sharing the school water supply with the village.

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY,
Washington, D.C., May 9, 1968.

JOSEPH T. ENGLISH, M.D.,
Assistant Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity for Health Affairs, Washington, D.C.

DEAR DR. ENGLISH: I want to take this opportunity to re-emphasize the critical nature of the water supply problem as outlined in my recent Alaska trip report to you. As we have discussed, this is a situation apparently common to many Eskimo villages throughout Alaska. Not only adults, but mothers, small children and even infants are forced to use highly contaminated and dangerous water supplies. The result, as you know, is often disease and, in the case of infants and older, debilitated people, may well be death. My concern is heightened as there is no need for this to take place in at least one village, Kasigluk. I am appending an abstract of my report outlining the specifics of the problem and a possible quick, easy, and inexpensive solution. This can definitely work in Kasigluk and may well be generalizable in many other similar villages.

Although Kasigluk is small and only a few hundred people are affected. I do not feel that responsible health and other professionals can stand idly by when the solution is so close at hand and the cost of inaction is quite literally death. During my brief stay in Alaska I did as much as possible to arrange for a solution. However, I feel a concerned, rapid input from Washington could spell the difference between success and failure. Let me close by asking for your assistance and urging the most rapid action.

Warmest personal regards.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM J. BICKNELL, M.D.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
Bethel, Alaska, October, 22, 1968.

WILLIAM J. BICKNELL, M.D.,
Western Representative, Office of Health Affairs,
Berkeley, Calif.

DEAR DR. BICKNELL: This will acknowledge receipt of your letter dated October 17, 1968 to Mr. Richard Birchell, Superintendent of the Bethel Agency, regarding the water supply situation at Kasigluk, Alaska.

Mr. Birchell is presently on a field trip but is expected back in the office on October 24. Your letter will be brought to his attention immediately upon his return.

Sincerely yours,

MARY M. HAUN, *Secretary to Mr. Birchell.*

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
Bethel, Alaska, October 23, 1968.

Dr. WILLIAM J. BICKNELL,
Western Representative, Office for Health Affairs, Office of Economic Opportunity, Berkeley, Calif.

DEAR DR. BICKNELL: You will be pleased to know, I am sure, that I wrote to Mr. Ferguson at Kasigluk about the water problem the day after I talked with you. I want to reiterate that it has been our policy to share water with the villagers wherever we have a decent well. Mr. Birchell is now out of town and will be gone for most of the week so I imagine there will be a delay in his response to your letter to him. Please feel free to come out and see us whenever you are in town.

Sincerely yours,

S. WILLIAM BENTON,
Education Program Administrator.

P.S. That's quite a signature you have! Do you write that way because you have to write prescriptions? Ha!

OFFICE FOR HEALTH AFFAIRS,
San Francisco, Calif., January 27, 1969.

DR. ROBERT J. RUTHEMEYER,
Program Evaluation Manager, Madera Employment Training Center, Philco-Ford Corp., E. & T.S. Division, Madera, Calif.

DEAR DR. RUTHEMEYER: Let me take this opportunity to thank you for your hospitality last Tuesday, when Mr. Shively, Mrs. Morgan and myself visited the Madera Employment Training Center. As you know it was my second visit and their first. Frankly, I had some reservations about the program after my first visit. However, I felt there was a significant difference in the tone of the operation this time. Particularly outstanding were the increased feeling of warmth shown by the staff toward the students and an increase in their sensitivity to the emotional and cultural needs of students in addition to their strictly vocational and educational requirements.

As you do doubt realize I have a particular interest in Alaska and in the various Federal programs effecting the Alaskan native, the Eskimo, Indian or Aleut. My only two remaining areas of concern are really outside the control of Philco-Ford. Firstly, there does seem to be somewhat of a rough approach to recruitment, at least in regard to the Eskimo population. A cursory visit to a village by a Recruiting Officer followed by a major life decision for a man and possibly his whole family involving sale of property, and the permanent move thousands of miles into a different culture should not be undertaken with scanty information and rarely, if ever, hastily. Its sounds as though your movie "The Big Chance" attempts to address this problem at least in part. This would not be so serious were it possible for the Alaskan native to return, at Government expense to his home, if the training and trainee were not compatible. As this is not the case there is a kind of economic imprisonment peculiar to your Alaskan trainees which really applies much less to American Indians from the lower 48. I was particularly touched by the several staff members who alluded to the wish of so many Eskimos and Alaskan Indians to return to Alaska and the closest they could come being Seattle. Independent of the possible personal tragedies that can grow out of a situation like this, I think it is worthwhile to look on the technological needs of a developing area such as Alaska. In this case I would have to question the wisdom of systematically selecting trainable men and women from the native population, assisting them in the acquisition of skills needed in Alaska, yet effectively denying their return. I realize this is not really within the purview of the Madera Employment Training Center, yet I wanted to share with you my thoughts in these areas.

Placement after graduation, adjustment to the world of work and personal happiness on the part of the trainee as well as his family are also matters which concern me, yet seem to fall more in the province of the Bureau of Indian Affairs follow-up personnel rather than yourself.

Once again let me say how much I enjoyed seeing your operation and particularly going away with both a visceral and intellectual feeling that it is indeed a sound training program addressing the educational, social and vocational needs of the trainee.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM J. BICKNELL, M.D.,
Western Representative.

OFFICE FOR HEALTH AFFAIRS,
San Francisco, Calif., January 29, 1969.

MR. WILLIAM E. FINALE,
Area Director, Bureau of Indian Affairs,
Sacramento, Calif.

DEAR MR. FINALE: In my capacity as Western Representative, Office for Health Affairs, Office of Economic Opportunity I am vitally interested in the broadly defined health needs of the Eskimo and Indian population in Alaska. At this time, in cooperation with the Alaska Native Health Service, we are developing a program for rural health services in the Bethel unit and the city of Nome. Through contacts that I and our program people have made in the course of program developing we became aware of the Philco-Ford project in Madera. In the last several months I have visited there twice. I must say that on my most recent visit I was much more favorably impressed by the program, it relevance, staff atitudes and such like. However, as you can see from my enclosed letter to Dr. Ruthemeyer I do have some concerns about what sounds like rather hasty recruitment procedures in Eskimo villages in Alaska, combined with a resettlement program outside of Alaska that may be somewhat harsh as it seems to effectively preclude most Alaskan native from returning to their own State.

I would really appreciate an opportunity to discuss Bureau of Indian Affairs programs in the State of Alaska with you sometime in the very near future particularly as they relate to the anticipated new health programs of O.E.O.

I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Sincerely,

William J. Bicknell, M.D.,
Western Representative.

Office of Economic Opportunity,
San Francisco, Calif., January 28, 1969.

Mr. Richard Birchell,
Superintendent, Bureau of Indian Affairs,
Bethel Agency, Bethel, Alaska.

Dear Mr. Birchell: Many thanks for your letter of November 19, 1968. I was very pleased to learn that the water supply situation in Kasigluk was relative unique and that your Bureau had done such a thorough investigation of village water sources in the Bethel area and have made every effort to share water with the Eskimo population on a co-equal basis wherever an adequate water supply exists. At this time the Office of Economic Opportunity in cooperation with the Public Health Service and the residents of the Bethel Service Unit are endeavoring to institute a rural health services program. One important element of this program will be in the area of water supplies, their provision, upgrading, chlorination, fluoridation and such like. In this regard I know that Mr. John Shively, the Program Coordinator in Anchorage, will make every effort to work with your agency in this and other areas having a potentially profound impact on the health and welfare of the native population.

I am sure villagers in Kasigluk appreciate the provision of water and will be particularly appreciative if a solution is found to the electrical supply problem. The technicalities of single phase and three phase power, converters, adapters, and such like are not altogether within my understanding. However, it certainly sounds as if your engineers are making every effort to provide power to the Fishing Cooperative freezer in Kasigluk and I do hope this can be accomplished by spring.

I had really thought that I would have made a trip to Bethel this winter, however, now it looks more likely that it will be February, March, or April. In any case when I am next in the area I would very much like to meet with you and any members of your staff you feel appropriate and discuss at leisure areas of mutual interest and concern.

Thanks again for your thoughtful and detailed response.

Sincerely,

William J. Bicknell, M.D.
Western Representative, Office for Health Affairs.

Office of Economic Opportunity,
Berkeley, Calif., October 17, 1968.

Mr. Richard Birchell,
Superintendent, Bureau of Indian Affairs,
Bethel Agency, Bethel Alaska.

Dear Mr. Birchell: Im sorry to have missed you on my recent visit to Bethel. However, I did have a good long discussion with Mr. Benton, your Acting Superintendent. I am very concerned about the water supply at Kasigluk. In the spring of 1968 I visited Kasigluk, met Mr. Ferguson, the BIA teacher, as well as members of the Village Council. At that time it was clear that the BIA water supply was adequate to supply most, if not all, the drinking water needs of the entire village, including those of the teachers. Since then arrangements were made to distribute the water. However, Mr. Alexi Pavilla tells me that Mr. Ferguson has informed the village that this winter the water will not be available. As the need for pure drinking water continues throughout the year I urged Mr. Benton to do everything in his power to maintain the availability of the water supply. Mr. Pavilla was present at my meeting with Mr. Benton and we all agreed that there was no insurmountable obstacle to distributing water year round. Mr. Benton agreed to send a memorandum to this effect to Mr. Ferguson was a copy to Mr. Pavilla.

The well in Kasigluk raises a larger issue and that is one of adequate water supply throughout the year to all native villages. It is my understanding that many villages do have BIA schools with adequate wells. Furthermore, as a health professional I am aware that probably the single most glaring health need in the villages is for pure water. Where pure water is available and is not distributed the result is easily predicted. Needless suffering and death from diarrhea—particularly among infants and young children. Therefore, I strongly urge your adopting a policy directing all village school teachers to seek every way possible to distribute safe water to the maximum possible number of village residents. If the Bureau could do this I think the results in terms of increased health status with measurable decreases in morbidity and death would be rapidly apparent. I feel certain that Village Councils would be more than willing to work with the schools in developing a year round system for the distribution of water that would be both effective and equitable.

Mr. Pavilla and I also discussed the power supply in Kasigluk and the recent acquisition by the village of a large freezer from the Fishing Cooperative. Apparently this freezer has a five horse power motor requiring three phase 220 volt power. The school has 220 volt power in surplus, yet only single phase. Mr. Pavilla has contacted an engineering firm in Anchorage and understands that a phase converter called "Add-a-Phase" is available for a price somewhere between $150–$300. It is his feeling that the village can purchase this converter out of their own funds and would be willing to do so, so long as the school could guarantee access to power. Mr. Benton quite understandably felt a little less conversant with electrical engineering topics than with water topics and I must say I share his lack of expertise in this field. However, I do know an operational large capacity freezer will be a real asset to the village on both economic and nutritional grounds and I enlist your aid in resolving problems of power distribution.

In Kasigluk I think we are particularly fortunate in having Mr. Pavilla to work with as he is both Vice President of the Village Council and the Village VISTA Associate. I know him personally and respect both his competence and integrity.

One point in closing, a similar although perhaps more complex case can be made for electric power as has previously been voiced for water for distribution in villages. The physical health impact of electric power in the village may be somewhat less measurable than that of water. However, its contribution to a better life and social and emotional health is clearly very significant. Certainly where generators require constant loads during off peak hours, (i.e. evenings and nights) it seems reasonable to consider a distribution scheme that would allow community and/or individual use. Perhaps surplus power, in lump, could be given to the Village Council for them to allocate in an equitable manner.

I hope to be in Bethel in late December or early January and look forward to meeting with you then. In the meantime, I hope you can be of assistance in the areas noted above. I would greatly appreciate hearing from you regarding the specifics of the solution to the Kasigluk water and power problems. Thanks very much for your help.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM J. BICKNELL, M.D.,
Western Representative, Office for Health Affairs.

GREATER ANCHORAGE AREA COMMUNITY ACTION AGENCY,
Anchorage, Alaska, February 7, 1969.

HON. EDWARD M. KENNEDY,
Chairman, Senate Indian Affairs Committee,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR KENNEDY: It was considerable interest that I learned that your subcommittee plans to hold hearings in Alaska on Native education. I was also pleased to see that you are continuing the fight of your late brother to provide adequate and open avenues for the Indian and Eskimo people of this country to become full participating citizens.

The problem of Native education for Alaskans is a broad one having many facets as you are well aware. Recently I have become particularly interested in a portion of it, that is, the Bureau of Indian Affairs relocation program for vocational education. Under this program Alaska Natives are recruited to go to various training centers throughout the continental United States. At the termination of their training they then find jobs in various places which we Alaskans call "The South 48". Generally jobs are found in places such as Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, and Seattle. The emphasis is to train these Natives to live in urban areas.

I visited one of these training centers in at Madera, California. This training center is run under contract from the BIA to the Philco-Ford Corporation. The training is quite varied giving the student options between such fields as small engine repair, automotive repair, metal working, appliance repair, electronics, and a variety of other subjects. Presently at Madera there are approximately two hundred students of which about 22% are Alaskans. Most of the Alaskans are single males, but there are several women and a couple of married families.

I have no qualms about the type of training the Alaskans are receiving, as the program seemed excellent. I also think the opportunity for the Alaska Natives to live for a short time outside of Alaska and to see what other parts of the United States are like is a valuable learning experience. However, I have one major complaint, and I think it is vital to the operation of the whole program. There is no attempt made to provide the Alaskans with a chance to return home. Indeed, if an Alaskan drops out of the program before he completes his training, there is no transportation provided for him to get back to Alaska and he has no skill with which to get a job in "The South 48." It is certainly not easy for a person with no skill to earn enough money to return to Alaska especially if he has to attempt to get his whole family back. Therefore, I feel that provision should be made for travel back to a person's home if he does not complete the training program.

However, not only can an Alaskan not get home if he drops out of the training program, but there is no provision made for getting him back to Alaska even if he completes his training. The whole emphasis of the program is to train these people to work in major urban areas throughout the United States. No effort is made by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to find employment for these people back in Alaska. There are two things that are criminal about this procedure to me. The first is that, as you are well aware, Alaska is much like an underdeveloped country. The land area up here is one fifth the size of the rest of the United States and yet we have only 250,000 to 270,000 people, and many of these are unskilled. It seems a ridiculous procedure to me to train people who live in Alaska to do jobs that need to be done in Alaska and then not return to Alaska.

The second reason for my concern about the present procedures of the Bureau of Indian Affairs is that it seems unbelievable to me that the Bureau of Indian Affairs can have the naivete to believe that the person who has been born and raised in a community of one to three hundred people can make a decision on whether or not he wants to live in that community or in a community of anywhere from one to eight million people. The Bureau of Indian Affairs not only asks the Native ot make this decision, but it often gives him a matter of only a few minutes or a couple of hours to do this.

It is interesting that a sizable plurality of Alaskan males choose small engine repair as their vocation—a vocation directly related to village life in Alaska. Also, most Alaskans choose Seattle as their job placement center. Both of these trends indicate a subconscious and conscious desire of the Alaskan to return home.

I have sent some material on this problem to Byron Mallott who is a special assistant to Senator Mike Gravel. Mr. Mallott would be a valuable resource to the subcommittee.

It seems to me that this program needs serious study by your subcommittee. If I can be of any further help to you in this matter or if you would like any further information, I would be glad to try to obtain it for you. I sincerely look forward to your visit to our state in the coming months.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN SHIVELY,
Director, Health Planning

QUAKERTOWN, PA., *April 10, 1969.*

DEAR SENATOR KENNEDY: My husband and I have just been watching, with great interest, the news reports of your trip in Alaska. I am writing in the hope that our experiences might be helpful to you at this time.

We were employed in 1960, by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, to teach in the village of Noorvik, Alaska. We loved our work with the Eskimo people and wanted only to continue teaching there. The principal, a Mr. Dodd, tried to get us to resign as soon as we arrived. When we refused to leave, a man was sent from Juneau to observe us, and he reported that we had very good response from the Eskimo people, so we were told to stay. At this point the Dodds left and we finished the year alone with the 100 children on half day sessions. We were then told to leave and were given various reasons, mostly that we were too sympathetic to the Eskimo people.

We have long since given up hope of going back, but perhaps some of the things we observed might be helpful. We found the people hard workers. They trusted my husband almost immediately, and if he suggested anything that he thought would help them, such as building walks around the school, all the men in the village would go right to work. They were extremely cooperative and anxious to get education for their children. They even sent them to school when they were sick because they did not want them to miss anything. We had a hard time convincing them to stay home when they were sick. Everyone in the village came to visit the school when we had open house or showed educational films.

It was soon evident to us that the children were hungry. They had no food at all at noon. They simply played near the school while we had lunch, and then came back in for afternoon classes. There was a great deal of food of all kinds in the storerooms. Some had been there so long that the rice had rooted in the floor under the old school building. Mr. Dodd claimed he could not give the children lunch because of a missing part for the stove. The people kept asking us when their children could have school lunches, and the only answer we could get from Mr. Dodd was that the stove part was missing and that it would make the Eskimos lazy if we fed the children lunch.

After Mr. Dodd left, we fixed lunches: at first soup made with hot water and cheese and crackers. Later, when we found the part for the stove in the storeroom, we made hot lunches for the children. Eskimo mothers were anxious to help and baked bread and helped serve the lunches every day.

It was too late, though. Forty percent of the children already had TB. We discussed this with the doctor of the Navy hospital in Kotzebue, and with the nurse who came out to test the children. The TB was finally traced to one house, a man who had claimed he was sick early in the year. It is one of the teachers' duties to report symptoms to the Doctor by radio and then give medicine as advised. Mr. Dodd had claimed the man was faking illness to get out of work. After Mr. Dodd left, this man was found to be the source of the widespread TB. The Doctor also told us that people usually do not contract TB if they have an adequate diet. We believe these children would not have contracted the disease if they had been given the food that was sent there for their lunches. One tiny baby was sent to Washington, where it died of TB meningitis.

We told this story to the health and welfare representative in Kotzebue, to the people in Juneau, and we made two trips to the Department of the Interior in Washington to try to help these people, but we were told that since it was our first year and Mr. Dodd had been in service for fourteen years that we could not do anything. We had no money to pursue the matter further. We had to get new teaching jobs.

A half-million dollar school was completed while we were there, with three apartments for teachers, and a supply room. Water was pumped up from the river and run through a purifying system for use by the teachers. The Eskimos had to chop ice from the center of the river, carry it up the hill in buckets or on a dog sled and melt it down for drinking water. They had been told to boil it, but little wonder if they didn't always. We had electricity and *all* modern conveniences and appliances. The Eskimo people were unable to have pure water, sanitary facilities or any chance of getting them. It would have been a very simple matter to increase our water supply system to supply drinking water for the village, and less expensive than the illness that resulted from impure water. Mr. Dodd even refused to let the children use the bathrooms provided for students in the school. I once heard a supervisor tell him that we should pen up the children and send the dogs to school.

At one time the Government had sent some jade polishing equipment to the people. It had been sitting there for years, and they asked us how to use it. They knew where to find the jade. But we knew nothing about jade. I have read recently about a white man who went there and discovered the jade and is now a millionaire. I wonder if the Eskimos ever realized any profit from jade.

I do not know if conditions have improved since we left or not. We did hear that the Dodds went on to another village to teach. We have since established ourselves in teaching positions in the Pennridge Schools in Bucks County and are reasonably happy; but we still feel somehow that we failed the people of Noorvik. We have talked to everyone we could about it. Now, we show our slides of Noorvik and try to teach children here about the good people of Noorvik. If you can do anything to help them we will be so grateful.

Sincerely,

MARGARET HUTCHISON.

PROPOSAL SUBMITTED TO THE BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, WASHINGTON, D.C., SUBMITTED BY OREGON COLLEGE OF EDUCATION, MONMOUTH, OREG.

THE PROBLEM

In Alaska there is a distinct shortage of teachers who are effectively educated and motivated to deal with problems which are unique to Alaskan natives in culture, language and environment. Rural schools in Alaska must look to the "South 48" for teachers. Seldom are teachers recruited from out of state trained to teach natives who are culturally different and for whom English is a second language. The usual length of service of teachers from other states is two years. The cost of moving a family to Alaska's rural schools is $3,700, and the cost is even greater in the failures of many teachers who do not understand the unique problems of the learner and who have not learned to deal effectively with the problems. Because of the lack of properly trained candidates rural school administrators in Alaska have been been required to employ teachers who are not prepared to teach at the elementary school level.

One likely source of candidates for rural school teaching positions in Alaska would be Alaskan natives themselves who would be trained as elementary teachers. However, at the present time there simply are none. For example, to date the University of Alaska has trained only one Alaskan native for teaching in Alaska's rural schools. Very few Alaskan natives complete high school, and those who do are seldom equipped to complete a college education under normal circumstances.

In the past, there has been no organized effort to educate Alaskan natives in a group large enough to deal with problems which are unique to them in culture, language and evironment. No college has attempted to provide tutors and counselors who would assist the Alaskan native in solving his problems and in helping him develop leadership in Alaskan villages. Oregon College of Education (OCE) is uniquely qualified to organize such an effort and to demonstrate the feasibility of providing four years of teacher training for a large group of native Alaskan high school graduates.

Oregon College of Education is a part of the Oregon State System of Higher Education. It is located in the small community of Monmouth (population 4,500). The college has a student body of 3,200 and a faculty of 200, seven of whom are part or full blooded Indian. The main program is teacher education. For many years OCE has successfully educated Hawaiians for teaching in Hawaii.

Oregon College of Education has become increasingly involved in supporting the educational program of Alaskan natives. Annually more than 200 Alaskan native students from Chemawa Indian School, Salem, Oregon, visit the OCE campus. The Chemawa students have indicated that they enjoy visiting the campus because they are respected and accepted as equals.

During the 1967–68 school year, Dr. Paul Jensen (project initiator) conducted a research project on teacher-pupil interactions in village schools along the Nushagak River. The videotape project was initiated by the Alaska State Department of Education at Juneau. During the summer of 1968 a Leaders' Orientation Course in Instructional Innovations was conducted for personnel of the

Bureau of Indian Affairs of Alaska on the campus of Oregon College of Education.

Currently, under Dr. Jensen's leadership, OCE is involved in two Alaska projects:

1. A group of 14 children (ages 6 to 14) from Northeast Cape on remote St. Lawrence Island will attend the Campus Elementary School from February 1, 1969, to March 16, 1969. The children and the adult supervisors will be housed in private homes.
2. To increase the competency and effectiveness of teachers in Alaska's rural schools, Oregon College of Education with the support of the Bureau of Indian Affairs of Alaska, will initiate a program of student teaching in Alaska's rural schools during the Spring Quarter of 1969.

THE OBJECTIVE

It is proposed that forty Alaskan natives who are graduates of high schools, such as Mount Edgecumbe and Chemawa Indian Schools, be provided grants and scholarships for four years of teacher education at Oregon College of Education.

PROCEDURE

To accomplish the training of these forty Alaskan natives, Oregon College of Education would provide a counselor who has had personal experience with students from the village schools and who is also familiar with the college program. Courses in anthropology, English as a second language, sociology, speech, history of Alaska (and the Pacific Northwest), geography, children's literature, art, and music, are a few of the courses which would be recommended for the students. Tutors would be provided for any student who might feel insecure in a specific subject area. During the sophomore and junior years the students would have one day per week for student observation of teaching in the public schools. This would not only familiarize them with teaching methods, but would also help them to learn about the problems and needs of the cultural environment. During the fall quarter of the senior year, the students would teach for four months in Alaska's rural schools under the supervision of experienced teachers. A supervisor from Oregon College of Education would visit each student teacher for supervisory purposes and would also make recordings of videotape for the student teacher's own self-evaluation and for evaluation by the faculty. During the winter and spring quarters of the senior year, each student could then concentrate on those areas in which he has seen a particular need during his four months of student teaching.

During the fifth year, after the students have assumed teaching positions in Alaska, the college supervisor would again visit each teacher as a consultant and to help each teacher in any way possible. Again the teacher would be videotaped for the purpose of self-evaluation and self-improvement. The follow-up would be an essential part of the program in order to assure each one of continued success as a professional person and as evidence of the college's interest.

At the present time, 740 Alaskan natives are attending classes at Chemawa and approximately 200 of them will graduate this year. An equal number will graduate from Mount Edgecumbe. At least half of these high-school graduates would like to continue their studies and train for a profession. With the cooperation of the teachers, counselors and administrators in each of the above named schools it should not be too difficult to find forty outstanding students from among them who would like to enter the teaching profession through this proposed program.

RESULTS

In six years the investment in these forty future native teachers will have been saved in the cost of moving teachers from the "South 48" and in taxes paid by these teachers. However, the real value of the investment is in human lives that are serving their fellow men effectively and in the encouragement to other Alaskan natives. This is the "breakthrough" needed for these natives to get into the stream of American life.

KEY FACULTY PERSONNEL

Paul H. Jensen, Ph.D. (1938), University of North Dakota, Professor of Education (presently directing two Alaska Education Projects). Dr. Jensen will coordinate the project.

Clifford L. Corley, Ed.D. (1954), University of Missouri, Professor of Education and Chairman of the Department of Education.

Ralph A. Farrow, Jr., Ed.D. (1964), Stanford University, Professor of Education, Director of Student Teaching.

Paul F. Griffin, Ph.D. (1952), Columbia University, Professor of Geography and Chairman of Social Science Department, Director of Training Center for Teachers of Disadvantaged.

Bert Y. Kersh, Ph.D. (1955), University of California at Berkeley, Professor of Education and Dean of Faculty.

Jack D. Morton, M.S. (1957), University of Oregon, Associate Professor and Dean of Students.

Operating budget

Salaries and wages	$162,502
Materials and expense (including payroll assess)	16,705
Travel	19,900
Total operational costs	199,107

Stipends

Tuition	135,030
Dormitory	170,000
Travel	33,600
Books and incidentals	56,000
Other	10,000
Total stipend costs	404,630
Overhead (8 percent × 578,285)	46,263
Total	650,000

APPENDIX.—SCHEDULE FOR TEACHER TRAINING OF 40 ALASKAN NATIVES AT OREGON COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

FRESHMAN YEAR

Summer session, June 15, 1969, to August 30, 1969

Orientation to college, English as a second language, how to study, and orientation in culture of the Alaskan native and culture of the "South–48." One Alaskan native teacher to assist in orientation. Counselor and secretary (Alaskan native) to assist students.

Regular sessions, September 15, 1969, to June 10, 1970

Take regular Freshman courses. Begin observation of classroom teaching in the public schools. Tutors will be provided to those who need help. Full time counselor and secretary available.

Return home for summer vacation or for work experience.

SOPHOMORE YEAR

September 15, 1970, to August 30, 1972

Continue teacher training courses including social psychology and developmental psychology. Observe and teach individual children in regular elementary classes. Tutors will continue to be provided. Counselor and native secretary will also continue to serve the students.

During Summer Session students may take courses as needed.

JUNIOR YEAR

September 15, 1971, to June 10, 1972

Continue minors and majors in elementary education and in Junior Block Program. Observe and do student teaching in public elementary schools. Tutors will be provided as well as counselor and native secretary.

Return to Alaska for vacation and preparation for doing student teaching in Alaska's rural schools. In August attend orientation of student teachers for one week and orientation of regular teachers for rural schools.

SENIOR YEAR

August 15, 1972, to June 10, 1973

Student teach in Alaska's rural schools with the supervision of experienced Alaskan teachers and supervisors from Oregon College of Education using videotape for self-evaluation and college evaluation. (The purpose of videotape is for the student teacher to observe his strengths and possible weaknesses.) His college supervisor can then recommend courses which will help him.

Following student teaching the student will return to complete the Winter and Spring quarters at Oregon College of Education.

Graduation on June 10, 1973.

Return to Alaska for vacation and preparation for position as teacher.

Attend orientation of teachers in BIA and State Operated Schools in Alaska in August, 1973.

FIFTH YEAR

Follow-up, September 1973 to May 1974

College supervisor to observe each of the forty teachers actively teaching on the classroom level. He will assist in any way possible. One or more videotapes will be taken for the teacher's own personal observation and evaluation.

Monthly letter to share ideas and experiences of the forty teachers.

Senator KENNEDY. The subcommittee stands adjourned.

(Whereupon, the subcommittee adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.)

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